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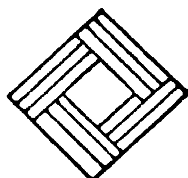
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THE MODERN REVIEW

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JOHN RUSKIN

By J. T. SUNDERLAND

JOHN RUSKIN died in the year 1900. I happened to be in London at the time, and have seldom in my life seen a more impressive spectacle than was presented by the wide-spread and beyond question deeply sincere expressions of sorrow, honor, and affection which rose from nearly all classes of the people. Nor were they confined to England; the papers were crowded with similar expressions from America and many other lands; for Ruskin had come to belong to the whole civilized world.

He was the last to go of that distinguished group of literary characters who made the reign of Queen Victoria glorious, the most outstanding of whom were Carlyle, Tennyson, Browning, Thackeray, Dickens, Bulwer Lytton, George Eliot, Macaulay, Matthew Arnold, James Martineau and John Stuart Mill. Beyond question the group was a constellation of high literary talent and genius, such as England has not seen equalled more than twice, even if that, in all her history. Indeed I think we may say that the Continent of Europe has not produced its equal since that wonderful company in Germany of which Goethe and Schiller were the central stars. Perhaps the nearest approach to it that the last half of the Nineteenth Century produced in any land was that brilliant galaxy of American writers, Bryant, Emerson, Longfellow, Lowell, Holmes, Irving, Whittier, Poe, Hawthorne, Mrs. Howe, Mrs. Stowe and Whitman.

Probably Ruskin cannot be called the greatest writer in the English Victorian constellation; but it is to be questioned whether any other was more brilliant, or whether any other (unless we must except Carlyle) so daringly and effectively stormed English strongholds of prejudice of many kinds, or produced so profound and lasting a moral effect on English thought.

Ruskin's career was a double one. Judging from his writings, his interests and enthusiasms, and his whole life and work, he seems like two men; and two men different and unrelated, if not antagonistic, to one another. But when we study him thoroughly enough we find that down below the surface there was unity; the earlier Ruskin led necessarily to the later; the more external and superficial Ruskin developed inevitably into the deeper, the profounder, the real man.

He began his public career as a writer on art. From his boyhood he had been an eager student of art, and his opportunities for such study had been extraordinary. By the time he reached manhood, he had become acquainted with practically all the important art of England and much on the Continent. While yet in his twenties he produced his "Modern Painters," in three volumes, which at once attracted the attention of the art world, and lifted him to the position of unquestionably the most conspicuous, the ablest, and the most authoritative art critic and writer in England at that time.

With such a beginning, it was taken for granted by everybody that of course his life would be devoted wholly to art, with no other diverting or dividing enthusiasm or love.

But it was to turn out differently. He never lost his interest in art. Indeed he never gave up or even much slackened his art studies. On the contrary, he continued all his life an art

writer and art teacher. But before he reached his middle years he found another enthusiasm, quite as ardent as that for art, and growing out of his very art-love. His new goddess, to whom during all the rest of his life he paid an ardour of devotion which never slackened, was Social or Social and Industrial Reform. From this time on he wrote as extensively on "Social Economy" and "Political Economy" (to use his own words) as on art. It was on these subjects that he most deeply stirred the public, most antagonized the public, and probably most benefited the public.

The reason why he took up the task of social and industrial reform, which he knew would bring on him bitter criticism, was that he saw such reform to be absolutely necessary for the sake of art itself. Art, to be worth anything, must be for the people, not for a few pampered aristocrats and ignorant mill-owners. But what was the condition of a majority of the English people? He knew what it was, and he described it in words which pierced like a dagger but whose truth nobody could deny. He knew, because he had seen it with his own eyes. Is it asked, when and where? He had seen it and studied it and been shocked by it when he travelled up and down the land examining such art as England possessed, mainly hidden away from the people in rich men's palaces, and of which the majority of the people did not know even the existence. In those travels he studied not only such art as he could find, but also something else. He turned aside to acquaint himself with the impoverished and over-worked tillers of the soil, the over-worked, under-paid and often half-starved toilers in the mills and factories, and the degraded and brutalized lives of the workers in the black mines.

Ruskin greatly distrusted machinery. If employed at all he held that it should be in the interest of the people, and largely or wholly under the control of the people. It should never be allowed to enslave and crush the people. In the profit system of the prevailing industrial regime, the great manufactoies, owned by rich men or by great corporations, were carried on, not to any degree for the benefit of those who did the work and created the riches, but to make the rich richer, leaving the workers everywhere at the mercy of their masters,—in all this he saw slavery, he saw degradation of the people, he saw injustice, he saw medieval serfdom returned to the modern world in a form even more cruel and degrading than the old. The England that he saw around him was thus described a little later by one of Briton's great writers,

"Lo! my Lords, we gave you England—
and you gave us back a waste—
Hamlets breaking, homesteads drifting,
peasants tramping, towns erased;
Yes, a desert, labelled England, where
you know (and well you know)
That the village Hampdens wither and
the village idiots grow."

The thought burned, and more and more burned into the very soul of Ruskin, Why should I or anybody else paint pictures for a handful of luxury-satiated lords and millionaires, while a majority of the people, the real nation, are in wretchedness and half-starvation? Is not the most important work to which any sane, humanity-loving and really patriotic Englishman can possibly turn his hand, that of lifting up his countrymen out of their ignorance, oppression, squalor and degradation, to intelligence, reasonable competence and a condition in which art can mean something to them? Here we have the explanation of why Ruskin, the gifted, praised, popular art-writer took up the hard, unpopular thankless task of social and industrial reform.

In other words, to all those who complained of Ruskin not devoting his whole time, strength and splendid talents to art-writing and art-production, without bothering with reforms, he said in effect: You ask for art, for more and better art for England. You can have it on one condition, and only one. You must first have a nation capable of appreciating art, and capable of producing it. Then beautiful art will come. Therefore I beg of you, I admonish you, I warn you, pay attention above everything else to whatever conditions and agencies, tend to lift up the English people into intelligence, into virtue, into peace of mind, into such a degree of physical comfort and leisure as shall make the production and diffusion of noble art possible.

* * * * *

With thus much of a general character regarding Ruskin's life and work, let us now turn to details. As we have seen, Ruskin's career was a double one. The books that principally represent his art career are his "Modern Painters," his "Stones of Venice," his "Seven Lamps of Architecture" and his various "Lectures on Art." His books of most importance in connection with his social and economic reforms are his "Unto This Last," four essays on what he regards the first principles of political economy; "Munera Pulveris," six further essays on political economy; "The Crown of Wild Olives," essays on Work, Traffic, War and the future of England; "Time and Tide" and "Tors Clavigera," letters to

working men. These are the most significant, but several others should be mentioned, especially his "Sesame and Lilies" and "Ethics of Dust," which all lovers of Ruskin love, and his autobiographical volumes entitled "Praeterita," in which he gives us some charming reminiscences of his earlier life.

* * * * *

Perhaps the main contribution that Ruskin made to what he called political economy (and it was a great contribution) was the thought that the *moral* element must be added. It must not be kept a mere science of buying and selling, of supply and demand, of pounds, shillings and pence. Such a science is only commercial economy: it has no right to be called political economy. Men have other interests besides those of the purse. Men do not live by physical bread alone. Men have other interests and are swayed by other motives than simply that of getting gain. A true political economy will constantly bear this in mind. There will always be a place in it for moral obligations, for self-sacrifice, for the great faiths and ideals of men, which are the mightiest motive forces in society that man has ever known or ever can know. In a word Ruskin insisted that political economy should be made human.

Some of the more important reforms urged by Ruskin were the following:

He pleaded for better social environment for the people.

He pleaded for pure air for all.

He pleaded for sunshine for all.

He pleaded for better sanitary conditions for all.

He pleaded for streets less ugly.

He pleaded for such use of machinery as will free men and not enslave them.

He pleaded for commerce and trade to be conducted on the principle of the Golden Rule, so that both parties may be benefited by the exchange and not one alone.

He pleaded for a living wage—that is for such pay for labor as will allow the toiler to live and hold up his head and get some joy out of life, instead of being ground down to the earth like a slave.

He pleaded for greater freedom and privilege and a larger life for women.

He pleaded for schools which will really educate pupils instead of merely cramming them full of undigested knowledge; for a system of complete and comprehensive and thorough National Education in England in place of the then existing incomplete, patched-up, make-shift system, partly national and partly ecclesiastical, partly private and partly public.

He pleaded for a system of government workshops, so conducted as not to interfere with private enterprise but ensuring that men willing to work need never at any time fail of finding work to do by means of which they could earn bread for themselves and those dependent on them.

He pleaded for a system of old-age pensions.

He pleaded for decent homes for the working classes—homes in which health, morality and self-respect would be possible.

Such were some of the general social reforms that he was interested in, and he tried to wake up the nation to the importance of these.

Besides these, he undertook several movements of a more private kind, which he endeavored to inaugurate and carry out himself, or by means of his own money. One was a system of tenement reform in London, which was very successfully managed for many years by Miss Octavia Hill.

Another was the establishment of shops for the sale of unadulterated tea.

Another was the revival of certain village hand-industries which the introduction of machinery had driven or was driving out of existence.

Another was the establishment of a kind of fraternal and co-operative society known as Saint George's Guild.

Others were the creation of a Museum for Working Men at Sheffield, and the endowment of a Professorship of Drawing at Oxford.

Among his many public gifts, he presented valuable collections of pictures and murals to the British Museum in London and to Museums in Oxford and Cambridge. Ruskin inherited from his father a handsome fortune of some two-hundred-thousand pounds. Nearly all of this he gave away for objects of private or public beneficence. His annual income from his books was for many years four thousand pounds or more. Most of this, too, he gave away. His benevolence was not simply a thing of words, which are so cheap; it was a thing of deeds.

Thus was all Ruskin's work as an art teacher crowned and glorified by his work as a social and moral reformer. More and more the thought burned into his soul, like a hot iron, that the indispensable conditions of all true beauty and all high art, are intelligent, pure and happy human lives. And so with the zeal of an old Hebrew prophet he threw himself into the work

of regenerating the social and moral life of the English people.

* * * * *

When Ruskin entered upon his career of a social reformer, few understood him. As we have seen, he had attained splendid fame as an art-writer, a fame of which all England was proud. Why did he not continue to devote himself to art, and thus add still further to his fame, and bring still more glory to England? Why this turning aside,—especially to take up anything so unpopular as mere social and industrial reforms at that time? Among his admirers there was a very general feeling of disappointment, of dismay, in some quarters even of bitterness. Not a few who had been loudest in his praise, now became detractors. Many of his sincerest friends, who would not reproach or criticise, were simply silent, but it was a sorrowful silence. A few trusted him still, and took pains to read with care what he wrote, and find out really what his thought was, and the grounds for it. Some of these grew into sympathy with his new aims, and became his followers in the new field as they had been in the old.

By and by, too, he began to reach a wholly fresh class of minds;—minds to which his art writings had never appealed, but which were stirred deeply now, by his condemnation of the injustice and cruelty of the present industrial and social system, and his efforts to improve it.

And thus little by little he began to emerge out of the extreme unpopularity into which he had fallen, and his name began once more to be mentioned with some degree of respect and honor.

All this seems strange indeed to look back upon. We can hardly believe it possible that in the seventies and the early eighties his popularity, which had previously been so high, could have sunk so low. Through all that dark time, he stood firm. He grew irritable under the criticism heaped upon him. Sometimes he said unwise and even bitter things, stung by popular opposition, prejudice, misunderstanding, misrepresentation But he would not turn back. He believed he was right. Speak he would; he would compel the English people to hear, and he did compel them to hear. Many who were unable to go with him in all his ideas of social reform saw how high and noble were his motives and his ideals, and honored and loved him for these.

This experience of Ruskin is a very instructive one, illustrating, as it does, the fact that men who have led the world's reforms have had always to go forward in faith and courage, in spite of opposition, daring to stand comparatively alone, daring to be called hard names, and that only by such courage and fidelity does truth gain her victories and the world advance.

I must not for a moment be understood as representing Ruskin's social schemes as always sound or his social ideals as always practical. Few even of his warmest admirers claim that. I must not be understood as implying that all his plans and undertakings succeeded. Some did; some partly succeeded; others in the very nature of the case never could succeed. He was a dreamer, a dreamer of splendid dreams, as all great prophet-souls and all reformers of high type have to be. But dreaming dreams and carrying them to realization are far from the same thing.

Ruskin's most famous Utopia was his St. George's Guild. Its object as stated in its constitution was :

> "To buy land in England, and thereon to train into the healthiest and most refined life possible as many Englishmen, Englishwomen, and English children as the land we possess can maintain in comfort; to establish for them and their descendants a national store of continually augmenting wealth; and to organize the government of the persons, and administration of the properties, under laws which shall be just to all, and secure in their inviolable foundation on the law of God."

The Guild movement attracted wide attention. Nearly everybody confessed that it contained some fine features. But cool heads saw at once that it also contained others that were utterly impracticable. At first it drew a considerable following on account of the emience of its author; but long before his death he himself seems to have recognized that it was a failure and perhaps ought to be.

In most things Ruskin was ahead of his time. The best intelligence of England and of the world is more and more recognizing this. Even his most impractical dreams frequently pointed in the direction of something very good; they set people thinking in important new directions; and thus, even when immediately and directly they failed, eventually and indirectly they often bore valuable fruit. There is no denying that the whole politico-economic and socio-economic thinking and writing of England today is distinctly more humane, has more heart in it, is on a higher moral level, cares more for the people and their interests of every kind than would have been the case had not John Ruskin lived and written and fought his mighty battles. It is nothing less than amazing to discover how many of the most advanced and best of the social, political and industrial re-

forms that are being advocated today by the most enlightened sociologists, economists and industrialists of Europe and America were proposed and fought for seventy years ago by this great English Prophet and heroic Knight of the People.

Ruskin's nature was deeply religious and, everywhere in his writings and throughout his life, he puts a high valuation upon religion. As he advanced in years his religious views grew more broad and rational, more ethical and deeper.

At fifty he says of himself that his earlier writing on religious matters was largely if not wholly mistaken because he had been "educated in the doctrines of a narrow sect, and consequently had read history as obliquely (or in as distorted a way) as sectarians necessarily must." But in later life he broke away from the trammels of sectarianism, and his religion became broad and reasonable and in harmony with the most progressive thought.

When he organized his St. George's Company he drew up a creed, or statement of principles and ideals, which every one joining the Company was expected to subscribe to. It seems to me one of the simplest, clearest and best statements of practical religion that we have from any source, and therefore quite worth quoting here. It is as follows:

"1. I trust in the Living God, Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth. I trust in the kindness of His law and the goodness of His work. And I will strive to love Him, and keep His law, and see His work, while I live.

2. I trust in the nobleness of human nature. And I will strive to love my neighbor as myself, and even when I cannot, will act as if I did.

3. I will labor for my own daily bread; and all that my hand finds to do, I will do with my might.

4. I will not deceive, hurt, or rob any human being for my gain or pleasure.

5. I will not kill nor hurt any living creature needlessly, nor destroy any beautiful thing.

6. I will strive to raise my own body and soul daily into higher powers of duty and happiness.

7. I will obey all the laws of my country faithfully, so far as they are consistent with what I suppose to be the law of God."

Notice that this so-called creed is not simply a statement of what he thinks, or believes, but also of what he proposes to do, and the way he resolves to live.

The central thought of all Ruskin's teaching, religious and other, is that man is the one precious thing in this world,—man not property, man not gold or silver or precious gems,—not what man can handle but what man is.

Nowhere is his thought better expressed than in his own famous words:

"There is no wealth but life: life including all its powers of love, of joy, and of admiration.

That country is the richest which nourishes the greatest number of noble and happy human beings.

That man is the richest who, having perfected the functions of his own life to the utmost, has also the widest helpful influence, both personal and by means of his possessions, over the lives of others."

How such a conception of wealth as this, such a conception of the value of life and of man as this, if generally entertained, would lift up the whole world!

It will forever be Ruskin's glory that, great lover of beauty as he was, he could not rest in mere beauty of *things*. He must have beauty of *souls*. He labored with an ardor unsurpassed to fill England with beautiful pictures: but he labored with an ardor still deeper and more burning to fill England with beautiful souls; and, as we have seen, to teach England that the indispensable condition of beautiful and high art is *beautiful and noble lives*. Higher aim than this no man ever had. Nobler work than this no man ever did.

God spared Ruskin until life's full day was rounded to its natural evening. When word flew over England that his end had come, a voice like the sound of many waters was heard, coming from the multitudes that loved him, praying that the nation's illustrious son might find his last resting place in sacred Westminster—the nations's Valhalla. But no, it was not to be so. And plainly it was more fitting that he should sleep amid his beloved mountains and woods and shining waters, in England's beautiful Lake District which he loved and where his home had been so long. His green and peaceful bed by the side of Coneston Lake—the blue water so dear to him—adds one more to England's sacred shrines. Long will his grave be a place of double pilgrimage. Lovers of art and beauty from many lands will visit it as the resting place of this great apostle of beauty and writer on art. Lovers of humanity will seek it out as a shrine because it is the spot where lies all that was mortal of one who spared not himself, but gave his life for others.

WANTED--A LEADER

By Major D. Graham Pole

Someone asked me once, when we were discussing present day politicians, why is it that the good people are always stupid and the clever ones are always devils! People who follow public affairs must often have asked themselves that—and it sticks out a mile when you come to compare present day Prime Ministers with present day Dictators.

Indeed one is often tempted to think that our so-called leaders in France and Britain are all living in a fool's paradise. They are so full of reasons for inaction. Thus if the figures for employment generally have improved they act or rather fail to act as if employment in a depressed area were improving also (though it has not altered one iota and the people there are still dying on their feet as all but the Government politicians can see). Or if war breaks out in Spain they pretend they can localise the conflagration by putting forward a policy of non-intervention (when the only people who do not want to intervene are themselves.) So the unemployed go on starving until they begin a hunger march to Westminster and on their way make such an impression on the towns they pass through that the Government discovers after all that there must be something exceptional in their predicament. And this war drags on and on with Britain and France non-intervening, and Italy and Germany and finally Russia all intervening, and Germany making contact with Russia's inveterate enemy Japan, until one day the politicians may wake up and find the world ablaze from Gibraltar to Vladivostock . . .

But, they say, intervention means War. Non-intervention may in the end lead to war, but perhaps a miracle may happen and war be averted. In any event, the longer war is put off the more time we have to get ready to meet it.

O they of little faith! Because the truth is that the democratic Powers could, if they took their courage in both hands and grasped their opportunities, put an end to the Dictators' war game. The one thing that they have, and the dictators have not, is money. It is the appalling poverty that they have created, and the sullen discontent spreading in its wake, that is pushing on these dictators to the last gamble --War. Italians said openly that they must have Abyssinia so that they could raise foreign credits on the security of the undeveloped resources in that country. (And our purblind city financiers are considering making them the loans they want.) The Germans very shortly are embarking on a similar expansionist policy in Central and Eastern Europe. And again our city financiers are quite prepared to consider German loans—although to lend any money to Germany at the present time is nothing more or less than to help to finance her rearmament.

In private life bankers do not lend money without satisfying themselves as to the honesty and good intentions of their clients. Credit, they are apt to remark smugly, is nothing else but *character*. Why then do we not make it perfectly plain that we will not lend money to dictatorships? Why do we not go further and drive their credit down, as we could do, so long as they go about the world spreading oppression and suspicion and misery and war? We are so afraid of being harsh to anyone. But there comes a time when politeness and Christian forbearance looks very like supping with the Devil.

France, Britain, and America joined hands recently in a currency agreement. They showed that the three great democracies could act just as swiftly in a good cause as the dictatorships can in a bad one. They also showed that democracy, after all, is still more prosperity-making than dictatorship. Why don't they cash in on that? The dictators are always saying what they think. Let Britain, France, and America, for a change, say what they think about *their* way of living...

It is never any use being timid. Paying the Danes to stay away used to be a familiar figure of speech...And history, on the other hand, has shown over and over again that when anyone is bold enough to come forward, and take a stand on principle, support is forthcoming from any quarters. If France and Britain and America took the lead in the interests of peace, and common good to all, they might find the face of the world was changing. Small powers and people have to be on the winding side—but if democracy were

in the ascendant they would be drawn towards democracy too. At present they are being offered the extremes of either Fascism or Communism. Why don't we try to get them and the world out of the dilemma by offering the third alternative—democracy? It is no use trying to stave off war until we are more ready to meet it. We shall never be ready and the next war will never end.

It isn't as if Germany or Italy or Japan ever wanted peace for a single instant. Japan never stops making war on China. She keeps on refusing to accept Russia's offer of a non-aggression Treaty. Italy has got Abyssinia and is now out for an Italian Mediterranean. And in Germany, as people who have watched the position there will tell you, strategic roads are being made to all the frontiers. In this connection I would like to suggest that everyone should read a book called *Europe under the Terror* (by John Spivak and published by Gollancz). In that he points out that three diplomats have told him about these roads. These roads "are being built for a secret 'land battleship' which Germany has and which requires such roads." Are they indeed—and what a horrible fancy this 'land battleship' conjures up! No wonder the writer adds impatiently: "The diplomats know this. They know that the Nazis have vast numbers of planes, that the Nazis have this and that—and knowing all this, and infinitely more, they sit around waiting for the war to start that will make the last holocaust look like child's-play."

One feels full of pity for Germany's neighbours who may soon see this land battleship crashing over their fields. Italy and Germany are planning some coup in Central Europe at this very moment. Italy is encouraging Hungary in her revisionist demands and Italy and Germany, now in an unreal allignment with Austria who has every reason to hate them both, are saying untrue things about Czecho-Slovakia. Czecho-Slovakia, they say, is "going Bolshevik." That it seems is their habitual view of any State they would like to injure. They said it of Poland when Poland showed signs of drawing closer again to France.

But of course, if Germany and Italy go on troubling the waters, every Power they seek to injure will in fact "go Bolshevik" sooner or later. Just as Spain has done. If Fascists try to set up Fascists in other countries, the Governments of those countries will go Bolshevik—if they find out, as Spain found out, that the Bolsheviks were the only people who would help them. They may begin by being democracies threatened by Fascists, but if the democratic Powers will not come to their succour, and only the Bolsheviks will, then, of course, the Left wing of their democratic Government will become more extreme and in the end, unless the Fascists helped by Facists from outside win the day, obtain the upper hand.

All this the democratic Powers must expect if they persist in playing Pilate's game of Non-Intervention. Only if they support democratic government in a threatened country, support it while it is still democratic, will that country's independence and democracy survive.

It is a pity, incidentally, that France invented that misleading term Non-Intervention. It is so easy for people who won't face facts to argue that non-intervention is the right course because no one, no country, should of course intervene in the affairs of another country. But the point, which they will never try to see, is that there is no such thing as passive Non-Intervention. Non-Intervention, if it is to succeed, means policing the seas and the roads and the air . . . It is better from the very beginning to think neither of war nor of non-intervention—but of some other means, of which the most obvious is finance—and, above all, to try to introduce a new turn into an embittered situation.

The democracies might suggest, for instance, an economic truce as well as a truce in armaments.

We must never forget, or if we do we shall ourselves take the consequences some day, that everyone, everywhere, who resists oppression, who allows himself to be judicially murdered in a dictator's summary court, rather than submit to the passing tyranny, is fighting *everybody's* battle...

In this connection there is one thing at the present time for which we must give thanks. The Nobel Prize Committee has awarded the Peace Prize for 1935 to the German pacifist Carl von Ossietsky. Carl von Ossietsky is now in a Berlin hospital. Years of torment and ill-treatment in a Nazi prison have destroyed his health though not his spirit.....But the point is that the Committee, unlike present day democratic Governments, has had the guts to show what it thinks even if General Goering, and all the rest of the oppressors, don't like it and pretend it is an "insult" to the new Germany. (But many people in Germany of course will hold up their heads and gather up a little more courage. Dictators can be fought in

so many ways— and a moral affirmation like the award of the Peace Prize, an award attested by the signatures of distinguished people in every non-Fascist country, is one very good way).

But to get back to the increasing menace of war, it will be remembered that in his book, *Mein Kampe*, Herr Hitler stated that war upon Russia was part of Nazi policy and that the land they were after was the Ukraine. More recently, of course, he has said it over again, remarking at a public meeting, what he could do, what Germany could do, if it had the resources which Russia has. (Later he said he was only saying "if," but why say "if"!)

The Ukraine, it seems, has the one thing which Dictators, with a cracking economic situation at home, are for ever trying to find: rich natural resources upon which foreign credits can be raised. "It produces 75 per cent of the coal mined in the U.S.S.R.; the same percentage of iron; 85 per cent of the nation's sugar and 35 per cent of its total grain crop. In addition it is first in production of electric power. In 1932 cotton was grown for the first time.....There are now 400,000 acres under this crop and as a consequence the U.S.S.R. no longer requires to import cotton." And, if any further reason were wanting to show why the Ukraine rages in the Nazi imagination like a fever in the blood, here it is: "In area the country is nearly as large as Germany. In the combined wealth of its mineral and agricultural resources, it far exceeds that country."

Is the Ukraine, then, doomed? Probably. The All-Union Congress of Soviets has been meeting in Moscow. The Assistant Chief of the Soviet Air Force told them that, in the event of war, "the Kremlin will manage to possess an air fleet bigger than the combined air forces of Germany, Italy and Japan." So, when war comes, it will be war *a outrance*. Because of course these claims mean nothing. Every dictator bent on war will imagine that he is superior to his enemy. (The German Government, moreover, misinformed by its servants in this country, believes that the British Empire is as afraid of Communism as it is. It flatters itself with the dream that when it attacks Russia in the West Britain will rejoice to see it's ally, Japan, attack Russia in the Far East—rejoice to see these militarist tyrannies "saving" the world and the British Empire from the "Communist menace"!)

The All-Union Congress of Soviets, one might add, were not told anything that might suggest that the Ukraine could be defended against the monster land battleships to which reference was made earlier in this article. These battleships must surely have been invented to meet the special nature of the Ukraine. For the Ukraine is part of a great European plain "and lacks all natural frontiers in the West."

Well-intentioned politicians, especially those of the Liberal side, go about deploring all this war talk and expressing their conviction that war can be averted. The Dictators can over-run defenceless Abyssinia, they say, or make havoc in backward Spain, but they will never take on an equal and well-armed Power. (Eloquent comment this, anyway, on the chivalry of Messrs. Mussolini and Hitler). Says Professor Gilbert Murray today, in a pamphlet published by the League of Nations Union, "They will not expose their own capitals to destruction and their industry to paralysis by well-armed counter-attacks."

But isn't that a very unsafe assumption? It is based, after all, on the assumption that Dictators are rational human beings. But if they were, they would not be Dictators..... Dictators, any kind of spectacular patriots in fact, care nothing at all for their capitals in comparison with what they imagine to be national prestige. So long as, at the end of a given war, it is they who have won and they who impose the peace, they do not care if there is only a desert left to make peace in. As Tacitus remarked for all time: They make a desert and call it peace.

If Germany cared anything for capital cities, anything for the history and character and art which make them up, would she be making a desert now of Madrid? At home would she be traducing the teaching of history, traducing the conception of art, by insisting that they must serve merely as propaganda for National Socialism. A nation which can banish a distinguished Professor for refusing to teach that the Japanese are Aryans; can issue a decree, as it did last week, that art critics must not be critics any more but only report what is on view, does not care a fig for imperilling their own or anyone's capital "when honour's at the stake"!

Italy, beautiful Italy, is full of old capitals of the old city-states. But if Signor Mussolini cared at all for these things would he, as he did a fortnight ago, as good as look forward to the day when Italy can fight Great Britain in the Mediterranean. No, evidently, it would mean nothing to him if Venice were bombed into the sea, or if Florence were blown to dust. For that is what modern war does. A bomb does not shatter the place where it falls. The shattered places you see in pictures are the places

near where it fell. Where it falls the building vanishes away altogether in dust, as I saw many times at the front in the Great War.

So when well-intentioned people tell us that no one will make war because the risks are too great, they are living in just as much of a fool's paradise as those politicians who believe that the way to prevent war is to pile up armaments. In fact, when you come to think of it, aren't they both using the same argument?

No. The only way to prevent war is to strive might and main to give a new and better turn to events.

The form which this turn might take was suggested in a speech made by a woman the other day. Except for Miss Ellen Wilkinson, who in season and out of season has drawn attention to the plight of the unemployed in the distressed areas, women in Parliament don't seem to say much that is of much use these days But not all the most suitable women are in Parliament. Lady Layton, for instance, has been doing some useful speaking outside. As she sees it the problem of unemployment and the problem of war can each be met along the same lines. With each it is a matter of expansion. The prosperity of Wales, Lancashire and the Tyneside, has been destroyed by tariffs. And tariffs are the fruit of that evil doctrine of national self-sufficiency that first makes a nation shut itself up behind tariffs and then arms it to the teeth against the day when it can set out to conquer fresh markets. "If," said Lady Layton, "we could realise the immense power this country had in freeing markets we could do more than any pacts or treaties!" And she went on to suggest that we should try to form a low-tariff group.....

It is harder to get people to think bravely about tariffs than it is to get them to think bravely about anything else. There are none so blind as those who won't see. Even trade unionists, who are or should be used to "thinking internationally," develop a blind eye when it is a question of taking a tariff off their own particular industry. But tariffs give the lie to any effort we may make at Geneva or elsewhere to bring peace.

Earlier in this article I suggested that the democratic Powers should bring economic pressure to bear on the Dictators. But how can we use the economic weapon—either to bring pressure on Dictators or to offer them an inducement to seek ways of peaceful expansion—if the world is closed to them by tariffs and quotas and heaven knows what-all.

And we have to face the fact that the British Empire is the world's greatest obstructionist in these matters these days. The Beaverbrooks and the Chamberlains have tried to throw a network of imperial preference over the Empire. To throw a network, that is over more than half of the world.....No wonder it is so difficult to make any headway at Geneva. (And the tragedy is that we have not done any good to unemployment in this country. Trade has not returned to the depressed areas: if the figures for employment generally have improved it is merely because *new* trades have sprung up in the south, sprung up behind these same tariffs to add to the general confusion.) Indeed in such a muddle are Protectionist apologists at the present time that you actually hear them saying that industry in the south must somehow go to the rescue of the depressed areas because the depressed areas are in one aspect but the price of the new prosperity in the south.....! A good example of the havoc and confusion tariffs set up. Putting on a tariff here and there is, in the long run, but to carry out the precept of Brer Rabbit: "When things get mixed, mix them a little more."...

No. What the world wants today is a leader. But the Baldwins are too slow and the Churchills and the Lloyd Georges, who have the verve, have political records which many people bark at. Perhaps the initiative will come from across the Atlantic. Because, after all, the nation which gave democracy the Gettysberg speech might well have an answer for the Dictators.

1st December, 1936.



CHHOTA BHARAT

By J. R. de LINGEN, M.A.,
Professor at the Royal College, Port Louis, Mauritius

No one who has been in Mauritius for the last fifteen years can fail to be struck by two things. First: the heroism and adaptability with which the Indian population has stood the last decade of economic distress and physical privation; and secondly: the growing vigour of the revival of national pride and confidence.

For the student of psychology, such an observation is a fascinating experience. For the lover of humanity, nothing can be more luminous with hope and sheer delight.

The Indians came to Mauritius as indentured labour a hundred years ago. With the exception of a very few Kshattriya families and of a few Vaishya traders, jewellers, and grain-merchants, only field-labourers were absorbed by the colony for a couple of generations. Be it said, however, to the everlasting credit of Brahmins, that when they realized that this increasing population would be left without any religious teaching, a prey to the foreign missionary,—numbers of them likewise came over as indentured labourers. The original immigration laws accepted only people who bound themselves over to many years of field-work; and the conditions in the 19th century were cruelly severe. Yet, as I say, Brahmins came over, to till the fields all day long, in tropical sun and rain, and then to teach, console, and pray, after sunset and before dawn.

The result of this noble sacrifice—for many of them worked themselves to death in a few years—was that today beautiful shrines and temples can be seen all over the island. Also, that after a century of proselytizing effort on the part of other communities, and in spite of by no means equitable pressure on the part of many employers, we can safely say, that hardly one per cent of the Indian population have abandoned their ancestral faith. And of these, nearly all are drawn from the Tamil- and the Telugu-speaking people, who, for some reason or other, have had hardly any Brahmins from the outset, and among whom, in consequence, the missionaries have had a success which all lovers of Indian tradition must lament.

In a total population of some 400,000, the Hindus in Mauritius number about a quarter of a million, and the Moslems, somewhat over fifty thousand. As to the few thousands of Christian Indians, it is almost impossible to estimate their number exactly, since the Census returns merely declare them as 'Mauritians,'—which means that they have been absorbed by the mulatto element, and lost to their race and motherland. For the loyal Indians, Bharat is still the great and holy Mother, and this island —an earthly paradise of beauty and fertility,—is "Chhota Bharat," a small India overseas.

During the century of exile from the greater Homeland, the Indian community has been sadly cut off from all its intellectual currents, and has found mental pabulum almost exclusively in the West. Even the Vernaculars suffered opposition for nearly three generations; and their teaching in the schools has only recently been legalized. This makes it all the more remarkable that Hindi is still so widely spoken and understood: for other nationalities—like the Danes in England and the Norsemen in France—lost every trace of their tongue in half the time. Tamil and Telugu, for the reason already given, have resisted less well. But even here, we notice a change.

The recent advent of the Vocal Films has synchronised with a rising flame of enthusiasm for all things Indian. Perhaps, indeed, it brought fuel to this flame. And now, in all the more important Indian families in Mauritius, old and young are taking pains to master their ancestral tongue.

The number of Indian professional men is comparatively small in Mauritius; but it is surprisingly large when we consider the almost superhuman efforts that they have had to make as the sons or grandsons of penniless field-labourers. And, whereas men of other nationality who rise thus, can never quite succeed in shaking off traces of the *parvenu*, the Indian professionals have the ease and native polish of men of ancient lineage who have found their own level again, after a period of only temporary stress.

Indian Women in Chhota Bharat would require a chapter to themselves. They are the worthy descendants of the Draupadis and the Sitas of their motherland. Perhaps, taken all

in all, they are more conservative than their homeland sisters. Thus Purdah is observed much more, and they take no part in public life. Unfortunately far too little has been done for their education; and in well-to-do families the difference in mental equipment of the boys and the girls is being recognized as something disastrous that must at all costs be remedied. Hardly a day passes without some new effort in this direction.

But we must underline the fact, that with all their handicaps, the Hindu women of Mauritius are even now the greatest moral and religious force that exists in the colony.

Aesthetically, too, they are incomparable. For by the grace of Providence they have been led to refuse to westernize their raiment; and the introduction of Japanese silks and rayons of dazzling colour has enabled all but the very poorest to outshine even the tropical flowers with the hues of their saris.

A happy event for the community has been the founding this year, of the Indian Cultural Association. It has made its debut with a lecture on Rabindranath Tagore, at which most of the intellectuals of all nationalities represented in the colony were present. Lectures on Vivekananda, Sarojini Naidu, and other great contemporaries, are scheduled to take place in due course.

Some of the most eminent personages in India have become honorary members of the Association; and in the course of time the link with the great Motherland should become increasingly intimate and lifegiving. For a rapprochement with Bharat and her immemorial yet evernew culture, is one of the main objects of the Association.

A detailed history of the Indians in Mauritius will soon be published. It should make inspiring reading as the record of the heroic efforts of a heroic people, who, toiling for a century, have attained a success that is as noble as it is well-earned.

For, coming here empty-handed, they have by sheer force of labour acquired nearly one-half of the arable surface of the island. Coming, as they did, in humility and ignorance, they can now hold their own in the literary and intellectual fields, with any other community in the land. And the curve of their Karma seems an ascending one. Even in the last fifteen years observers have noticed a difference in the ring of their voices, a change in their gait and bearing. Is it the new life of India that is being felt here beyond two thousand miles of ocean? Or is it that the separation of a century is being transcended in mind and soul? We can but conclude in the words of one of their latest writers, B. M Singh :

> "Too long have we, Indo-Mauritians drifted away from the Homeland. Too long have we turned our backs upon her profound philosophy of peace and gladness, to copy Western ways and Western mechanistic creeds. We feel now that our mental exile is drawing to a close; and we too are, as it were, on the homeward journey."

SOME ASPECTS OF GOLD IN INDIA

By UMES CHANDRA DAS, M.A.

SINCE England went off the gold standard in September, 1931, India, the traditional importer of gold, entered the market as a seller of the yellow metal. Since that date till July last, Rs. 278,25,68,467 worth of gold has left the shores of India. India had never been a principal producer of gold, neither is she so now, nor is she expected to be so in future. One might wonder how this huge quantity of gold could find shelter in India, where was it so long and with whom.

No gold was brought into India from beyond its borders, as gold was brought into Europe from America in the sixteenth century by conquest or rapine. A large portion of what India possesses was obtained by the exchange of such of her productions, as among the Indians were superfluities, but were at the same time not only highly prized by the nations of western Asia, Egypt and Europe and were obtainable from no other quarter except India, or from the further East by means of the Indian trade. The rest of the Indian store of the precious metals came from sources of supply in parts of Asia beyond India and a small portion from the mines in the country itself.

The antiquity of the trade of India is the surest measure of its importance and of the volume of the precious metals which was continuously rolling on to its shores. During thirty

centuries, Phœnicians, Jews, Assyrians Greeks, Egyptians and Romans in the ancient world and Turks, Venitians, Portuguese, Dutch and English in modern times, have carried on a commerce with India. The industrious and simple habits of the people, a genial climate and a fertile soil rendered them independent of foreign nations in respect of the necessaries of life, while their secondary wants were few. Of the latter, tin, lead, glass, amber, steel for arms and perhaps coral and to a small extent medicinal drugs, complete the list of imports from Europe and western Asia, while Arabia supplied frankincense for use in the temples. On the other hand, India provided Europe with wool from the fleeces of sheep bred on the mountain range which formed its north-western limit, an article of commerce as famous in the days of Alexander the Great as it is now. The same region supplied the onyx, chalcedony lapis lazuli and jasper then esteemed as precious stones, a resinous gum (similar apparently to the shellac of our own days), furs, assafœtida and musk, embroidered woollen fabrics and coloured carpet, which were as highly prized in Babylon and Rome, as their modern reproductions in London and Paris at the present day. But the most valuable of the exports of India was silk, which is said, under the Persian Empire, to have been exchanged by weight with gold. It was manufactured in India, as well as obtained for re-export from China. Next in value to silk ranked cotton cloths, ranging from coarse canvas and calicoes to muslins of the finest texture. Oils, brassware, a liquid preparation of the sugar-cane, salt, drugs and dyes, certain aromatics, used by the ancients in mortuary and religious ceremonies, were produced from various parts of the country, while pepper, cinnamon and other edible spices were in so great request and therefore of such high value in mediaeval and modern Europe, as to give the name the spice trade to this portion of the commerce with India.

Under these circumstances the balance of trade would clearly be in favour of India and that could only be settled by treasure exported from Europe or other parts of Asia which were commercially indebted to her. India desired nothing which foreigners could give her but the precious metals. Of gold and silver, India was in need, and in one age of the world the redundant treasures of the silver mines of Spain, Attica and Thrace and of the gold bearing rocks of Media, Southern Arabia and Ethiopia as well as gold dust gathered from the beds of the streams of Lydia, and in another age the mineral wealth of Peru and Brazil passed in large quantities into India in exchange for such merchandise, as that country and her neighbours in the East unfailingly supplied.

Thus gold has been flowing into the country from the very earliest times and estimates as to the actual quantity of the metal in the country, differ according to different authorities. Delmar in his *History of the Precious Metals* estimated that gold to the value of £112,062,500 sterling went to the East from Europe and America between the years 1565 and 1809. From 1810 to 1831 the estimates are formed on statistics published by Jacob and Macgregor and from 1832 to 1835 they are desired so far as concerns India, from official reports published by the British Silver Commission of 1876. How much of this India took and how much China, it is not possible to say, but having regard to the comparative importance of the trade of the two countries with Europe, it is not too much to assume that 70 millions of this treasure was the share which India appropriated and retained. From the year 1835 onwards we have reliable statistics compiled by the Indian Government, of the movements of the precious metals to and from India. There can be no doubt that any gold treasure taken away by invaders, such as that carried off by Mahmood of Ghazni in the eleventh century and by Nadir Shah in 1738, was only an insignificant fraction of the stock then held by the country.

Even in the twentieth century the flow of treasures into the country has not been retarded, and though we have got to pay large sums of money for the benefits of British rule, there has been a continuous flow of gold into the country. The following figures show clearly the influx of treasure from year to year :—

Year	Excess of export	Payments for foreign obligations	Import of treasure
	(*In crores of Rs.*)		
1909-10	.. 66	35	31
1910-11	.. 76	44	32
1911-12	.. 84	35	49
1912-13	.. 80	29	51
*	*	*	*
1930	.. 70	44	26

It has often been asked where is the metal lying in India? It is neither used here in the currency nor is it to be found in the vaults of the banks. India is said to be a "sink of precious metals" and Indian women, "moving mines." The statement is not very far from the truth. Owing to illiteracy and want of easy communication, banking habits are not fully developed among the Indians. Gold and silver

serve as reserves in times of emergency; thus they lie in hoards and are used as ornaments by women. But India, as every body knows, is proverbially poor; most of her people find scarcely sufficient cloth to cover their bodies To them gold ornaments are myths and objects of dream. It is the upper and the middle classes who can and do afford the luxury of gold ornaments, but they are in an infinitesimal minority. The allegation of "moving mines" is true only in respect of the bourgeoisie.

It has already been said that India began to be an exporter of treasures since September 1931. Though to the economist gold is a relic of the barbarous age, from practical experience we are fully justified in the conclusion that gold still retains the prestige of its smell and colour. Following the American boom, England noticed with alarm the depletion of gold in the vaults of the Bank of England owing to the withdrawal by France and America. She immediately hastened to a remedy and with a sigh of relief freed herself from the shackles of gold. As a consequence the English sterling was under-valued in terms of gold and this can easily be measured by comparing the rates of exchange between England and U. S. A. In 1934, America devalued her dollar to 66% of its former value. The par of exchange between England and U. S. A. in the days of automatic (?) gold standard was 4·86 dollars to the pound. After the devaluation the rate of exchange ought to have been 7·36; but the market rate of exchange during these two years is in the neighbourhood of 5 dollars. There has, therefore, been more than 40% inflation of currency in England. India being a political dependency of England and as a major portion of her foreign trade is carried on with England, could not disturb her foreign trade and has linked her rupee to the pound sterling at 1s. 6*d*. She is said to have been wedded to that ratio and will stick to it like a devoted Hindu wife, notwithstanding ups and downs in the value of England's currency ! Thus with British sterling Indian rupee has also been undervalued in terms of gold and there is no wonder gold is being sold in India at more than Rs. 34 per tola. This tempting price caused the owners of gold to sell away their reserves and that also in dire necessity to keep the body and soul together. During the years 1931 and 1932 there had been an exodus of treasures to the value of Rs. 26·50 crores and Rs. 74·04 crores respectively.

It is sometimes said that in the transaction, India, owing to the high price she receives, is the gainer. But as has already been said, the owners of the metal are the bourgeoisie. They certainly gain, but at the cost of the starving millions. The gold that is exported goes to pay for the imports. Had there been no efflux of gold these imports would have been paid by raw materials produced in India. By the simple law of demand and supply, Indian peasants would have got more for their produce and this huge amount of Rs. 278 crores together with the normal influx would have been distributed among the peasants of the country. As more than 80% of the population depend directly or indirectly on the soil, this would have enriched the mass of the people It has sometimes been argued that price of raw materials, such as wheat is regulated by world conditions and Indian peasants would gain nothing by stoppage in the export of gold But it may be said with equal reason that had there been no export of treasures there would have been less imports of manufactured goods and that would have served indirectly as a protection to Indian manufactures, at the same time, there would have been more food for the hungry millions owing to less export of raw materials. Thus a ban on the export of gold is to be supported not on the mercantilist principles of the seventeenth century, but on the sound economic principles of greatest good for the greatest number.



WITCHCRAFT LAW IN ENGLAND

By SUKUMAR HALDAR

A STATUTE defining and punishing witchcraft was passed in 1606 during the reign of King James I. It was in the good old days when the power of religion was at its zenith. The period is known to pious people as the Age of Faith and to others as the Dark Ages. The statute for the suppression of witches was based on the Divine law: "Those shalt not suffer a witch to live." The law is stated in Exodus XXII. Thousands of old, feeble, ill-favoured, though perfectly innocent, women were tortured and put to death in Christendom under the Divine law promulgated through Moses the law-giver. The Pope of Rome in 1484 encouraged the Inquisition to take action to enforce the law against witches. The Protestants were no less zealous in giving effect to the law. It has been estimated that 300,000 persons were put to death as witches in two hundred years. The Dean of Manchester, speaking at the Church Congress in 1919, said:

> "One of the most painful pages in the history of the Christian Church was the record of the treatment of witchcraft in obedience to a plain precept of the Old Testament. The Old Testament necromancer was probably not far removed from the witch-doctor of modern Africa, and was a[illegible] a person."

The eminent English historian, Lecky, has said:

> "It is impossible to leave the history of witchcraft without reflecting how vast an amount of suffering has, in at least this respect, been removed by the progress of a rationalistic civilization."

The English law against witches remained in force for 130 years when it was repealed in 1736 in the reign of George II. The current year (1936) marks the bi-centenary of that reform. The repeal met with strong denunciation from pious people and the clergy. It was condemned forthwith by the Eastern Presbytery of Scotland as an "infraction of the Word of God;" and the evangelist, John Wesley, the founder of the Methodist Church, thought fit, in 1768, to enter a religious protest against the growing tendency among the "English in general and men of learning in Europe to treat stories of witches and apparitions as mere old wive's fables, for giving up witchcraft was in effect giving up the Bible." To John Wesley and other pious Christians disbelief in witchcraft was accounted atheism. In Ireland the superstition survived to a very late period, for the laws against witchcraft (as we learn from *The Great Physician* published by Watts, London, in 1924, the author being Mr. W. R. Donough, at one time a distinguished Barrister practising in the Calcutta High Court) were not entirely repealed till 1821.

The belief in witchcraft has been truly described as "one of the blackest superstitions which have ever defaced the human mind." Lecky has, on the authority of Pitcairn, given an account in his *History of Rationalism* of a horrible trial which took place in Scotland in the reign of James VI, at the instance of the King himself. The victim was one Dr. Fian, who was charged with causing a storm through the agency of Satan, during the King's voyage from Denmark. He was first subjected to "every form of torture," under the personal supervision of His Majesty. "The bones of his legs were broken into small pieces in the boot," and finally, on the King's suggestion, the nails of all his fingers were torn off with pincers and needles inserted in the quick. As he still refused to confess, he was burned alive. This exemplary King ascended the throne of England as James I. It was in his reign that two important events took place—the passing of the special statute against witchcraft and the translation of the Bible known as the "authorised version."

Lord Campbell, L.C., has stated that on a trial of two women in 1664, Chief Baron Hale charged the Jury thus:

> "That there are such creatures as witches I make no doubt at all, for first the Scriptures have affirmed so much, secondly the wisdom of all nations hath provided laws against such persons which is an argument of their confidence of such a crime."

This learned Judge sentenced the accused to death in compliance with the English statute, fulfilling at the same time the law of Moses. So high at this period was the power of religion in England that Sir Thomas Browne, an eminent physician of his day, but a believer in witchcraft, gave expert evidence in the case in support of the charge.

Authentic historical records furnish proof of the inhuman persecution that raged in Europe for fifteen hundred years against those who had the misfortune to be suspected of witchcraft or sorcery. Lecky's conclusions on those times are summarised thus :

"The predisposition to believe in the miraculous was so great that it constructed out of a few natural facts this vast and complicated system of witchcraft, accumulated round it an immense mass of the most varied and circumstantial evidence, persuaded all the ablest men for many centuries that it was incontestably true, conducted it unshaken through the law courts of every European nation and consigned tens of thousands to a fearful and unlamented death. There was not the smallest desire to explain away or soften down miraculous accounts in order to make them harmonise with experience, because the minds of men were completely inbued with an order of ideas that had no connection with experience."

They have likewise been aptly described by Tyndall as follows :

"Lacking that rock-barrier of natural knowledge that we now possess, keen jurists and cultivated men were hurried on to deeds the bare recital of which makes the blood run cold. Skilled in all the rules of human evidence, and versed in all the arts of cross-examination, these men, nevertheless, went systematically astray, and committed the deadliest wrongs against humanity. And why? Because they could not put nature into the witness-box, and question her—of her voiceless testimony they knew nothing. In all cases between man and man their judgment was to be relied on; but in all cases between man and nature they were blind leaders of the blind."

Some of the worst crimes against justice (as Sir Norman Angell has stated in *The Fruits of Victory*) have been due to the very fierceness of our passion for righteousness—a passion so fierce that it becomes indiscriminating and unseeing. It was the passion for what men believed to be religious truth (Sir Norman goes on to say) which gave us the Inquisition and the religious wars.

This affords an instance of the great persistence of irrational beliefs in communities in which faith in religious dogmas has a firm hold. It affords an illustration also of the great difficulty experienced by reformers in eradicating superstition. Although the English law against witches was repealed in 1736, disbelief in witches continued to be regarded as atheism. At a time when belief in witchcraft was bound up with faith in Christianity, an English Judge who did not believe in witchcraft had to pander to the prevailing faith in order to avoid the peril of being denounced as an atheist. Roger North has thus put the case against the judges in his *Life of Guildford* :

"If a judge is so clear and open as to declare against that impious vulgar opinion . . . and the like errors of the ignorant and foolish rabble, the countrymen cry 'This judge hath no religion, for he doth not believe in witches,' and so, to show they have some, hang the poor wretches."

Few would be inclined to admit that there can be too much of so excellent a thing as spirituality or religion. But an examination of the world's history would show very clearly that excess of zeal in religion has produced more bitterness and spite than excess of zeal in any other human concern. Thus we find a good Christian like the Rev. Dr. J. DuPlessis, D.D., D.LITT., of the Stellenbosch University, ascribing to God the colour prejudice felt by white Christians towards the native races of Asia, America and Africa. This pious Christian wrote in the *International Review of Missions* :

"Ought we not to regard this racial prejudice which is so persistent and ineradicable, as fulfilling a distinct function in the Divine Order?"

The Rev. Dr. Thomas Arnold, the eminent Christian, has said :

"In a world made up of Christians and non-Christians, the latter should have no rights."

He expressed his earnest desire that the British Parliament should, while doing away with distinctions between Christian and Christian, keep up distinctions between Christians and non-Christians. The Right Hon. James Bryce, D.C.L., observes in his *Studies in History and Jurisprudence* :

"To the Teutonic peoples, and especially to the English and Anglo-Americans, the difference of colour means a great deal. It creates a feeling of separation, perhaps even of slight repulsion. Such a feeling may be deemed unreasonable or un-Christian, but it seems too deeply rooted to be effaced in any time we can foresee."

The Christian attitude is based on the teaching of the Word of God. Christians read in 2 Cor., VI. that there can be no brotherhood between Christians and non-Christians :

"Be ye not unequally yoked together with unbelievers : for what fellowship hath righteousness with un-righteousness? And what communion hath light with darkness? And what concord hath Christ with Belial? Or what part hath he that believeth with an infidel?"

"GREAT RESOLUTION"

BY K. P. JAYASWAL

'*Either I will discover the truth* (the cause of human suffering) *or my body shall perish,*' was the momentous resolve which the Sakyasimha Gautama made when he took his seat under the Pipal tree at Bodh Gaya. This undertaking he called Mother Earth to witness—a sacred form of oath current at the time. This Scene of Promise was regarded as a turning-point in the destiny of humanity by Indian artists and was sought to be pictured in stone and metal. The scene is called "the Great Resolution."

Masters of iconography fixed the motif, and individual artists tried their chisel at imparting the spiritual import to their individual executions. In the Pala period there was a regular philosophy of iconography, discussed and developed by Buddhist monks, which fact is specifically noted in the *Manjusri-Mulakalpa* We have as the result of their philosophic plastics a number of bronze figures, now discovered at Kurkihar and Nalanda. To the family of the art of Kurkihar and Nalanda belongs the sculpture on the subject of the Great Resolution which I am reproducing here.

Lady Holmwood, 21, Courtfield Road, London, owns the piece which is in black stone of Gaya the favourite material of the Pala artists. It is about two feet in height. The Magadhan artist has been so successful in his reproduction of the *Great Resolution* that even a non-Buddhist cannot easily take off his eyes from the figure. You see it several times and you are not satiated. With the full sense of responsibility, with the majesty of a hero, with a perfect body and health the resolve is made; the Lord is touching the earth in his vow. The observer is made to realize the supreme moment He is struck at once with awe and hope.

The surrounding figures show the contrast. To the right of Gautama in Great Resolution is his Mother as seen at the birth of the Prophet; to the left, Gautama as a Sakya noble sitting in a chair; by the sides of his shoulders, the Buddha preaching his first sermon; above it, the Buddha returning from the Heaven after preaching to his mother; and on the top, the Buddha after attaining Nirvana.

There is an inscription in Pala characters recording the pious formula. Below, between two lions, we see the donor with his wife to his right. Above the halo round the head of the chief figure there are three leaves in a bow, symbolising the Bodhi tree.

As the piece is unique, marking the zenith of the Pala art, I requested for and obtained from Lady Holmwood a photograph for reproduction, for which many people in this country would feel thankful to her ladyship.

(*Plate in the next page*)





"The Great Resolution"

Collection : Lady Holmwood

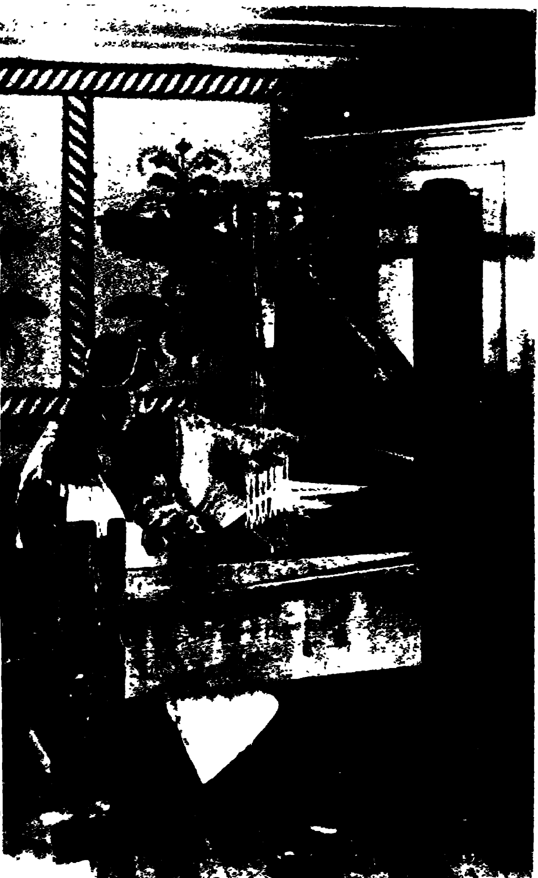
CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT IN SWEDEN



Dalarna. Preparations for Weaving



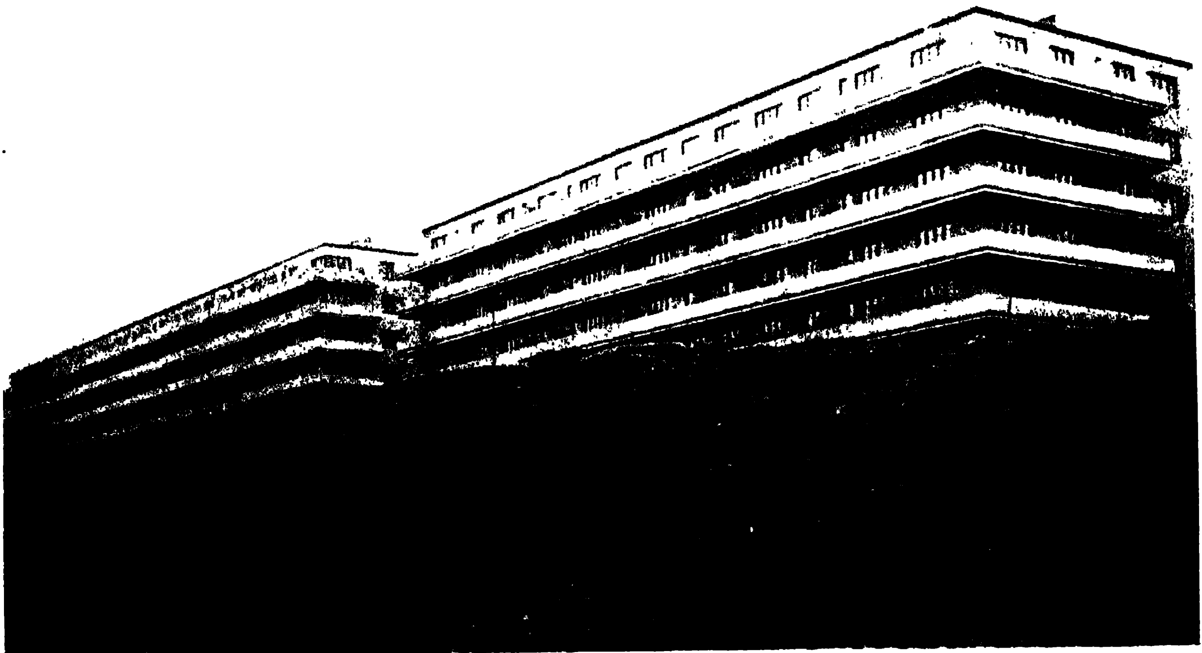
Granny Knitting Stockings, Dalecarlia
Photo : H. P Persne



Alvdalen Weaving School in the province of Dalecarlia

CO-OPERATIVE DWELLINGS IN SWEDEN





Top : H. S. B. The outside of a co-operative dwelling-complex for workmen families at Kungsholmen, Stockholm
Bottom : The exterior of a similar building at Sodermalm, the workmen's quarter in Stockholm

Top : H. S. B. Combinated standard furniture from " The Tenants' Furniture Shop " intended for small flats
Bottom : H. S. B. Kindergarten. A nurse reading stories to children

CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT IN SWEDEN

By FRU OLGA ENGHOLM,
Member of the Co-operative Society

As many people doubtless know, England is the birthplace of the co-operative movement. Even a certain date, *i.e.*, the 21st December, 1844, is indicated as the origin of the movement. On that day 28 flannel-weavers opened a co-operative shop in a small English town, Rochdale. Separate co-operative unions had already existed for some time in several countries, but the Rochdale union was remarkable for the fact that its founders made rules so practical and reasonable for the conduct of their shop that these were suitable not only for their establishment, but in course of time formed a basis for the working of all co-operative societies throughout the world.

There were 7 of these rules, of which the most noteworthy three were :

(1) No credit can be demanded or accepted,

(2) The profit has to be divided according to the amount purchased by members and not according to their shares,

(3) Every member has one vote, and men and women have equal rights.

These Rochdale rules form the foundation of the Swedish movement. The modern Swedish consumers' co-operative movement started in 1899, when 30 of the existing unions formed a co-operative association (Ko-operativa Forbundet, or the K.F.)

In 1904 the K.F. began to sell goods to their members. The statistics show that there were 57 unions, which had a turnover of Swedish Kronas 300,000 and a profit of Sw. Kr. 4,000. In 1933 the respective figures were : 650 unions, Sw. Kr. 352,000,000 turnover and Sw. Kr. 16,500,000 profit.



Hyresgasternas Sparkasu-och Byggnadsfor Kindergarten
An hour's rest in the middle of the day



H. S. B. Kindergarten A baby nursery

The membership of these unions comprises 534,000 persons. Every member represents a family and taking 4 persons to a family this makes out 2,000,000, *i.e.*, one-third of the total population. This good result is to a great extent due to the fact that the Co-operative Societies adhered strictly to the principle of political and religious neutrality, which enabled all classes of the population to be proportionally represented.

In order to be able to reduce more easily the prices of the commodities the K.F. began gradually to manufacture goods themselves. At present the Swedish co-operatives possess the following factories :—

	% of the total inland produce of each kind
2 grain mills (in Stockholm and Goteborg)	19
1 oatmeal factory (the price fell from 90 to 40 re per kilogram)	22
1 macaroni factory	22
1 semolina factory	14
4 dry bread factories	10
1 margarine factory (at Norkoping)	30
1 oil factory (at Karlshamn)	..
1 sugar factory (at Orebro)	5
2 rubber factories (at Gislaved and Viskafors); even at the beginning the price for goloshes fell by 2 Kr. per pair, and later even more.	
1 small factory for automatic cash registers which are also being exported. The price fell by 50%.	
7 coffee-roasting factories.	

It is very interesting to note that they have succeeded in joining together the ownership and administration of some factories in several countries. The Swedish movement invited to this enterprise their neighbours and now the co-operatives of Sweden, Denmark, Norway, Finland and Estonia possess jointly the Luma-factory in Stockholm, which produces electric bulbs. Through this reduction the Swedish nation saves yearly approximately 5 million Kronas.

Nordisk Andelsforbund (Northern Co-operative Trade Association) is an association of local unions in Sweden, Denmark, Norway and Finland and imports goods for those members; it is one of the greatest import associations in Europe.

In addition to the above, the superphosphate factory of Stockholm can also be mentioned, although it is let to the Farmers' Union.

The movement possesses also a Savings Bank with 121,000 members whose total deposits amount to 50,000,000 Kronas.

There exist 2 insurance companies. The first, "Samarbete" (Joint Work), since 1908, and the second, "Folket" (The People), since 1914. The Folket paid out during 1933 for death 1,700,000 Kronas and had a fund of 50,000,000 Kr. Samarbete paid during the same year for various accidents 3,380,000 Kr. and had a foundation capital of 16,000,000 Kr.

In order to be in touch with all its members

the union publishes a weekly paper whose circulation is 465,000 copies.

The co-operative printing house published a considerable number of economic and co-operative books, of which they sold during 1933 to the amount of 377,000 Kr.

The co-operative school at Saltsjobaden near Stockholm provides education for the various members of the co-operative movement. Nearly one thousand people every year attend the weekly courses and more than one thousand the 2-days' courses. There is also a department for various correspondence courses. Nearly 10,000 people took these courses.

During the 35 years which have passed since the foundation of the co-operative movement, the members of the co-operative societies achieved through their union a considerable result. The prices became lower and the qualities higher and owing to competition the same occurred in the general market and consequently the whole nation profited by it. The low prices enable people not only to buy more foodstuffs but also other goods, which stimulates industry. Not less than the material results is the training of the people in clear economic thought.

CO-OPERATIVE DWELLINGS IN SWEDEN

By LAKSHMISWAR SINHA

The housing problem is a knotty one almost in all big cities and to the growing industrial communities. Here is a brief account of how that problem has been tackled in Sweden and of the important measures adopted there from different quarters.

Even since the growth of industry with subsequent change in the agricultural condition of Sweden, both the government and the people have come to realise more and more clearly the importance of better housing, and the fact that sanitary and cheap dwellings are the best means of combating diseases such as consumption, and the habit of drink, immorality and other social evils that prevailed among the poorer classes. As far back as in 1864, legislative measures were taken in Sweden for providing facilities for families of small means to establish homes of their own. This is how the "Egna hem" (Own Home) movement came into existence. In the year 1905, the Riksdag granted a sum of ten million kronor as a state loan at easy rates to assist those who were about to establish 'Own Homes,' through the medium of institutions termed as 'lanc formedlare.' They were either provincial agricultural societies or entirely private institutions such as companies and societies called respectively 'Egna hems bolag' and 'Egna hems foreningar.' According to state resolution, considerable sums were handed over by the state to these institutions, which in their turn passed them on to the settlers and looked after the management of the new homes. A great amount of loans thus granted went in aid of building farms and dwellings in the industrial centres. For the creation of small holdings, the 'Egna hem' movement was



Mr. Lakshmiswar Sinha
with a Swedish friend's baby



H. S. B. Every complex has its own wash-house with electric washing-machines

entirely dependent on state aid. Regarding the 'Own Home' in the shape of dwellings, what actually the state aimed at was to check the outflow of the rural working populations, including artisans from the country, to towns as well as emigration to foreign countries.

Private initiative also has, quite independently of the state aid measures, accomplished much in the way of providing dwellings for people of small means.

Housing enterprises of philanthropic character have been undertaken extensively by the municipalities—granting building loans and providing sites on easy terms. Thus, many model workmen's towns planned on a big scale, for instance, in the vicinity of Stockholm came into existence. The city has generously granted loans at low rates, on easy terms of repayment, and against mortgages as security. Soon other towns such as Gothenburg, Jonkoping, Linkoping, Vasteras, etc., followed the example of the city.

I have had many occasions to travel through the length and breadth of the country and I stopped in many industrial centres. How well ordered are the 'Egna hem' communities for the labouring classes in those places—established by the efforts of the state and the municipality! The model 'Egna hem' establishments at Huskvarna, Atvidaberg factories in the province of Ostergotland, Jonsered factories in the vicinity of Gothenburg, several factories of Stora Kopparbergs Bergslag in the province of Dalacarlia, Grangesberg, Malmberg and Kiruna mines in Lapland and at many other places are really something to see. It should be mentioned that the Swedish industrial enterprises in the country districts took also great initiative to provide good 'homes of their own' for the workmen in their employ.

The government and the people have realised well that high rents and insanitary dwellings gravely affect the economy and health of the people, increase the expenditure on relief work for the sick and poor, and diminish the efficiency of work and ability to pay taxes. This fact and the grand achievements of the co-operative movements in certain economic spheres as described by my friend Fru Engholm in her article, gave a very powerful impetus to the creation of co-operative dwellings,—especially in the big cities where

the housing problem is a most burning one. It should be noted that the vast majority in towns live in flats, and only a very small number of families have a house for themselves Hence is the tremendous growth of co-operative dwelling complexes, which never fail to impress the visitors to Sweden. The people of small means are now taking advantage of the co-operative complexes by living there, though they were meant in the beginning for the labour class people.

The co-operative flats are very cheap and provide all sorts of modern comforts. Besides, each building in itself runs a nursery school, which takes care of the children in the absence of their parents during the day time. Myself being a guest in a flat for some time, I often used to visit to nursery school and spent happy hours with the children.

The above goes to show the interest that the people in Sweden have been focussing on the housing problem as a whole in its true relation to the poorer classes from the economic, social, hygienic and educational points of view.



H. S. B. Combinated standard furniture from 'The Tenants' Furniture Shop' intended for small flats



CHILDREN'S THEATRE IN U. S. S. R.

By K. T. MERCHANT, M.A., LL.B. (Bom.), B.Sc. (Econ.) London, F.R.A.I., F.R.G.S.

THE Children's Theatre, a veritable boon to the children of the Land of the Soviet, is one of the most attractive and instructive institutions to any visitor, sympathetic or antipathetic to the socialistic regime prevailing there. One wonders why the like of it is not to be found in any other country of the world. Is it that the capitalist countries have neither the time nor the money for such a 'fancy' for the children?

The curtain of the first children's theatre in the world rose for the first time on the first anniversary of the October Revolution, thanks to the imagination of a 14½ years old girl, Natalie Satz, who was given all the encouragement and possible help by the Soviet State even during that early period of storm and stress of the civil war and blockade.

The first colourful and enthusiastic children's performance is graphically described by Natalie Satz in these words :—

"Moscow, November 1918. The external enemy and the internal enemy are pressing the very young Soviet republic. Transport is in a state of dislocation; food is scarce. But the workers who took power into their own hands, the Soviet State, even then found time to devote attention, care and love to the children, to their joys. Against this background, the curtain slowly rises. Remarkable puppets, the work of the well-known artist Favorsky, give heroic performance to the music of the famous composer Anatoli Alexandrovich."

"The composer himself plays the piano. The wonderful music sounds triumphant but uneven; his fingers are red with cold and tremble and he himself wears felt boots and a fur coat. The dear little spectators in warm headgear and rubber boots—avidly watch with wondering eyes everything taking place on the little stage."

"They keenly listen to every sound coming from the stage, trying in the full sense of the word not to breathe, for every breath in this cold atmosphere sends clouds of mist between the eyes of the spectators and the puppet actors. Suppressed rattling of the teeth and stamping of freezing feet—such is the background against which the first colourful children's performance was shown. But how much joy! How the children's eyes shine! How eagerly they beg for "more" when the curtain falls!"

The first Moscow Children's Theatre came into existence due to the enthusiastic efforts of Natalie Satz in 1921 and in 1922, Professor Bryantsev organized a children's theatre in Leningrad. The whole movement of children's theatre in Soviet Russia is generally based on the work of Natalie Satz and Professor Bryantsev. The children's theatre has become an integral part of the children's life and their schooling, the aim of which is to help the training of all-round cultured citizens. This idea of 'education through art' ought to appeal to all child-psychologists everywhere, because it is the best means by which children can easily be saved from emotional starvation. Moreover,



Children audience, in Moscow, Children's Theatre

it can be profitably utilised for gradually initiating the children into the world outside their own sphere without giving them any shock whatsoever and for rousing their intellectual curiosity.

The ever growing number of these special theatres for children cause surprise to the foreign visitors. At present, there are one hundred such theatres in the Soviet Union. Even in the far-off Sakhalin, there is a children's theatre. In the different republics of the Soviet Union the children's theatres play in their own native languages. The Postyshev Children's Theatre in Kiev, the Ukraine, deserves special mention as one of the best equipped with the most modern technique and everything adapted to the needs of the children.

All these children's theatres are State theatres *i.e.*, they are all on state budget, their revenue in no way covering their expenditures. The prices are exceedingly low while the cost of their maintenance is very high, because their work and role in the building up of the Socialist State is regarded as of the utmost importance.

The children's theatre can be divided into two sections, one dealing with pedagogy and child psychology, and the other with plays including script, production, etc. In the opinion of Professor Bryantsev, the first is the foundation without which a children's theatre cannot function properly. A child is not an adult-in-miniature, or as Natalie Satz puts it, a "diminutive grown up," hence the absolute necessity of studying carefully and scientifically the 'peculiarities of perceptions' of the child-spectators, their varied interests, their demands, etc., by the pedagogical section of the theatre. Special plays are written and performed for definite age-groups. Natalie Satz admits children at the age of six to special plays. The other theatres do not admit them until eight years old. But, for children under eight, they have special puppet shows reputed to be quite joyous affairs. All kinds of plays are now produced—Soviet plays, classical plays, scientific fantasies, game plays, etc. Natalie Satz is at present busy seeking a form for the Soviet dramatic fairy tale and Makaryev, the regisseur of the Leningrad Children's Theatre, hopes to produce Shakespeare for the children.

"The reactions in the audience during the performance; the collection and analysis of children's letters and drawings, which are sent in by the children after the performance; and finally, the study of how lasting is the effect of a performance on the individualities of different children, the social peculiarities of perception, the difference in the effect of one and the same performance on boys and girls, and the connection between what is seen in the theatre and the behaviour and creative work of the children—such are the scientific data which help the artists of the theatre to create plays which are really near to the children."

Professor E. A. Arkin, one of the outstanding authorities on pedagogy, has devised special scientific methods for this study. Children are encouraged to help by their discussions and criticisms of the plays, drawings and writings of their impressions. Every class of a school sending children to a theatre on an average at least once a month—sends a delegate to the Theatre Delegates' Conference.



Natalie Satz

"This discusses every aspect of any play produced. It agitates for greater interest in, and support for, the children's theatre among their schoolfellows, parents, and factory workers."

The letters from the child-spectators with such curt addresses as "Please give this to the Ostrich at the Children's Theatre" or "Auntie Natasha, Moscow" or other favourite characters, always find their way to their proper destination in some miraculous manner. Thus, psychological realism is the fundamental basis of the children's theatre. Now I shall describe the Moscow Children's Theatre in details.

The Moscow Theatre for Children is the oldest permanent professional theatre for the children, a little younger in age than the first proletarian state of the world. Natalie Satz, 'the Honoured Artist of the Republic,' is the founder, general manager, regisseur and artistic director of this theatre. It is the "synthetic" theatre, in which music, colour scheme, lights, vivid gestures and expressive diction are all combined to make the whole. Natalie Satz describes this idea of the "synthetic" theatre thus:—

> As a regisseur, I am for the synthetic performance. It strikes me as absurd for a regisseur to introduce music into a play merely because the text says: "—raises lid of grand-piano—"; or for light effects to depend entirely on directions like "it dawns" or "it gets dark". I am for synthetic theatre, for a performance in which the spoken word may pass into pantomime, in which the rhythm of dramatic action is associated with the rhythm of music; for infusing with colour, for enlisting all the means which help to disclose the very substance of the content, to display it as though under a magnifying glass —great and significant.

Thus, this theatre combines all the artistic forces—words, music, dancing, colour—to convey to the children the useful content of the performance in the fullest and most vivid fashion. In her production, she often introduces cinema technique.

The production of 57 entirely new plays with about 6000 performances to over 5 million children is the proud achievement of this Moscow Theatre for Children in its 15 years of existence. For each production, the playwright, composer and the cast labour for many months. It is not true as is commonly assumed that the actors in this theatre are children. It has a permanent staff of fifty-two trained adult actors and all the other various people like playwrights, composers, stage-managers, an orchestra, etc., as in any other professional theatre. In all, there are 175 grown-up people on the staff, all united by the sole aim 'to create for children.' The staff also includes teachers, specialists in group-games and professors. Though the theatre helps in its own way the education of the children, it remains, nevertheless, a theatre in the full sense of the term. Of course, it is really very difficult for the grown-ups to play the child roles. But Natalie Satz and others are of the opinion, and I think they are right, that it would be wrong, both artistically and educationally, for children to play their roles in a professional theatre. The actors of the Moscow Theatre for Children have mastered the 'many-faceted and difficult art' of playing the child roles by training and hard work and they are so very successful in this that the grown-ups and even the children are often deceived and believe that the real children are acting.

The auditorium of the theatre accommodates 800 children. There is one performance

every day, sometimes even two. It has always a full house. It caters to children of from 6 to 16 years of age. Every play is written with a certain age in view and for a definite age-group on the principle 'children must not be generalised, *i.e.,* the six-year old must be distinguished from the fourteen-year old.'

The work of this theatre is quite unique. To put in the words of Natalie Satz,

> "In our work, which is so new, which is without precedent not only in Moscow, but in the whole world, the study of the audience represents a key that unlocks the door to many problems to us. Not only the content, but also the form, the theatrical form of our performances depends on the age of the audience. Just as our spectators are not merely diminutive versions of grown-ups, so also our theatre has its own peculiarities, its own specific characteristics, its own artistic personality."

The main principle underlying all the work of this theatre is "to activize" the audience during and even after the performance. As Natalie Satz puts it,

> 'The whole idea is that the children should be able to switch on to real life the 'electric charge' they have received in the theatre.—'Our task is not to explain the world but to change it' (Marx). We must educate through the theatre, not observers, but fighters and builders. The theatre acts above all on the emotional realm of the spectator; it helps him to understand his environment by showing him people of various classes; it teaches him to find his correct bearings in life, in order to take part in its construction. The strength of the theatre lies in the fact that it exhorts less outspokenly than the ordinary word; it acts on psychology. And in the Theatre for Children psychological realism is one of the basic methods of convincing conclusively."

The bulk of the actors have been already working for 10-12 years but while they work, they continue to study, as they are "synthetic" actors and to be an actor in a theatre for children is a new and responsible speciality.

The pedagogic section is in the charge of Professor E. A. Arkin, an outstanding authority on pedagogy, who has devised special methods for the scientific study of the perception of the child-spectator. This theatre has a "children's board" of about 100 delegates who are the representatives elected by schools and pioneer sections. This board meets regularly, advises the theatre on subjects for new plays, gives its views on plays in preparation or under consideration and on the artists' sketches and proposals. At every performance, a delegation from the children's board is present.

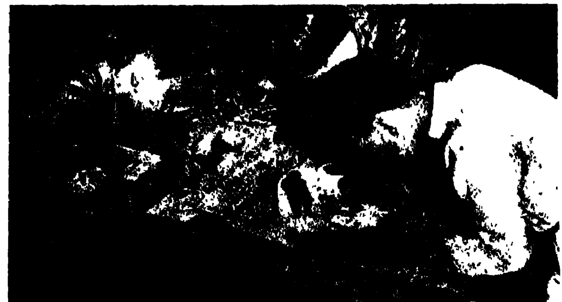
Some child delegates to the children's board said, "Tell me how people live in the Soviet Republics along the borders of Asia."

N. Y. Shestakov was thereupon specially commissioned to make an extensive tour of Turkomenistan by the theatre and from the life impressions gathered there, he wrote the play "AUL GIDZHE (Gidzhe Village)."



Accordion player in the lobby of the theatre

Usually the children come to the theatre an hour or so before the show begins. The lobby of the theatre is a good place where the child passes his time playing games and dancing to the sweet tune of the accordion or learning some new songs written specially for the chorus or sometimes chatting with "Auntie Natasha" (Natalie Satz). The children are made to feel as if they were in their own club. There is a nice and cosy buffet also to serve light refreshments at very cheap prices. The children collaborate in getting out a wall-newspaper—it is practically an institution to be met with everywhere in the Soviet Union called the "Life at Our Theatre." Besides giving plays, the theatre carries on varied artistic mass work



Children assisting the production of the play

among children by organising children's fetes, carnivals, mass games and helps children in their school dramatic performances. Verily, it is the children's own theatre.

This theatre is not a stay-at-home troupe. It performs in schools, clubs and even in the

hospital-wards where the audience is in bed. The children in the Sanatorium for Tuberculosis of the Bone once wrote a letter to "Auntie Natasha" inviting her and her players to pay a visit to them. A 'portable piece' called "the Old Woman and the Pioneer" was staged on the hospital floor, which the kids in the sanatorium enjoyed very much. During the summer, the theatre makes much use of the beautiful boulevards of Moscow for the mass games.

The Pioneers usually spend the summer in camps far away from the theatres. Not to deprive them of the enjoyment of the theatre for four months, the troupes or brigades from this theatre go off to tour the camps and give performances. These performances are known as "Green Shows" as they are given out of doors, the audience sitting on the grass. A



The Nice Negro Girl in the play

brigade consists of six actors, one stage hand and an accordion player along with the necessary paraphernalia of a folding booth and stage, costumes, etc. The 'green' programme consists of short plays, new songs which the children can quickly pick up, dances and comedies. In the summer of 1933, three troupes of this theatre had performed 187 "green shows."

I have very vivid recollections of a happy visit to a performance in this theatre last year. We were the only five adults in the big audience of gay and cheerful chubby kids. The play was called "The Negro Boy and the Monkey" meant for the age-group of 6-8 years. We were given back seats, as the seats are distributed according to height so that the taller children may sit in the back rows, the smaller ones in the front rows. The kids did not take any notice of us except for a short gaze mingled with a little surprise in the beginning. Soon they forgot our very presence amidst them and were absorbed in the stage and then the play. It was such a cheering atmosphere as would blow away the blues even of an adult in no time.



Emblem of Moscow Children's Theatre

This play is written by Natalie Satz in collaboration with Rozanov and music is by L. Plovinkin. It was first produced in 1927 and since then has remained a constant item in the repertory as it has become a favourite of the Soviet children. Already more than 300 performances of this play are given and it is still going strong. The play deals with the story of the Negro boy, Nagua, whose life is saved by the monkey, Yirka. They become close friends. Then follows the kidnapping of the monkey by a White circus owner. Nagua meets with many adventures while going in search for his friend. He arrives in Moscow and there is a happy reunion of the friends. An original device of animated cartoons is

introduced in the play and the graphic design of the costumes creates conditions for a spontaneous transition from theatrical action to cartoons. There is no talking in this play because children could not understand the Negro language. But the nice Negro girl who knows the Russian language explains everything by a running commentary. The play has dance and song and circus interludes.

The girl who performed the part of the monkey was so very successful that even we for a moment thought that it was a real monkey. She had spent hours and hours in the zoo watching and studying the grimaces of the monkeys.

The play shows realistically the exploitation of the Negroes and points out the moral that the working class Negro is a friend of the Soviet children and thus, in a very effective way, kills the racial prejudice, if there be any, from their minds.

On 5th March, in Spring of 1936, an important and happy event in the life of the Soviet Theatre for Children took place. A New Central Children's Theatre was opened in accordance with the decisions of the Government. "In the very centre of Moscow, in the most important place, next to the Bolshoi and Maly Theatres, that is where 'Our New Theatre' is," spoke the children proudly to all.

The children of the capitalist countries might well envy the happy lot of the Soviet children who are the proud possessors of such a priceless prize bestowed on them by their 'Over-parent,' the Soviet State.



Mr. K. T. Merchant

Have we any answer to their proud boast and challenge that the Children's Theatre could only come into being in a country where the harmonious, all-round development of the rising generation is a matter of real State-importance, of the State's earnest concern"?

I AM AFRAID NOT !



AN EXHIBITION OF JAPANESE COLOUR-PRINTS IN CALCUTTA

By NIRAD C. CHAUDHURI

There is no doubt that Calcutta is becoming more and more conscious about the arts every day. It is now twenty-eight years since the Indian Society of Oriental Arts first organized its annual exhibition. For many years its pioneer venture remained the sole means of art education for the public of Calcutta. But latterly the success and popularity of these exhibitions have been such that there are now three annual displays instead of one, and all of them make it their principal feature to exhibit the work of contemporary artists. There was, however, one inherent incompleteness in all these exhibitions, for being mainly given to present-day work they could not supply the background against which contemporary work must be placed in order to be properly understood and appraised. The work of living painters in India, particularly of the 'Indian' school, is modelled too closely on previous traditions to be studied apart from them. Of these traditions which have cast their deep shadows on the modern Indian school, the ancient Indian, Rajput, and Mogul are of course the most powerful. But a very pronounced element in composition and colour-schemes is also derived from the art of the Far East, of China and Japan that is to say, and it is to this great art tradition that attention must be given at least for the sake of its influence on the modern Indian school, if not for its intrinsic beauty and significance.

Here, too, the Indian Society of Oriental Art has shown the way. So far as I know, it was the first to organize in Calcutta a public display of Chinese and Japanese art, and it has followed the example set by itself in organizing last month a very full collection of Japanese colour-prints. The prints shown in these exhibition form part of the collection of Mr. E. E. Speight and were acquired by him in Japan during the years 1908 to 1923. During the last years of his stay in Japan Mr. Speight was holding the post once occupied by Lafcadio Hearn. But before this he was engaged in teaching in a college in Kanazawa, the remote capital of the province of Kaga on the Japan Sea. No more fortunate choice could be made, for Kanazawa was, next to Kyoto, the richest of the feudal cities of old Japan, being the seat of power of the great family of Maeda. It was here that Mr. Speight had leisurely opportunities of studying the art of Japan and forming a unique collection of art objects illustrating the life and history, customs and folklore of the Japanese people, of which the prints shown form a part.

The 636 odd pictures comprising the exhibition included old and modern prints, with a few drawings and rareties not usually met with. Of the old prints again the majority dated back to the last quarter of the 18th and the first half of the 19th century, and such masters of the colour-print as Toyokuni, Kunisada, Kuniyoshi, Keisai Yeisen, and Hiroshige were particularly well represented. There were also a number of Utamaros and Hokusais, though not as many as one could have wished for, and there was also no specimen of the work of Moronobu, the founder of the art of the colour-print, and only one of the work of Harunobu, one of the most famous of the 18th century masters. But in spite of these lacunae, the exhibition was representative enough to give an adequate idea of the infinite variety in subject-matter and treatment of an amazingly rich art form.

The Place of the Colour-print in Japanese Art and its Origin and Development

One of the strangest things about the colour-print is the opinion held about it in the highest circles of connoisseurs in Japan. The Japanese colour-print is recognized all over the world today as a great achievement in the graphic arts, and it was the chance discovery of a number of prints by Hokusai and Hiroshige in a curio shop in Rue de Rivoli by some painters of the Impressionist School which first made European painters aware of the greatness of the art of Japan. Nevertheless, in Japan itself, even in its most glorious age, the colour-print was looked upon in aristocratic and cultured society as essentially a vulgar form of art, belonging to the common people both in its inspiration and patronage. This estimate may bewilder us by its non-recognition of a form of art in whose best examples the highest factors of aesthetic excellence are never found lacking. But from the Japanese point of view the view was right and is in itself a remarkable proof of the artistic development of the Japanese people.



Scene on the Tokaido and an Actor
Toyokuni and Hiroshige



The Great Wave at Satta: from a series of "The 36 Views of Fuji"
By Hiroshige



Man with Umbrella
By Toyokuni
[*Speight Collection*]



Actor in Palanquin
By Kunisada
[*Speight Collection*]



Girl Reading (Detail)
By Kunisada
[*Speight Collection*]

The colour-print represented a form of art entirely restricted to and enjoyed by the lower orders of a civilization and practised by artists who ranked none too high among their fellows, and the indubitable fact that the prints are so beautiful shows that in Japan at any rate artistic excellence and democratic tastes were not irreconcilable.

In Japan painters were and are classed under certain traditional schools—such as Buddhist, Chinese, Tosa, Kano, Shijo, Ukiyoye, and a few others of minor importance. Of these, the Ukiyoye was, if not the most lowly in general estimation, at least the most popular. This school generally took its subjects from the daily life of the people and was supposed to be, as its name implied, "a mirror of the passing world." The colour-print was affiliated to this school and originated some time in the latter half of the 17th century. The one man from whose influence the whole art of colour-printing came into existence was Hishikawa Moronobu, the son of a celebrated embroiderer, who was born at Hoda, in the province of Awa, in 1638. He illustrated about thirty books published between 1659 to 1695 and was the first to produce the broad-sheets, in which form the colour-prints were almost universally published later. Moronobu's prints were not, however, wholly produced by the process of

printing. They were made in the first instance from a block and then coloured by hand in two or three elementary tints. By common tradition the first issue of a wholly printed broad-sheet is attributed to an artist named Kiyonobu, who died in 1729. But this is by no means proved by reliable evidence, though there is ample proof that the colour-print was fully established by middle of the 18th century.

The hundred years lying between 1750 and 1850 may be said to be the most glorious age of the colour-print. It was during this period that we encounter the greatest names in this form of art—Kiyonaga, Harunobu, Shigemasa, Masonabu, Utamaro, Yeishi, Yeizan, Toyokuni and other practitioners of the Utagawa group, and, last of all, Hokusai and Hiroshige. During the last half of the 19th century a sudden decline in the high artistic standard of the colour-print becomes noticeable, due to the importation of European pigments which replaced the delicate colours previously used and also perhaps to the social changes that were coming over Japan. The Meiji era, with its keynote of Europeanization, was a period of degradation for the colour-print, and its recent examples have undergone a change from European practice, which could be studied in the modern work exhibited from the Speight collection.

The Technique of the Colour-print

Before dealing with the style and subject-matter of the colour-prints, which vary with schools and artists, it would be well to give a summary account of how the colour-print was produced. This process comprised three operations, carried out by different individuals. To begin with, the design was made by a painter, whose name the print bore, and who made his first drawing in black on thin semi-transparent paper. This was passed on to the engraver, who pasted it face downwards on a block of soft wood, generally of the *sakura* (a species of cherry). In order to make the drawing clearly visible in its inverted position, the paper was oiled, or even scraped with a knife, until every line became quite distinct. Then the engraver followed the design throughout with a knife, held in the right hand and guided with the left, so as to mark out the whole composition with cut lines. The superfluous wood was then removed by a series of straight and curved-edged chisels and the drawing left in bold relief. This keyblock now went to the third man, the printer, who took a number of proofs from it, on which the artist indicated the colours. From these a set of additional blocks were made, one for each colour, and the colour-print was completed by successive impressions.

The method of printing was simple and did not involve the use of any mechanical devices. First of all the colours were placed dry on the block in the form of fine powder and then mixed with thin size made from rice. This rice-paste not only fixed the colours but gave them a peculiarly pure and brilliant quality. The paper on which the impressions were taken was made from the bark of mulberry trees, and possessed great toughness and power of absorbing ink without blurring. It was moistened and placed on the top of the block, and the required effect was obtained by rubbing the surface of the paper upwards with a circular movement, alternating from right to left, with a pad called *baren,* consisting of a disc of hempen cord, wound round a card and enclosed in a sheath of bamboo leaves. For accuracy of register and quality of colour the printer relied upon his craftsmanship alone, except for the guiding marks on the blocks which helped to secure the correctness of the register.

The production of the Japanese colour-print was thus a remarkable example of the co-operation of distinct classes of craftsmen, all of which contributed to the result, though the designer invariably gave his name to the print.

The Subject of the Prints

The subjects of the Japanese colour-prints vary according to the epoch and the artist. For example, Utamaro's name is associated mainly with representations of women, Toyokuni's with actors, and Hokusai and Hiroshige's with landscapes. But whoever the artist and whatever the epoch there was one factor common to them all. The makers of the colour-prints were men of the people, and they made for a living what it best paid them to make. The subjects were thus essentially those which were likely to interest the artisan and the labouring classes. Within these broad limits, the whole range of subjects tended, however, to group themselves into a few easily defined categories: pictures of women, theatrical scenes and portraits of actors, illustrations of historical and legendary stories, and landscapes, each of which deserve a few words.

As regards the women, the most attractive models were the denizens of the Yoshiwara of Yedo, and similar institutions of Kioto, Osaka, and Nagasaki. Representations in delicate drawing and bright colours of these beauties form a large proportion of the best colour-prints of the best epoch. To them must be added

the pictures of the *geisha,* playing musical instruments or giving the entertainment of their profession. It is with these women, as has been already stated, that the prints of Utamaro and Yeizam are principally taken up, and both of these artists delineated them in bust and head portraiture as well.

The second category of prints reveals the passionate love of the Japanese people for the theatre. A favourite actor was idolized by the people in the same manner as a cinema star is today. There was a widespread demand for his portraits and poses, and it is these which furnished the mainstay of Toyokuni's art.

Among historical scenes none are more often met with than those relating to events in the life of Yoshitsune, the brother of Yoritomo and of his servant Benkei. These are the great heroes of historical romance in Japan; and the people were never tired of pictures of Yoshitsune being taught fencing by the *Tengu,* mythical beings, half bird and half human; of his fight with Benkei on Gojo bridge, where he overcame that gigantic warrior and secured for ever after his services; of their wanderings and wonderful adventures together; and other incidents. The story of Benkei himself is another fruitful source of colour-prints.

Last of all come the prints devoted to landscape, which form a class apart in the art of the world. Their predominant characteristic is vision, and the two greatest exponents of this art are Hokusai and Hiroshige. Landscape painting of the Japanese colour-printers is derived from the practice of Chinese painters. But it is not so abstract nor at the same time an unmeaning transcript from reality. In the best work of Hokusai and Hiroshige, imagination and formal perfection combine in a degree rarely paralleled in the landscape painting of any people or country. It is these which form the group among the colour-prints which is most attractive to foreigners. They are at once universal in their appeal, yet supremely Japanese in their interpretation of the visual world.

NOTE ON THE COLOUR-PLATE

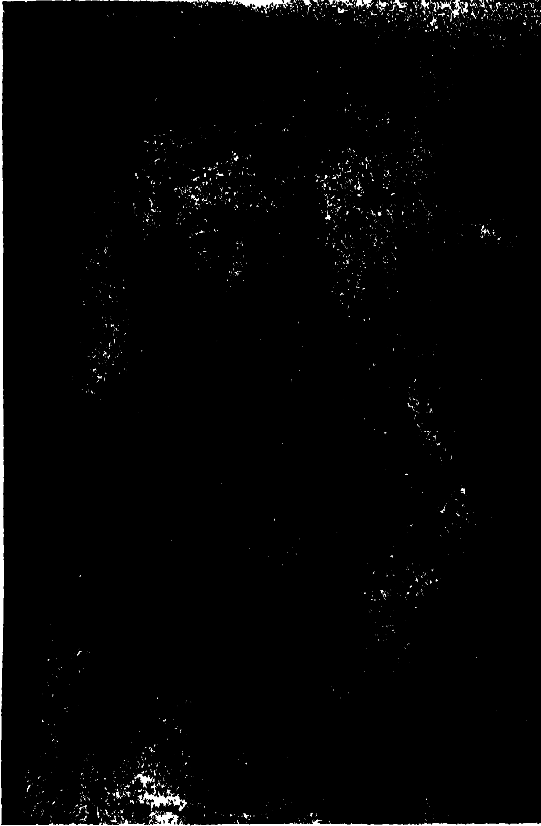
The colour-plate facing p. 48 of this issue is the reproduction of a print belonging to the famous series *Tokaido Gojusan Tsugi-no-Uchi* or *Fifty-three Stations on the Tokaido* by Hiroshige. *Tokaido* was the name given to the old highway between the seat of the government of the Shoguns at Yedo and Kyoto, and was used by countless travellers and pilgrims as also by the great nobles from the western provinces. This road had fifty-three stations or recognized halting-places on it, starting from the Nihon-bashi at Yedo and ending at Kyoto, and these together with the views to be seen from the road formed a favourite subject with Hiroshige and other colour-print artists. Hiroshige's *Tokaido* series is generally recognized to contain some of his finest work on the same level as his *Omi Hakkei-no-Uchi* or Eight Views of Omi (Lake Biwa), and the print reproduced is No. 5 of the first series (published in 1834), depicting the station Hodogaya with the Shinkame Bashi (Bridge). This particular print is met with in more than one state, for in some the distant mountains to the right found in the normal impressions are omitted. The print in Mr. Speight's collection and reproduced here is obviously one of these.

SOUTH INDIAN SCULPTURE

BY DR. A. J. PANDIAN

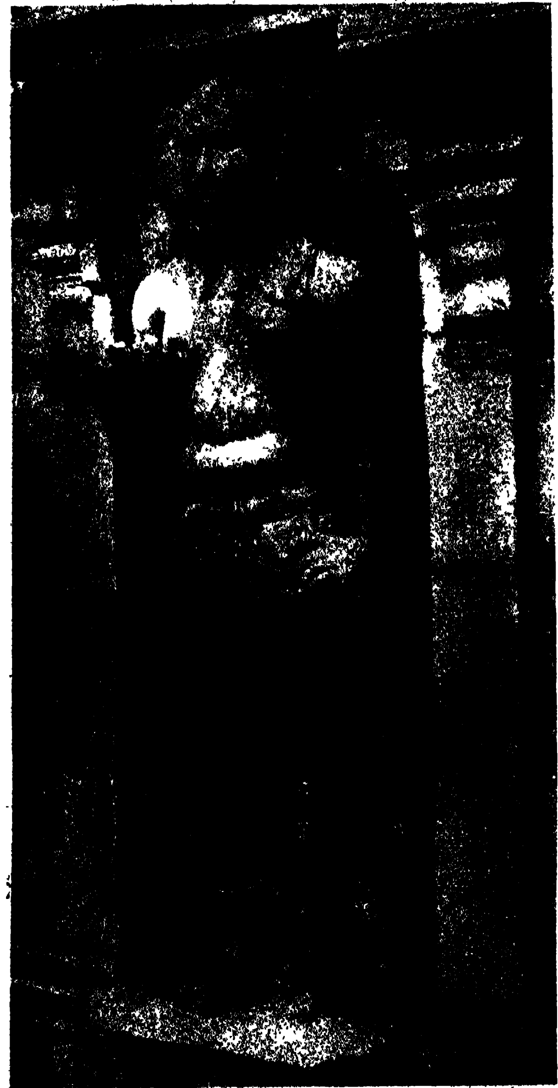
SOUTH INDIA is believed to be one of the ancient civilized parts of the world; and the city of Tanjore has been the capital of many rulers of different dynasties. Historical research has revealed that the Pallavas who lived between *c.* 200 B.C. to *c.* 400 A.D. were a few of the most cultured people. It was they who were the first to introduce the building of granite structures to serve as temples for their gods. There are many rock-cut caves and temples in South India bearing inscriptions of these rulers. They also built many shrines of granite and cement in the plains where there were no mountains. Among those, the Nageswaraswami Temple at Kumbakonam is an important one. It contains multitudinous sculptures carved in high or low relief on the outer walls of the shrine. The Pallavas who were themselves great lovers of art and architecture utilized their taste and lavished their wealth in the erection of buildings for devotional purposes; which they caused to be built in many parts of their kingdom. The Nageswaraswami Temple at Kumbakonam as was planned by them was a small one, consisting mainly of the inner shrine The courtyard of the temple seems to have been added by the Cholas. This is indicated by the sculptures and images found in the courtyard. Some of those figures are finely chiselled and are remarkable for their lively modelling. The expressions are realistic. The jewels that adorn the hands, ankles, the necks, the ears and the heads are typically Dravidian. The proportion of the body is absolutely perfect. The broad chest and the firm hip of the male images are remarkable and are in vivid con-

trast with the romantic chest and the very narrow hip, the well-proportioned pelvic area and graceful slimness and height of the female figures. The beautiful images of adult women bring out the fine type of beauty outlined in Dravidian literature, such as good stature, the narrow hip with broad lower abdomen and fine muscular thigh and legs. The grace of the male form is beautifully brought out by the sculptors and enhanced by the solemn face and fine acquiline nose. The portions of the



The sculptured figure of a Buddhist priest in a preaching pose. Nageswaraswami Temple, Kumbakonam

figure above and below the hip are well balanced. The jewels on the head are in vivid contrast with the girdle round the waist. The curves of the head, forehead and the eyebrows, and those of the necklets and the breast are balanced and beautifully contrasted with the curves in the draperies below the hip. The bridge of the nose corresponds in symmetry to the cloth hanging from the girdle—the bent hand resting on the thigh, balances with the slight turn or twist of the left leg and foot. All the figures that are carved round the temple are remarkable for their beauty, realistic expression, symmetry, and balance, which astonish every visitor and offer a feast to his æsthetic perception.



The sculptured figure of a Buddhist priest in a preaching pose.
Nageswaraswami Temple, Kumbakonam

Is it not our duty to preserve them? Is it not a sacrilege to let them perish exposed to the vagaries of time and weather? One of the illustrations shows the crumbling of pieces due to the weathering, particularly on the breast. Is it not a sin to neglect such wonderful works of art? These images ought to adorn a Pantheon in India which shall fill every foreign visitor with wonder and admiration.

SOUTH INDIAN SCULPTURE



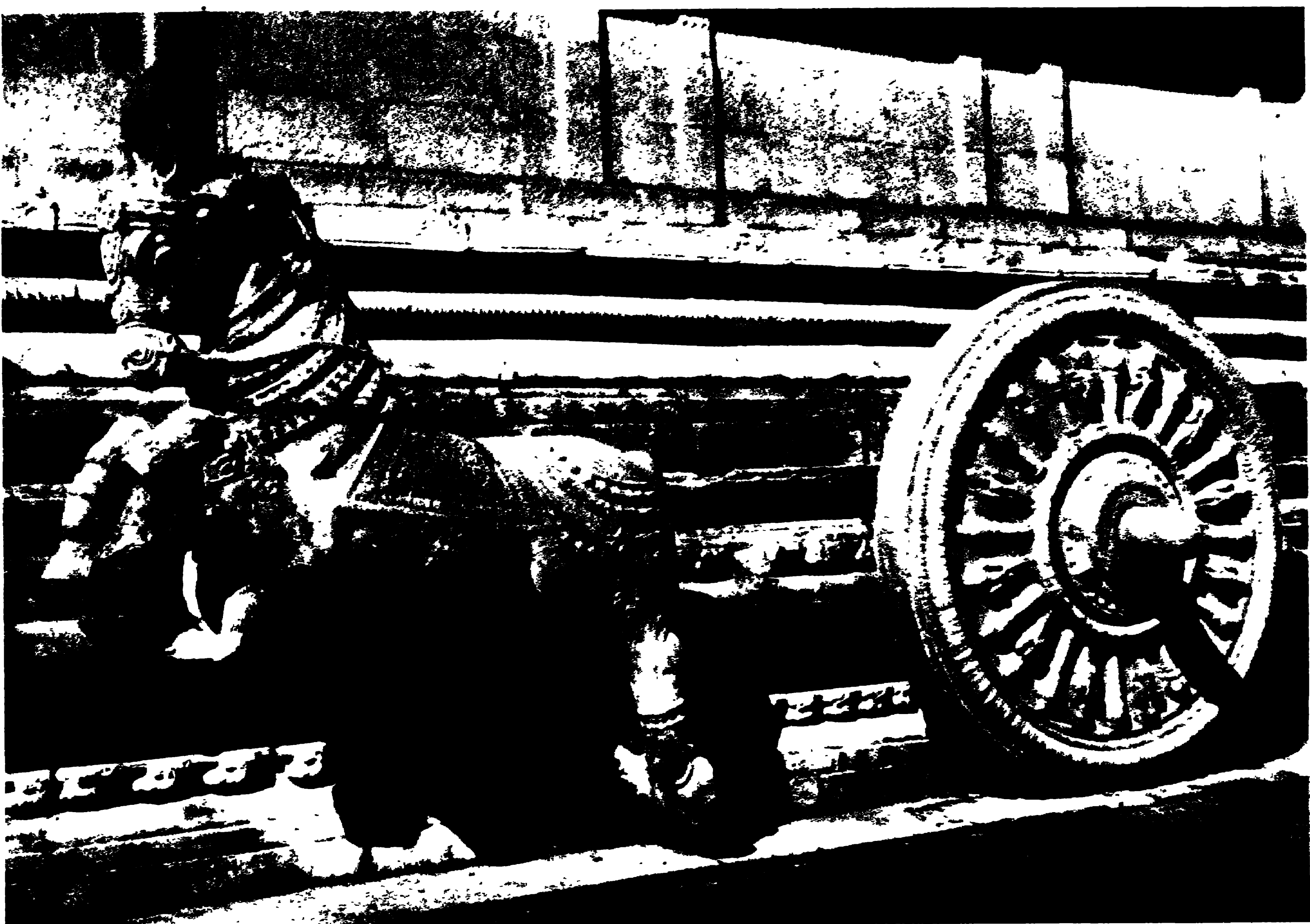
Top : The sculptured image of Brahma the Creator
Nageswarswami Temple, Kumbakonam
Bottom : The inner shrine of the Temple

The image of Lord Siva as a Beggar

A male figure. Nageswaraswami Temple

A graceful female figure. Nageswaraswami Temple Kumbakonam

The fire-god decorating the walls of the Temple The hair is so dressed that it looks like flame



Stone-carving of a chariot and horses on the walls of the Nageswaraswami Temple, Kumbakonam

THE MYTH OF THE ARYANS

By S. K. DEB, B. COM. (Bom.)

SIR W. JONES found out certain points of similarity between Sanskrit and some European languages, and suggested in 1786 that these could only be explained on the assumption that "they are derived from a common source now perhaps no longer in existence."[1] The similarities consisted in some identical words with same meanings occurring in several languages in common with Sanskrit, Zend, Armenian, Greek, Latin, Celtic, Slavonic and Teutonic, (as the list is finally). As a satisfactory explanation of this phenomenon, the theory was formulated that these several languages were derived from a common stock.[2] They were called the "Indo-European," the "Indo-German" or the "Aryan" family of languages, the original form of which was named "Proto-Aryan." The hypothesis of the common parentage of the languages could not properly be explained without adopting another, *viz.*, that the peoples, (generally described as the "Indo-Europeans" or the "Aryans,") speaking these several languages formed originally one (Super-) Race : the Proto-Aryan. It is probable that the admitted affinity of the *prakrita* dialects of India with Sanskrit, strengthened the supposition of a common origin of the Aryan languages. It is, however, certain that the study of the Mythology of these Aryan-speaking peoples, (with the help of Philology), which also indicated a common source, lent further plausibility to these hypotheses. Thus, the Science of Philology, which, at its inception, "dazzled and silenced all," ruled for a time supreme. Owing probably to its bearing on the Christian beliefs [See 9 and infra], the world of scholars, who happened to be Christians, was taken by storm. The "Aryan" question,[3] in all of its implications, was pursued with extraordinary enthusiasm, which continues unabated.

So far as the bearing of the "Aryan" hypotheses on the history of Ancient India is concerned, it was assumed, from certain references to the "*Aryas*" or "*aryas*," (of which the term 'Aryan' is an adaptation), in ancient literature, and to the conflicts between certain 'tribes' in the Vedas, and to the complexion of some of them, that the Vedic "Aryans," more attractive in appearance than, and superior in culture to, the original inhabitants, (Christened non-Aryans), of this country, invaded it and conquered them. The Indo-Aryans, as also the other 'branches' of the Indo-Europeans, had migrated from some unknown "home" in successive streams in different ages. Thus, one hypothesis led to another, until the story was complete in its details. A re-enunciation of the hypothesis of the Aryan race in the recent writings of Prof Keith and a narration of its Indian portion, in an extreme form by Dr. S. K. Chatterjee,[4] the eminent Philologist, induced Mr. Jainath Pati to completely repudiate the supposed "Aryan invasion" of India.[5] As Max Muller's charm of style had a great deal to do with the original acceptance of the Aryan hypothesis,[6] it might be interesting in this connection to recall the final shape he gave to it. We also propose to examine, in what light the sciences of Ethnology and Philology view the concept of the Aryan race and the considerations in its support. It cannot be emphasised too often that the Aryan

1. O. Schrader. *Pre-historic Antiquities of the Aryan Peoples, a manual of comparative philology and the earliest culture* (Tr. by F. B. Jevons, 1890) (p. 4). It gives a very exhaustive presentation of all the discussions.

2. Max Muller was conscious of the alternative to the hypothesis of a common origin, *viz.*, the borrowing of the other languages from the one : *Biographies of Words and The Home of the Aryas.* (Collected Works, Vol. X), p. 80.

3. "The Elusive Aryan," Nagendranath Ghose, *Calcutta Review*, November, 1934, notes the 'reactions' in India, of the Aryan hypothesis. He canvasses the idea whether the theory of a common parentage of the languages, "did not owe its formulation to an over-accentuation of the few points of resemblance, whilst the abundantly more numerous points of difference failed to have due weight given to them, if indeed they were not altogether lost sight of." (P. 200).

4. S. K. Chatterjee. *Origin and Development of the Bengali Language*, (1926).

5. In his first study, Mr. Pati mooted the question and started with quoting from a challenging correspondence by him with Dr. Chatterjee : "Is Indo Aryan Invasion a Myth?" Jainath Pati, *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. IV (1928), pp. 678-94. There were two criticisms : E. J. Thomas. The So-called Indo-Aryan Invasion, *ibid*, Vol. V (1929), pp. 243-53; and C. V. Vaidya : Indo-Aryan Invasion of India—Not A Myth, *ibid.* Pp. 253-60. Mr. Pati's rejoinder (investigated under Dr. S. K. De) : "The Indo-Aryan Invasion -A Myth, *ibid*, Vol. VI (1930). Pp. 513-20.

6. Issac Taylor, *Origin of the Aryans* (1892) (p. 3) : for an account of the earlier discussions also. Mr. Pati says that Paul Broca and Paul Topinard rejected the Aryan hypothesis, *I. H. Q.*, 1928. P. 678.

discussion started as a philological one and remains essentially so. The only *argument* that the philologists can advance in support of the existence of an Aryan *race*, is the relationship of the Indo-European tongues. That is, however, not a *proof*. As early as 1883, Sayce, the pre-eminent Assyriologist, after pointing out that Philology and Ethnology are not convertible terms, insisted that,

"*Identity or relationship of language, therefore, can prove nothing more than social contact* . . . Language is an aid to the historian, not to the ethnologist . . . If ethnology demonstrates kinship of race, kinship of speech may be used to support the arguments but *we cannot reverse the process, and argue from language to race.* To do so, is to repeat the error of *third-hand writers on language*, who claim the black-skinned Hindu as a brother, on the ground of linguistic relationship (!) . . . *Language*, in fact, *is* not one of the characteristics of race, *not one of those fixed and permanent features which distinguish the different ethnological types* of men."[7]

As for Max Muller, he lived long enough to make, in the words of Ripley, "heroic reparation for the errors of his youth." He agreed that,

"The science of language and the science of ethnology have both suffered most seriously from being mixed up together. The classification of races and languages should be quite independent of each other. Races may change their languages, and history supplies us with several instances where one race adopted the language of another.[8] Different languages, therefore, may be spoken by one race, or the same language may be spoken by different races; so that any attempt at squaring the classification of races and tongues must necessarily fail."[9]

His object apparently was to prove the truth of the Biblical assertion, "And the whole earth was of one language and of one speech."[10] It was clear, however, that the problem of the common origin of languages had no necessary bearing on the other Biblical problem of the common origin of mankind.[11] What then did he mean by the word, "Aryan"?

"*There is no Aryan race in blood . . . Aryan, in scientific language, is utterly inapplicable to race. It means language and nothing but language.*"[12]

Further that,

"An ethnologist who speaks of an Aryan race, Aryan blood, Aryan eyes and hair, is as great a sinner as a linguist who speaks of a dolichocephalic dictionary or a brachycephalic grammar."[13]

What about the Proto-Aryan speech, and its reconstruction? He had no hesitation in declaring that it was a "mistake" to imagine that there ever was one uniform Proto-Aryan language.[14] Regarding the claims of Sanskrit to be regarded as such, we might as well note his views that, though Sanskrit was "the most primitive language of the Aryan family" (of languages),[15] primitiveness "was no proof of the geographical habitat of the speakers."[16] About the other equally "thoughtless" endeavour of fixing "the date at which the Aryan Separation (sic!) took place," he questioned, "How, in the world, was that to be done?"[17] Though, with his definition of the "Ary[illegible] the last question does not arise, as also the allied ones, *e.g.*, *How* the "Separation" took place;[18] and "the original home of the Aryan Speech";[19] and "the craddle of our race"[20]—he disposed them of as incapable of determination.

From the old dates of Sayce's books, or of the last phase of Max Muller's discussions, it should not be supposed that the attitude of Philology has changed towards the questions under examination. A more recent authority observes that,

"Whatever be the role played by change in race in the transformations of language, *the essential bonds between these two concepts cannot be established.* We must not confound *hereditary ethnical characteristics* with institutions such as *language*, religion, and culture, which are *eminently transmissible, and can be borrowed and exchanged.*"[21]

Let us now turn to Anthropology. Whatever might have been their earlier proclivities,[22]

7. (Italics ours). A. H. Sayce. *Introduction to the Science of Language*, (1883), Vol. II, p. 317-18. In his *Principles of Comparative Philology* (1892) also, he refers to "The fallacy of imagining that language is a sure index of race." (P. 175).

8. I. T. 5 (P 208; Pati, *I. H. Q.* VI. p. 515): enumerates slavery, conquest, numerical superiority, commerce, political supremacy, religion and superior culture as the chief causes of extension of certain languages. M. M. (1) (P. 88) noted the political causes which though do not break the continuity of language, break the continuity of blood. Do these factors support the theory of common origin of the languages in the light of (1)?

Comp.: Grierson's views on language as an unsafe guide to racial identity particularly in India, (*Linguistic Survey of India*, I. I. Pp. 28-9; Pati, *ante* p. 513).

Comp.: *A. H. Keane* (25), for "A Table of Peoples whose Physical Type Has Changed Their Speech Subsisting." (P. 203). He demurs, however, at Sayce's views above as "going too far."

9. M. M., *Science of Language*. Vol. I (C. W., XI) (Pp. 458-59).

10. *Ibid.* (P. 536).

11. *Ibid.* (P. 458).

12. (Italics ours) M. M. (1) (P. 90).

13. *Ibid.* P. 120 and 245.

14. *Ibid.* P. 81 and P 87. Cp.: M. M. *India: What it can teach us.* (C. W. XIII. P. 25).

15. *Ibid.* p. 54.

16. *Ibid.* p. 95.

17. *Ibid.* Pp. 82-4.

18. *Ibid.* Pp. 84-8.

19. *Ibid.* Pp. 88-91.

20. *Ibid.* p. 91 *et. seq.*

21. J. Vendryes, *Language: a linguistic Introduction to History.* (Prefaced 1914; tr. by P. Radin, 1925).

22. *Comp.*: "Linguistic characters are one of the

ethnologists are neither equivocal nor hesitant in their repudiation of the claims of the philologists to dictate to them. As early as 1900, Ripley was very thorough in his condemnation of their pretences. He laid down that,

"Let us rigidly distinguish the phenomena, principle and conclusions concerning race from those of language and culture and each of these in turn from the other . . . All attempts . . . to correlate linguistic data with those derived from the study of physical characteristics are not only illogical and unscientific; they are at the same time impossible and absurd."[23]

Kroeber is also equally emphatic in stating that,

"In fact, it has become a commonplace that the arguing of connection between the three factors of race, language, and culture (or nationality), the making of inferences from one to the other, is logically unsound. One can no more think correctly in terms of Aryan heads or Semitic race, for instance, than of blond linguistic types, Catholic physiques, or inflecting social institutions."[24]

If you so prefer, study Aryan language, Aryan culture and even Aryan civilization, but Aryan race? No.[25]

Keane pointed out that the terms "Aryan" or "Indo-European" are rather linguistic than ethnical designations.[26] He complained that they were forced by the philologists into the domain of Ethnology, where it (Aryan) has no place or meaning. A great deal of the discussion of the Aryan hypothesis is futile. Why? Even accepting the conjectural existence of "that long vanished Proto-Aryan race," any attempt at describing its physical characters at the present time would be entirely speculative, because of "the absorption of the original stock in a hundred other races in remote pre-historic times" Hence arise the differences in the various "theories,"—(mere conjectures based on preconceived ideals),—held about these "Aryans." Thus,

"While German anthropologists are still almost to a man loyal to the traditional view that the first Aryans were best represented by the tall, long-headed tawney-haired, blue-eyed Teutonic barbarians of Tacitus,—who, Vischow tells us, have completely disappeared from sight in the present population, the Italian School, or, at least its chief exponent, Sergi, was equally convinced that the picture was a myth, that such Aryans never existed, that the true primitive Aryans were not long, but round-headed, not fair but dark, not tall but short, and are in fact today best represented by the round-headed Kelts, Slavs and South Germans"![27]

And Vischow's challenge, "Who would furnish the *proof* that the primitive Aryans were dolichocephalous and had blue eyes, blood hair, and a white complexion?"—remains unanswered.[28] Mr. Ghose summarises the recent tendencies of Ethnologists thus,

"All the ethnological speculations hitherto considered are seen to have proceeded on the assumptions that the 'blood' of two races 'blend' in their offspring like two fluids in a beaker, and that according to the proportion in which these two have gone into the mixture, the product may present series of intermediate gradations ranging from the one extreme to the other. The recent development of Mendelian genetics have however firmly established that germ plasms do not blend, their particular elements mingle and uncontaminated, segregate again."[29]

Prof. Pittard proposes to give a decent burial to the Aryan myth by urging that the many things that have been said about the origin of the Indian peoples, had better be forgotten. The problem is only complicated by the Aryan discussion.

"If our progress is to be cumbered by *all the litter of utterly gratuitous guesses*, we shall certainly have no chance of getting any further."

The conclusions of Ethnology with regard to India, summed up by him are,

"India appears as an isolated anthropological province with her own particular characters in the great Asiatic ensemble. She is what we might call an autonomous anthropological province."[30]

Mr. Gordon Childe in his study of Indo-European origins, uses the term Aryan in the hypothetical sense, cleared from all ambiguity:

"Naturally the parent language must have been spoken by actual *people*. These we shall call Aryans."

He strikes the right note, when he states that,

"To whatever race or races they belonged, they must have possessed a certain spiritual unity reflected in and conditioned by their community of speech. To their

most valuable sources for information connected with anthropology," P. Topinard. *Anthropology*, (1890) p. 423.

23. W. Z. Ripley. *The Races of Europe*, (p. 454). Further on, he describes the attempt to locate a linguistic centre through appeal to physical characteristics as a "Scientific heresy" (p. 455).

24. A. L. Kroeber, *Anthropology* (1924?) (p. 111).

25. It is the attitude of most anthropologists, though Keane (26) discusses the adaptability of Aryans into the "Caucasic Family Tree" given at p. 224. For "Races" see A. C. Haddon's Chart, *Races of Man* (1924).

26. A. H. Keane. *Ethnology*. 2nd Edn., (1896). Pp. 227 and 395.

27. A. H. Keane, *Man: Past and Present*, (revd. by A. C. Haddon and anr., 1920) (p. 442); and (26) p. 396. Ripley also observed that, "Both the Celtic (Alpine) and Indo-Germanic racial theories as inconclusive as they are d i a m e t r i c a l l y in opposition" (23) (p. xxii).

28. Quoted in (26) (p. 405).

29. N. N. G. (3) (p. 208). Apart from Bateson, H. H. Newman, *Evolution, Genetics and Eugenics* (1925), is a comprehensive survey of the scientific grounds.

30. E. Pittard, *Race and History: An Ethnological Introduction to History*, (1926) pt. III. ch. VIII, p. 387 and p. 391. (Italics ours).

linguistic heirs they bequeathed, if not skull-types and bodily characteristics, at least something of this more subtle and more precious spiritual identity."[31]

He describes, however, the extension of the term Aryan to embrace all speakers of Indo-European tongues, as "illegitimate." He makes it clear that, "though we have for convenience retained the name in that sense in this book, we have stated at the outset that *its use as a national appellation* by the undivided people *is unproven and indeed unlikely*."[32]

31. V. G. Childe, *The Aryans: A Study of Indo-European Origins.* (1926) (p. 4).

32. *Ibid.* (p. 95) (Italics ours). Elsewhere he uses the significant phrase. "the diffusers" of the Aryan speech.

SORROW OF FLOWERS

By MANINDRALAL BOSE

(*Translated by Mrs. Lila Ray*)

Hena

A motherless little girl of six. The white homespun *sari* she wore was gray with dust. Silent and solitary in the pale light of the late afternoon she sat beneath a flowering tree in the fallow field before their house. The neighborhood children were playing hide-and-seek and it hurt her to watch them. As the evening light, like the petals of a drying flower, began to blacken, she grew afraid to stay alone in the dark. Slowly quitting the tree she approached the little house. She ascended the stairs to the upper storey and seated herself in a corner of the verandah that overlooked the road. This verandah corner was her play-room, her kingdom. Here her dolls were married, her houses of cards were built, her little boys and girls had picnics, she worshipped......here everything was done. The cement was crumbling in places and the broom had not touched it the whole day. She sat down upon the dust and watched the lights and shadows in the field.

In a corner of the open roof opposite, her grandmother was performing the evening worship to the sound of the conch and slowly lighting the earthen lamp beneath the *tulshi* bush. Then she went into the kitchen. The little girl pulled at her unkempt black hair with soft, small, petal-like fingers. Her blue glass bangles tinkled. Stretching out her legs she leaned back against the white lime wall and looked up into the sky. A star appeared. She thought of her mother. When every evening, her mother had kindled the lamp beneath the *tulshi* she had followed with her mud lamp from her playcorner. Together, drawing the ends of their *saris* around their necks, they had touched their foreheads to the floor before God and prayed. Afterwards, seated in this same corner, her mother would cuddle her and tell her stories. During the day it was she who told stories to her mother.

The light from the kitchen coloured the darkness of the roof a little. One could see her grandmother's coarse silk *sari*. As slowly as a star the little girl arose and went to set alight her small lonely lamp under the sacred plant. As she touched her soft forehead to the broken plinth her eyes filled with tears and she sank upon the dark chill roof. Huddled beside the *tulshi* she gazed towards the stars and prayed :

"Thakur, you will forgive me for not having brought you a light these last few days, for not having lit the lamp, because when evening comes I feel so sad—I just can't. At bedtime though, I have bowed at your feet every day. Have I sinned much in neglecting the lamp? Mother used to say you forgive all sins.

"Thakur, will mother not come back again? Grandmother says she has gone to Heaven, that she is near you. Is that a very nice place? Is mother happy there? Can't you send her back just once? I think she has forgotten us.

"Very naughty mother! When you come I will quarrel and I won't let you kiss me.

"If someone would take me to Heaven I would bring her back this very minute! Is there no coming back from there? If I go will I not be able to come back? Then father and Tuku (her doll), and Nitu (her goat) will cry ever so much. You tell mother her little girl

says she must come quickly. Father is so bad! He only cries and doesn't pay any attention to me or tell me stories. But grandmother is good. She tells me stories and does the cooking. Only just as the story's begun she cries so much that I cry too. Thakur, will much crying bring mother back? Then I will cry so very, very much.

"Mother dear, When will you come? O, how heavy my heart is! Nothing is nice any more. How are you there? I am all right Father and grandmother and Boncha (the neighbourhood dog) and Hari (the servant) are all right. Jadu (a little boy of the same age living next door) was ill. Yesterday he ate rice again. His mother kept me at their house all day yesterday. She gave me so much to eat! Minu (a little girl of the neighbourhood) wanted to marry her daughter to my son on the night of the next full moon. I told her. 'Mother isn't here. Who will receive the bride? Who will arrange the flowers?' I asked father and grandmother; they wouldn't. So I told her, 'If Mother doesn't come, we can't do it.' Mother dear, little Sonny (one and a half years old) only cries. He doesn't seem even to get hungry. I tell him, 'Don't cry or Mother won't come any more.' He won't understand. How he can walk! He calls me 'thithi.'* That day he broke the milk bottle and spilt milk all over himself......how he laughed! Mother dear, how are you? I am all right......"

Suddenly the little girl's honeyed voice stopped She jumped up and stared intently. She had seemed to see her mother in a dark part of the roof; the whiteness of her dress shone beside a clump of hena. "Mother...... dear......" she trembled and fainted. At her plaintive distracted cry her grandmother came running. Gathering her up in her arms she carried her to the kitchen and began to sprinkle water into her face. Since her mother had died she often fainted so. The little girl lifted a bewildered gaze into her grandmother's sorrow-lined, tear-steeped face and asked sweetly, "Where's Mother? She came just now. Mother....... dear........"

SIRISH

There had been a passing shower. The wind was cool and night deepened beneath the dark sky. In the corner of a crumbling mud hut in the slums the black form of a little blind boy seemed almost a part of the watery blackness. Drops of water dripped like tears through the open broken roof. Water collected in a corner. A few rats and cockroaches scuttled about the floor. The age of the boy was nine but he seemed not more than six. He had become blind when he was six and it was almost as if he had not grown since. His old mother lay asleep on a soiled rag-quilt that was torn in a hundred places and covered with patches. The boy, clutching his wet, buttonless, mud-stained coat, drew it over the bones of his emaciated chest with his cold hand, thin and gray as a hollow jute husk. He prayed silently:

"Ishwar, I........I am calling you. We were given only four annas today. Tomorrow night there will be only *muri** to eat. .... not even a piece of bread........if we don't get eight annas. Today I sat at Kalitola; I could not go to Goldighi. Is that why there was so little? Will you tell me where people give the most that I may sit there? That Dayal Singh brought seventeen annas today. We don't need so much. Twelve annas every day would be enough. Mother had a little fever today. She could not eat much. Please heal her quickly. She cries so wondering what will happen to me if she dies. You will not let her die, will you? Who would lead me out to beg? Will you do good to those who give to us? Yes, I know you will make them happy; I too will remind you every day. Do you know we were almost struck by a motor today? Mother does not hear well so I caught her by the hand and pulled her. Ishwar, will my eyes not get better? Will I never be able to see again? If I could see I would support Mother by selling papers like Mahadev (a little boy of the slums). I hope he will sell lots of papers tomorrow. For every rupee's worth he gives us a pice you know. He is an old friend. We used to play together ......when I had eyes. I am very sleepy and cold. Today I went about a lot in the mud. Ishwar, again and again I bow to you, please make my mother well."

Slowly his head drooped. Wearily drawing his muddy wrapper more closely around him he lay down and instantly feel asleep.

POLASH

The boy was about eleven years old. He was thin and frail with a delicate, sparkling face and bright eyes full of mischief. With the sleeves of his khaki shirt rolled up he was writing

* Childish patter for 'didi,' the Bengali for elder sister.

* A kind of puffed rice.

in his diary. Before him his History book and his Mathematics note-book lay open. He secretly tried to write in his diary every day But at the sound of his father's shoes in the wink of an eye the diary was inside his desk among his tops and water-colours, knives, marbles, and other miscellaneous possessions; the Mathematics note-book had taken its place. Pulling at his tousled curls and occasionally blowing on the lantern he wrote :

Today we played a match with the Gardanga School boys. I beat Haren at tops. I challenged Dhiren. If I can beat him I shall be the Class Champion. The Mathematics teacher is getting more devilish every day. Things are not going well. It took me all morning today to do all my home-work and he said, "You have brought very little!" Then he hit me over the head again. I shall never go again with all my sums done. If I have to stand up for it I will stand but why should he beat me for nothing? All right, if it is wrong to tell a lie, Mother told a fair one to Father today. He asked, "Have the buttons been sewn on my shirt?" She said, "Yes." Then when Father went to bathe, she sewed them on in a hurry. I would certainly have told Father about her lie but a little while before he had boxed my ears. Why? Hearing that I told a lie that day ....how he beat me! All right, Father, you tell a lie yourself some day. I will certainly tell Mother.

Is it my fault I lost that note-book and pencil? What can I do? They just get lost. This time Father, when he gave me a new note-book said it had to last until summer vacation. All right, Bhagavan, but you know I don't lose note-books on purpose, and my handwriting is so big this one will be finished in a month. After that the teachers will only beat me. Will you tell Father for me? All right, Bhagavan, since you are all-powerful, please punish my Mathematics teacher. He slaps me and hits me over the head for every little mistake in doing sums just because I am not strong. But I am not the whining kind that will run crying to the Headmaster and complain or bring a letter from home. I am not complaining to you but because you know everything anyway I can talk about it. Heal my little sister and make me reasonable. I am very hungry; today I won't write any more. Again and again I touch my forehead to your feet.

He struck the diary lightly against his brow and put it into the desk.

SHEPHALI

The noon sunlight dazzled; the sky seemed stunned by its fierce brightness. In a little room opening on to a small verandah-roof a girl of eleven lay ill upon a teak bedstead. All the doors and windows of the room were closed; only towards the roof a door stood ajar. A hot breeze was blowing and the potted flowers were dry. On a clothesline dangled her father's shirts and handkerchiefs, her mother's red-bordered *sari* and her little brother's jumpers. A kite was sitting beside a tub in a corner.

The girl lay gazing toward the open door The gold of her skin had turned to brass; her lotus face was as shrunken as a withered leaf, and her sparkling diamond eyes had grown as tender as the shephali. She had heard what the doctor told her father in the doorway...... that she could not live many more days. It had not disturbed her very much; she seemed to have lost all power of feeling. Now and again that unbearable pain came into her chest and back. She was relieved when it past.

Near the head of the bed stood a table with a thermometer, a watch, a bottle of medicine and a glass arranged upon it. Slowly raising her head she looked at them and played a little with her long dry hair. Then she opened the drawer with her wasted hand and took out a note-book bound in morocco leather and a pretty blue pencil. Resting her chest upon a pillow she began to write slowly :

When I die don't cry overmuch. If you do I will be angry. Mother, you love me more than anyone else but it won't do just to cry for me. Spend more time with Sonny instead, play with him and love him. Because of me you aren't giving him much attention now. And Father, you also must not cry too much. Who will comfort Mother if you do? You need not worry very much about me because I have not knowingly sinned and so surely I will go to Heaven. Ishwar will keep me near him and happy. But I will never forget you and I will come and see you sometimes. If I can help you in anything I will. To please me you must buy nice clothes for Sonny and take him out and give him good things to eat. And Mother, if you can, go and see Benu and Mini (her school friends of the same age and neighbourhood) once in a while.

Mother, give my big doll, the one that Uncle gave me, to Benu because she is my very best friend and the little doll that Father gave me to Mini. She is my friend too. And Mother I have given Tultul (their white cockatoo) to you; you will take good care of it. When Sonny gets bigger you can give it

to him. Tultul can say 'toka'* nicely and Sonny prattles 'Thulthul' so sweetly. I am leaving all my books and playthings and my slate and pencil for Sonny. He can already read a little. Only give the big picture book you gave me to Benu. Give my red and silver pencil to Kanai (a young servant of the family) and my sandalwood box to Uncle. My note-books and pen and inkstand are for Benu. She has given me so many sums and so many notes. But this note-book is Father's. Give each girl of my class one of my prize books and give to Mini my little picture book and match-boxes. Give my paints and brushes to Manu (a little boy of her own age with whom she used to play) but don't give him the pictures I have painted. You keep those. If he wants that little photo of mine you can let him have it. He has given me lots of nice pictures. Give my sewing box to Sister Madhobi (the schoolmistress). She took so much trouble to teach me how to sew and when I tore my clothes during play she would mend them for me. Give my table and trunk to 'Dada'† and my stone image of Mahadev to grandmother. I leave my ear-rings to Auntie (seventeen years old) and my pink *sari* to Little Aunt (thirteen years old). To grandfather I give my clock. My neck-band is Benu's and my bracelets are Mini's. She loves me very much. Give my book of songs to Benu's elder brother. He used to bring lovely flowers to her for me.

And Mother, please give half my clothes to poor girls. Don't forget that Khenti (the sweeper girl) must take four *saris* and two are for that mad girl who goes around picking up paper and rags from rubbish heaps if she comes. Give whatever else there is to whoever wants it; only keep the Benares *sari* Uncle gave me if you want to. My biggest framed photo goes to Father and all the rest to you. Do you know, Mother, there are almost twelve rupees in my box? I want five to go to the school poor fund and two to buy a red ball and a bottle of lozenges for Sonny. Give the rest as charity to beggars who come to the house. Don't forget to give Khenti a rupee. I can't remember what else there is; I give it all to you.

When I have gone really do not cry very much. Think of your little girl as happy. What Ishwar does He does for the best. He is taking me to Him. Forgive me all the naughty things I have done and all the times I have disobeyed Father, I 'pranam'* you again and again; Mother, I touch my forehead to your feet. I bow to the ground before all of you I will never forget how much you have loved me.

Just put lots of flowers around me when I'm dead and give a feast to all the little boys and girls of our slum.

I am dying happily. As I lie I think of Pippa's song. She was a little girl like me.

> "God's in His Heaven—
> All's right with the world!"

Almighty God, You are everyone's Friend! I am going to You. With You I will want for nothing. Keep them well!

The effort of writing had tired her weak hand. Slowly pushing the note-book under her pillow the girl closed her eyes and dropped back upon the white bed, picture-like. A gust of wind closed the door. Outside the sunlight burned. Everything was still......a noon midnight.

* For 'khoka,' the Bengali for 'Sonny.'
† Bengali for elder brother.

* The Indian greeting to elders by touching the forehead to the dust.



NEWSPAPER REPORTING

By FREDERICK J. LAZELL,
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Good reporting is good reporting the world over. There is no essential difference between good reporting on a metropolitan daily and good reporting for a community weekly in America. Some of the best reporters the metropolitan press has today, began as reporters on country weekly newspapers.

William P. Beazell, managing editor of the late *New York World*, recently wrote an article for *The Fourth Estate* in which he showed that nearly every one of the great galaxy of gifted writers on the *World* began as a reporter in some rural community.

They may all have been born newspaper writers; but they had to write more or less than a million articles before they were made. (It may be noted here that all newspaper articles are called "stories" in the United States.) The lives of the newspaper writers remind us of the Longfellow stanzas:

The heights by great men reached and kept
Were not attained by sudden flight;
But they, while their companions slept,
Were toiling upward in the night.

Probably it was years before anyone of them could sit at his typewriter and create a story, without once stopping the play of his fingers on the keys, that was fit to go into the newspaper without being edited.

Newspaper writing is one of the greatest of the liberal arts. Like the painter, the writer must have the urge of the artist. He must be so deeply in love with his art that he will be never so happy as when he is at it. As the artist is ceaselessly seeking to create loveliness of line with his pencil and glory of color with his brush, so the writer will be forever trying to set forth truth and beauty with the style of his sentences and the medium of his words.

There is always time to do what one wants to do. Even in a country newspaper office the young man who is determined to be a good writer will be back at the office night after night, writing the same story again and again, making it a little more vivid and colorful each time. That is how Lincoln wrote and rewrote a speech until not another word could be taken from it without detracting from its vigor or clouding its clarity. So he achieved the second inaugural and the Gettysburg address.

Getting the news is easier in the country town than in the city. The country weekly reporter knows everything that has happened, is happening, and much that is about to happen. If he is a good reporter he knows every man and woman and most of the children in his community. All of them give him news; but he does not expect them to bring it to his office. He is out on the street, in their places of business, or at their homes, to get it.

His five senses are always alert and he has a sixth sense which tells him where news stories are ripening and he knows just when, where and how they may be gathered. That is the reporter's art.

A reporter should be familiar with the Kipling doggerel:

I have six honest serving men
They taught me all I know;
Their names are what, and where, and when,
And how, and why, and who

But he probably will arrange them in a little different order. What, who, where, when, how, and why. What happened? To whom did it happen? Where and when did it happen? How did it happen? Why did it happen?

All, or nearly all, of these six elements are always found in what is called the straight news lead, or the summary lead, which is used for train wrecks, fires, accidents, crimes, tragedies and other classes of immediate news, which sometimes is called "spot" news.

The reporter should be sure to ask enough questions to elicit all the information necessary to give adequate and detailed answers to every one of these six questions.

Too many reporters fail here. They do not get all of the story. Sometimes they get only half of it. The reporter should diligently excavate all his sources of information until every one of these elements of the story is fully covered. Ask a hundred questions if necessary, from a score of different persons, in order to get ten facts.

The relative psychological importance of these six elements should enable the reporter to

decide which one of them shall be used as the opening sentence of the story.

If the person concerned is the most important man or woman in the community then the "who" element should be chosen as the opening sentence.

If burglars blow and loot the bank, the "what" element naturally takes precedence.

If an automobile accident happens at a culvert which has repeatedly been asked to repair, the story may properly begin with the "where" element.

If the Rev. Father William J. Shannahan, first saw the hills of Holy Cross in Dubuque county on St. Patrick's Day, fifty years ago, then the opening sentence might read: "It was on St. Patrick's Day, 1875, at 4 o'clock in the morning that the Rev. William P. Shannahan first came to this town with a smile upon his face and a shamrock in his buttonhole," thus emphasizing the "when" element.

If John Anderson and Olga Peterson say goodbye to their bright ambitions of going to college and getting an education before marriage, because they want a home of their own near or upon the old farms so that they can give daily help and comfort to their aged parents, there is a two-sided "why" element which is more interesting than any other feature of the story. It should, therefore, be made the first sentence.

After the reporter has asked all his questions and is certain that he has all the material to give adequate news treatment to every one of these six elements, he should weigh each one of them in his mental balances and decide which shall be chosen for the first line of his story. That can be done while he is walking back to the office. He should be particular to pack that first sentence so full of interesting information and important fact that the first deck of the headline can be written from it. Often this can be done so that the first part of the headline can be written from the first six words of the story. That is good news writing.

When the headline writer has to read half way down the story to find a fact important enough for his headline, neither the reporter, nor the news editor has done his work well. Stories which begin with such sentences as "at an early hour last evening while policeman Michael McGuire was carefully patrolling his beat he observed a thin wisp of smoke issuing from the north-east window of the third story of Oddfellows hall" are not good. They waste valuable newspaper space and they weary the reader, who is impatient to know what happened.

When the opening sentence has been written, the other elements should be treated in terse and vivid sentences, in the order of their relative importance. Usually this can be done in the first paragraph, but occasionally two are necessary. It is an error to try to combine all six of the elements in one sentence. That is sometimes done by inexperienced reporters; but such sentences are cumbersome and obscure.

Good reporting results from close thinking and incessant practice. It is the foundation of all good newspaper writing. The good newspaper man, no matter what position he may occupy, never ceases to be a good reporter.

The first paragraph, or first and second paragraphs containing all the news elements, is called in newspaper language the "lead," which is a short name for introduction. If it is properly written it may be the only portion of the story used in case there is a sudden rush of news or advertising.

After the lead comes the detailed story. Beginning with the news element of most importance the reporter writes all the interesting information he has been able to gather regarding that particular element, sometimes called a feature. In succeeding paragraphs he takes up the next most important feature, then the next and the next, until the end. The last paragraph is of the least importance and interest and if the make-up man omits it for lack of space, the reader misses but little.

Each of these paragraphs should be written with the same attention to relative interest and importance as the first paragraph of the story, putting the most vivid and important fact concerning that particular feature in the first sentence of the paragraph. In this way the reader is lured, detail by detail, paragraph by paragraph, to read the entire story.

Sometimes there is a narrative of what happened in the order of its happening as when a man folds his napkin, gets up from the breakfast table, kisses his wife goodbye, walks down town whistling "Remember," and is struck by an auto and killed at a crossing. This is sometimes known as a sequential lead

It is difficult to use such a lead without marring its effect by giving the whole story away in the headlines. The same is true of what is known as the "suspended interest" lead where the story grows more tragic with each succeeding paragraph until the climax.

A recent story of this kind began with a paragraph narrating the marriage of a military officer and a beautiful girl.

In the next paragraph unpaid bills, including

the wedding bills, were weighing heavily upon the young husband's mind.

In the third paragraph he asked his wife to go out for a walk. Then he wrote her a farewell note telling her he loved her more than he ever did; but was going to kill himself. Then he took his army revolver and shot himself.

The young wife returned, saw her husband's body, and shrieked for help. Then she read his note and grew strangely calm.

She asked those present to leave her with him for a few moments. As soon as they were outside she shot herself with the same revolver and fell at her husband's side.

Such leads are the direct antithesis of the news, or summary lead and are seldom used.

Sometimes a story opens with a striking quotation, and occasionally with some witty remarks or pithy sentences, called epigrams. Sometimes the first paragraph begins with a bit of nonsense; but only the expert reporter can handle it without making the reader indignantly impatient for him to get on with the story. As a rule people do not tarry for the sideshow ballyhoos when they are trying to get into the big tent.

The artist with words will not fail to write for every issue of his paper little human interest stories of life and behavior—stories of success and failure, humor and pathos, cruelty and kindness, grief and joy, suffering and charity that he sees and hears every day. One of these stories, framed in a box at the top of a column on page one, may be worth more in human interest values than a column long story with a large head. These stories, done in the medium of words, are as truly artistic as the little pictures upon which the artists of pencil and brush are forever working.

But what are human interest stories, and how does a reporter or an editor know what stories will interest his readers?

News is sometimes defined as the immediate, accurate and unbiased record of that which interests any group of the paper's readers, and the best news as that which interests all the paper's readers.

That is well enough as far as it goes, but in a sense it begs the question. What is that which interests the paper's readers. In other words, what is reader interest?

The psychologists say that the newspaper men do not know what interests their readers; they merely guess at it. The psychologists believe that a great deal of scientific research is necessary before there can be any assurance that the stories which newspaper men believe to be full of reader interest really possess any interest. .

But the newspaper man has been doing two sorts of research. One is physical, the other psychological. He is able to classify the population of his community according to race, age, sex, occupation, habitation in town or country. He knows the statistics of the grade schools, the consolidated schools, the high schools, the colleges and he can name the university graduates of his own community. He knows the sports groups, the religious groups, the political groups. He knows how many of his people of his community have bank accounts and how many have mortgages on their farms, their town homes, their automobiles. He knows the kind, character and value of all the products of the farms and factories. With the aid of these and similar classifications he believes himself able to gauge reader interest very closely.

But there is another way. It is possible to base nearly every good newspaper story upon one of the sides of a triangle representing economics, emotions, enjoyments.

This triangle of the three E's is constructed upon the sure knowledge that every human being is interested in problems of the purse, problems of the heart, problems of how to get the most out of life.

Stories based upon the economic side of this triangle work are problems of personal efficiency, group organization, individual and collective ambition, effort, ahcievement, compensation. The story tells how one person worked out some one of the problems, but the reader sees in it the solution, or the attempted solution of his own similar problem. Material progress, resulting in greater convenience, comfort and culture for the state, the community, and the home have a place on this side of the triangle So does news of farms, markets, capital and labor, all the news of industry and commerce.

Grouped along the emotional side of the triangle are the news stories which deal with the infinite manifestations of love and affection. Many show the virtues emanating from a heart that is sound and sweet, such as pity, charity, kindness to children, to animals, respect for the aged, love of family and friends, constancy and vicarious sacrifice, a love that finds fruition at the altar or a greater love that endureth all things, even renunciation.

Other stories of this class present painful, but nevertheless truthful pictures of the vices and crimes that result when desire has been thwarted, when love has been spurned, or when

it has given place to passion, to hate, or to revenge.

Stories in the society pages portray pinnacles of bliss bathed in a rosy and golden light. But other pages may have other kinds of stories fully equal in reader interest. They tell of sex emotion uncontrolled, leading to degradation, despair, infamy, sometimes to death. They are gathered in the divorce court, the criminal court, at the hospital, sometimes at the coroner's inquest Many of them are stories of the life in which every reader has a part, problems which he, more or less successfully, has tried to solve. In them the truth, told with the simplicity and beauty of great art, is a force for good and not for evil. Therefore such stories properly find a place in the newspaper. There is no reason why they should be kept out.

Indeed, these crime stories should be evaluated in exactly the same way as other news. The prominence of the person, the magnitude of the event, the proximity of the place and the time, the unusual character of the how and especially the psychology of the answerable or unanswerable why. There is no reason why this class of stories should have a different unit of measurement. They should be neither underplayed nor overplayed. Some sensational newspapers have gone too far in one direction, and some sentimentalists have counselled omitting them, or burying them, saying that they are provocative of crime. But no definite evidence has yet been advanced to support such an argument.

Stories of disasters, accidents, and some classes of crimes have the same psychological base because they arouse our emotions of pity, sympathy, horror, or indignation, stimulating us to work of relief, or arousing us to demands of punishment. All of them present problems in what would have been our own behavior had we been victims or survivors of the disaster. They have great reader interest, but it is not so universal as that of the emotional stories in which sex is a factor.

The third side of this news triangle might be called Aesthetics, but is more correctly designated enjoyment. It includes stories of human behavior during hours of avocation and periods of vacation. The refined sorts of pleasure such as the love of beauty, the pursuit of knowledge, the devotion to religion find a place here, but so do stories of summer camps, of automobile or steamship tours. Enjoyment includes baseball and the fifty-seven other varieties of sports, including hunting and fishing. The groups of persons which can thrill with a sense of triumph in these sports, imagining themselves to be quite as expert as the players, is very large. Hence the reader interest—and hence the large space given to them in the newspapers.

Some newspaper men with long experience, or with talent approaching genius, or with both, have an almost uncanny sense of reader interest inherent in the copy before them. Their decisions are prompt and certain. The average newspaper man is neither so sure nor so swift. It will pay him to make the survey of his groups and to analyse the reader interest of his stories along the lines here laid down.

Whatever style or method the reporter may employ, there are some essential requirements which he may not ignore. Every sentence of his story must be grammatically as well as factually correct. He must tell enough to make his story truthful and impartial. This is especially the case with political or other controversial meetings. The reporter's story should leave at least as truthful and complete a picture in the mind of the reader as the reader would have obtained had he attended the meeting. The reporter is the eyes for those who did not see and the ears for those not present to hear. He must be honest with his reader. Reporters who write news on the bias, presenting their opinions of what was said or done, rather than what actually was said or done are a discredit to an honorable profession. The place for the newspaper's opinion is in the editorial columns. The reader expects it there.

Accuracy, terseness were the Pulitzer watchwords. They are good always. By accuracy is here meant that accuracy which tells the whole truth.

A word about terseness. The reporter should leave involved sentences to the savants, polysyllabic words to the scientists, long rounded periods to the political spellbinders. It is his duty to write his story in words that his readers will understand. Let him use brief sentences, not more than once in a paragraph exceeding fifteen words. Make them vivid. Employ no unnecessary word. Sentences should be so lucid that the reader of average intelligence not only can get the exact meaning, but cannot fail to get it.

Make the paragraphs short. Stories in some community weeklies contain paragraphs sixty lines long. Five to ten lines would be far better. Let each sentence present one idea and begin a new paragraph for every new angle of the story. For examples read Abraham Lincoln, John Bunyan, Victor Hugo.

THE LOST JEWEL

By RABINDRANATH TAGORE

My boat had been moored near the dilapidated bathing steps leading down into the river.

The sun had set. The boatmen was saying his evening prayers on the upper deck, the picture of his devotions being silhouetted against the glowing sky as he rose after each prostration. The changing colours reflected from the unruffled surface of the river melted one into the other as I looked on, becoming dulled from golden to steely lustre.

As I sat all alone on one of those steps, which belonged to the old ruin of a building standing near the river bank, with its sagging balconies and broken shutters, a dewy gloom closed in about me to the shrilling of cicadas from the thickets around, and my dry eyes were on the point of getting moist, when I was startled into a shiver from head to foot by a hollow voice from behind asking: "Where may you be coming from, sir?"

I turned my head to find the wasted figure of a man, clearly not one of fortune's favourites, standing a few steps above me. He had a starved, cadaverous look, and wore an oil-stained office coat of *endi*-silk on top of his not over-clean *dhoti*, appearing to have just left his place of work, and seemingly content, in place of the more substantial refreshment he so obviously needed, with a breath of river-side air. He came down and sat on the same step with me "I am from Ranchi," I informed him in reply to his question.

"And what is your occupation?"

"I am a merchant."

"Dealing in——?"

"Myrobalans, silk-cocoons and timber."

"May I know your name?"

After a moment's hesitation I gave him a name which was not mine. Even that, however, did not satisfy his insatiable curiosity.

"But what brings you here?" he continued.

"Change of air," I said.

This surprised him into protest. "Well, sir," he exclaimed, "I have been imbibing the air of this place, together with an average of fifteen grains of quinine a day, for nearly six years now, but I cannot say I have got any good out of it!"

"You will admit, at least," I rejoined, smiling, "that the change from Ranchi[1] air is not inconsiderable."

"No doubt, no doubt,—but whereabouts do you intend to put up here?"

"There," I said, indicating the tumble-down building behind us.

The man must have suspected that I had got scent of hidden treasure buried by some former occupant of the house. Anyhow, he raised no objection; but proceeded to tell me, at length, a story of what, he said, had happened in that haunted house some fifteen years ago; and, as his cavernous eyes glittered beneath his bald pate with an unnatural glare, he put me in mind of Coleridge's ancient mariner.—It appeared he was the local Schoolmaster.

The boatman, having finished his prayers, was out of view, busy with his cooking. In the last rays of the fading glow the desolate house above the bathing steps stood shimmering like a ghost of its former self. The schoolmaster went on with his story.

About ten years before I came to this village a man named Phani-bhusan Saha used to live in this house. He had come into the property and business of his childless uncle, Durga-mohan. But the modern spirit had got hold of him. He had been through a college course: he walked into English business houses with his shoes on: he spoke in correct English with the *Burra Sahebs*. I need hardly tell you that he could expect no favours from these, for they would see at a glance that he was of new Bengal.

Then again he had another source of mischief,—in his home. He had married Beauty, so that his college learning and his pretty wife, between them, played havoc with the good old ways; so much so, that in case of illness the government Assistant Surgeon used to be called in, and all the rest of their household expenses were on the same increased scale.

You, sir, are doubtless married, so it is superfluous to tell you that womenkind usually like their mangoes green and their husbands hard. The unfortunate man who is deprived of his wife's love does not necessarily lack riches

1. Ranchi is well-known for its salubrious climate. —*Tr.*

or good looks ; it is because he suffers from too much mildness.

If you ask me why this should be so I happen to have thought a great deal about the matter No creature can be happy without scope for the exercise of its special inclinations and capacities The deer seeks a hard-wood tree on which to rub its horns, it takes no pleasure in butting at a banana stem. Ever since separate sexes were created, the woman has had to cultivate special arts for taming wild and wayward man. With a man already subdued, poor woman has nothing left to do, and all her weapons, inherited from her mother and grandmothers and kept serviceable through long ages, lie heavy on her as a useless burden.

The woman wants to win man's love by her own power and skill. The submissive husband, who stands ready conquered, is unfortunate indeed, and so is his wife!

Under modern, civilized education man, by losing his grand, God-given barbarity, has loosened the bonds of marriage. Our hapless Phani-bhusan had emerged from this civilizing machine as the mildest of men, so that neither with his business, nor with his wife, did he make a success of his life.

Phani-bhusan's wife, Mani-malika,[2] got her caresses without the asking, her Dacca *sarees* without shedding tears, her gold bangles without having to go into a fit of sulks, wherefore her woman's nature, and with it her faculty of love, lay fallow. For there was only 'take' and no 'give.' Her mild and silly husband thought that giving was the best means of securing a return, - and so went hopelessly astray!

In the result Mani-malika came to look upon her husband as a machine for the supply of *sarees* and bangles,—so efficient that even the trouble of keeping it oiled was not required of her.

Phani's paternal home was in another village, but his uncle's business centre having been in this place, it was here that he had to spend most of his time. Though he had lost his mother, there were aunts and sundry relatives living in his home. But as he had not married his pretty wife for the benefit of these other members of his household, he had brought her with him to this mansion here. There is, however, a difference between a wife and other properties: she cannot be made one's own by simply acquiring her and keeping her in personal custody.

Mani was not a talkative woman: she did not mix much with the neighbours' wives: she did not invite the neighbours on festive occasions. Nothing was ever wasted in her hands,—except, perhaps, her husband's caresses, every gift received had been carefully stored up. The strange part of it was, that no waste was visible even in her youth and beauty. People used to say she looked as girlish at twenty-four as when she was fourteen. Those whose hearts are made of ice, who have not to withstand the scorching of love, can thus keep themselves fresh through the years.

A tree luxuriating in foliage is devoid of fruit, and Providence had not given Mani-malika a child. That is to say, Mani had never received any gift that she could prize beyond the jewels locked in her strong box,—that could, like the mellow sunshine of Spring, melt her ice-bound heart to stream forth over her household.

But she did not disdain hard work. Rather she grudged the payment of wages for work she could do herself. She had no anxieties about loved ones, no worries over others' difficulties, but only her own work and the care of her own valuables, so that, well established in peace and health and growing prosperity, she herself was never sick or sorry.

Most husbands would have thought this good enough, nay, rarely fortunate. One is not reminded of the small of one's back unless one has lumbago. A wife who keeps thrusting her existence on her husband by the constant demands of her love, amounts to a malady of the whole household. An excess of devotion to the husband may be a thing to glory in for the wife, but it is troublesome to bear up against for the husband himself, -at least, that is my opinion.

Just consider, my dear sir. Is it a man's business to be continually weighing and measuring how much of his wife's love he has managed to capture, and how much has escaped him? Let the wife look after her affairs, the husband after his,—that is broadly my idea of how a household should be run. How much is to be understood from what is implied, how much remains wanting in what is expressed, how big in reality is that which looks small,—God has not given man enough of understanding to comprehend these subtleties of love, nor is it necessary.

Women, no doubt, are for ever calculating

2 Phani means a hooded snake; Phani-bhusan, its ornament. Mani means a jewel; Mani-malika, a garland of jewels. There is an Indian tradition that the snake carries a jewel of great value within its hood and, if by any mischance that is lost, it hunts about, distracted, till the jewel is recovered. An indistinct allusion to this tradition runs through the story.- *Tr.*

the slightest ups and downs in men's love. They separate the tone from the words, they extract its real meaning from the hint. That is because the love of man is their main support — their capital in the business of life. If they can but set their sails according to the blowing of the wind of men's inclinations they are sure of a safe crossing. And so a love-meter has been placed in the heart of woman, — not in man's.

I do not blame the Creator, — He had made the difference between man and woman advisedly wide ; but civilization is busy bridging it over. Women are becoming manly, men are becoming womanly. It is now hardly possible to be certain beforehand whether one is marrying a man or a woman, and so both bride and groom remain all of a tremble !

Perhaps I bore you, sir. But I live here all alone, you see, banished from wife and home. As such distant onlooker, deep thoughts about domestic life rise in my mind; but they are not such as I can discuss with my pupils. So I take this opportunity to lay them before you, in the hope that you will cogitate over them at leisure.

The long and short of it was, that though the household cookery was quite eatable, there was an uneasiness of the I-know-not-what kind in Phani's heart. The wife had no fault, she did nothing wrong, yet the husband was unhappy. Realising the emptiness within his consort's breast, Phani tried to fill it up with gold and jewels, but they merely found their way into her strong box, while a void remained where her heart should have been. Uncle Durga-mohan had not been so squeamish in his understanding of love; he did not ask for it so delicately, nor pay for it so highly, and yet he received it in full measure from his helpmate.

To be a successful business man one should not be too much of a gentleman, and to be an effective husband one must be more or less a barbarian,—this much I can confidently ask you to take from me.

At this point a pack of jackals yelped out from a thicket near by, as though in derisive laughter, either at the marital philosophy propounded by the schoolmaster, or at the plight of the over-civilized Phani-bhusan as disclosed by him. This put a stop to the even flow of his narrative for a few minutes. When their humorous outburst subsided, leaving land and water in a silence that seemed even more intense than before, the schoolmaster, fixing his weird stare on me, continued his story.

All of a sudden some kind of crisis came about in Phani-bhusan's varied and widely-ramified business. What exactly happened is beyond a simple man like me to explain, or even to understand. To put it in a nutshell, it had become, for some temporary reason, difficult for him to keep up his credit. Had he been able, even for a few days, to produce a large sum in cash, and flash it through the market, he could have tided it over, and carried on his business as before, full sail before the wind.

But to get so much cash immediately in hand was not so easy. If he had tried to borrow it from the local merchants, that might have given rise to rumours imperilling his credit still further. On the other hand, it was no use trying to raise it from outsiders without documents of security, which, again, could not but have entailed the publicity he wished to avoid The pledging of gold and jewellery seemed to be the best way to get the money with due despatch and secrecy.

Phani went over to Mani-malika. But he was not the man who could go as simply and naturally as a husband should go to a wife. It was his misfortune that he loved her as the hero of a novel loves the heroine, with a love which has to tread warily, to speak diffidently,—a love that, for all its strength, is like the attraction of Sun and Earth which keeps a large distance between them.

And yet, when hard pressed, even the hero has to broach the subject of money, of notes of hand and bills of exchange, to his beloved; but his voice trembles, his words falter, and a plain and simple business proposition becomes blurred into complexity by emotion, as well as by a false notion of honour. So the unfortunate Phani-bhusan was unable to say straight out : "I want your ornaments, let me have them."

He did say so in effect, but he said it weakly. When Mani, with her face set hard, answered neither yes nor no, he was grievously hurt, but did not hurt back, for he had no trace of rude virility in him. Where he should have taken forcefully, he did not even care to show how much he was wounded. In the realm of love force could not be allowed entry—that was the way he seemed to look at it.

In fine, disdaining in the pride of his high ideals to touch the ornaments of his unwilling wife, he went off to Calcutta to try other means of raising the money.

Ordinarily, in a worldly sense, the wife knows the husband much better than the husband knows the wife. But if the husband happens to be a subtle personality, the whole of

it may not fall within the field of the wife's microscope. Anyhow, our Phani-bhusan's wife did not understand him truly. The modern man has travelled beyond the reach of the untutored skill traditionally handed down from woman to woman. He has become as mysterious as woman herself, and can no longer be definitely placed in one or other of the usual categories : fool, blind, or barbarian.

So Mani-malika sent for her chief minister, Madhu-sudan,—a distant cousin of hers, belonging to the same village,—who had been given some post in Phani's business establishment. He was not the kind of person to get on by merit, so he had to earn his salary, as well as occasional extras, by dint of his relationship. She told him all, ending with the query : " Now, what d'you advise me to do ? "

Madhu wagged his head sagely, as much as to say that things did not look at all well. To the worldly-wise things never do look well "The Master wont get that money," he pronounced at length. " In the end it's your ornaments that'll be laid hold of."

According to Mani's own notion of men and things, the first conclusion seemed quite likely, and the second inevitable. Her anxiety became uncontrollable. Child she never had, and as for husband, there he was, but he did not count,—so the very thought that her hoard of jewellery which, like her own offspring, was growing up under her fostering care, — no more idea, but tangibly gold or precious stone, definitely belonging to her breast, neck or head — should be swallowed up at one swoop in the bottomless pit of her husband's shadowy liabilities, made her blood run cold. " What, then, should I do ? " was her next question.

" Better hurry over to your father's place, and keep the ornaments with him," suggested the sapient cousin, for a brilliant idea had struck him whereby part, if not most, of the treasure might come his way.

Mani-malika agreed to it at once.

Here there was a pause of hesitation, punctuated by the gathering gloom around us, after which the schoolmaster found and took up the thread of his story.

At the height of the July rains, a boat came up at dusk, and was moored by these steps, tied to that very post. And in the deep darkness of the next cloud-hidden dawn, through the croaking of the sleepless frogs, came Mani, swathed from head to foot in a mantle of thick cloth, and boarded the boat.

Madhu, who had been asleep inside, was awakened by her entry and said : " Pass me the jewel box, I'll take care of it."

" There's plenty of time for that," replied Mani.

The boat cast off, and rapidly swept along the turbulent current.

Mani had spent the night in fastening her ornaments all over her head, neck and limbs, from top to toe. She was afraid of carrying them in a box, for that could be so easily taken away from her. As it was, no one but her murderer could get hold of them.

Madhu was taken aback when he found that she had no box with her, — at first unable to guess that her body itself was the repository of that which she valued more than life Mani-malika did not understand Phani-bhusan, it is true, but her understanding of her cousin was complete.

Before leaving, Madhu had written a letter to Phani-bhusan's confidential clerk to say that he was escorting the Mistress to her father's home. This old clerk had been with them since Phani's father's time. He was greatly perturbed and annoyed at this escapade, and wrote off to his master, not very grammatically perhaps, but clearly enough for all that, to say that it was not worthy of a wise husband to allow so much liberty to his spouse.

Phani understood well enough what must have been passing through Mani's mind. It grieved him most to think that, after he had uncomplainingly taken on himself all the trouble and indignity of raising money from outsiders, rather than put the least pressure on his wife, he should still be thus mistrusted; that, after all these years they had lived together, his Mani should know him so little ! Where he should have waxed wroth, he simply nursed a grievance. It is for the man to flare up like a forest fire at the least provocation, for the woman to shower tears like July rain with no reason at all, — but those days are gone. Phani-bhusan not only wrote no letter of protest, but further swore to himself that he would never allude to his wife's ornaments again. — What a dire punishment for her !

When, about ten days later, he managed to raise the money he required, and got out of his difficulties, Phani came back home. He imagined that by this time Mani must have returned from her father's, leaving her ornaments in his custody. When the luckless supplicant of the other day now returned to his wife, gloriously triumphant, how shamed, — perhaps penitent, — she would feel ; this was the thought

uppermost in his mind, as Phani at length stood before the door of their bedroom.

He found the door closed and locked When, after breaking the padlock, he made his way in, he found the room empty. The lid of the strong box in a corner lay open, with no trace of any ornaments inside.

Phani reeled under the shock ; love and business, alike, became for him, from that moment, bereft of all meaning. From the cage on each golden bar of which he had spent his very life, the bird had flown. What now was left for him to deck with the rubies of his heart's blood, the pearls of his tears? Phani fain would have flung away from his mind, in disdain, all attachment for this cage with which the whole of his past life had become so entangled.

Anyhow, Phani-bhusan did not feel like sending after his wife. Let her return if and when she wishes, he decided. But the old clerk would not hear of it. "We must at least try to get news of the Mistress," said he. "How can we sit quiet over her unaccountable delay ?" With which he sent off a messenger to her father's village. The man came back to report that neither Mani-malika nor Madhu-sudan had arrived there.

Then there was a regular hue and cry. Men were despatched along both sides of the river, making enquiries as they went. The police were set on Madhu's trail. But no one could say what boat it was, who was the boatman, or which route it had taken.

All hope lost, Phani-bhusan, one evening, went into his empty bedroom. It was the *Janmashtami*[3] and, as is usual at that season, it was raining incessantly. A fair was being held on the outskirts of the village in connexion with the festival, and a *jatra*[4] was going on. At that window over there, the shutter of which is now hanging askew on its only remaining hinge, Phani was seated alone in the darkness, oblivious alike of the moist wind, the driven rain-drops, the distant sounds of singing, that were coming into the room.

On the wall were a couple of lithographs of Lakshmi and Saraswati.[5] Over a clothes-horse hung a muslin *saree* crinkled ready for wear. By the bed-side was a small table with a box of *pan*[6] made by Mani herself, now dried up. In a glass case were arranged the playthings of Mani's childhood,—dolls, sea-shells, cut-glass bottles, coloured glass curiosities, and even empty ornamental soap-boxes, everything carefully put away. Her favourite little domed night-lamp, which she used to fill and light with her own hands, now reposed darkly in its niche, a silent witness of the last scene before Mani's departure. The unuttered wail of these lifeless objects seemed to make of the bedroom a veritable chamber of death. "Come back, my Mani !" cried Phani's heart. "Come back to all that were your own, and, with your ever-youthful beauty, give them life."

Some time at dead of night the patter of the rain and the sound of singing came to a stop, with Phani-bhusan remaining seated as he had been by the window. The impenetrable, illimitable darkness outside appeared like the towering gateway of the realm of Death, at which if the agonised call of his stricken soul went forth, she who seemed forever lost might yet show herself to him for a moment,—like just one streak of gold on the inky blackness of that adamantine touchstone.

Suddenly on his ears fell a clatter, like hard footsteps, mingled with a tinkle as of a woman's ornaments. It seemed to him that the sound was coming up from the riverside towards the house. But the murky waters of the river, merged in the blackness of the cloudy night, were not visible to him. Filled with the gladness of hope, Phani's eager gaze repeatedly tried to pierce or push through the darkness—but his straining heart and eyes could discern nothing, for all their pains. The more he peered, the darker it seemed to grow, the more shadowy did all the world become. Nature herself, as if resenting an intruder into her domain of deadly night, seemed to draw the curtains closer.

The sound approached nearer and nearer, up the flight of steps, over the intervening gravel path, till it came to an end at the front door, which happened to be locked, as the door-keeper had gone on leave to the fair. Then the closed door rattled to the same kind of hard knocking intermingled with the same metallic jingle.

Phani could contain himself no longer. Passing down the dark staircase, and through the unlighted corridor below, he arrived at the door. It had been padlocked from the outside And as he shook it with all his might and main, his effort and the noise it made, awoke him.

He found himself bathed in perspiration, his hands and feet icy cold, his heart fluttering like a lamp on the point of flickering out. His dream at an end, no sound was now heard outside except the heavy pattering of the rain, through which came the shrill voices of the boy per-

3. Krishna's birth-day.
4. An operatic play concerned with some episode or other in Krishna's life.
5. The goddesses of Prosperity and Learning.
6. Spices wrapped in betel leaf.



Speight Collection

STATION ON THE TOKAIDO

By Hiroshige

See note on p. 31

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formers, singing in a mode[7] appropriate to the dawn.

Though it was only a dream, Phani had felt it to be so vivid, so real, he could not get rid of the feeling that he had missed, by a hair's breadth, some wonderful accomplishment of his most cherished, yet hopeless, desire. The distant strains of music that fell on his ears seemed to be telling him that the waking world was the dream,—in it was all the falsity.

The next evening there was to be another performance of the *jatra* and the door-keeper had leave to go, as before. This time Phanibhusan told him to keep the front door unlocked "That would hardly be safe," the man objected. "There are so many strange people about, for the fair." But Phani persisted in his order "Then let me stay on guard," suggested the loyal door-keeper. "No, no, I will *not* keep you from the *jatra* !" insisted Phani. The man did not know what to make of it.

After nightfall Phani put out the lights and went and sat in his chair by the window. Heavy-laden clouds covered the sky, and all around there reigned a deep silence, as of some anxious expectancy, which even the tireless croaking of the frogs and the shrill quavering of the *jatra* songs seemed unable to break, but merely served to make more uncanny. Again, at some point in the night, all these noises suddenly died down, and a heavier pall descended over the darkness of the night. The time had evidently come.

As had happened the night before, that same clattering and jingling sound arose outside. But Phani did not turn his eyes towards the river,—he was afraid lest any premature gesture on his part should spoil the fulfilment of his supreme longing, lest his very impatience should paralyse and nullify his final effort. He reined in his straining body by sheer exertion of will, keeping it glued to the chair like a wooden image.

Like last night, the sound came up the bathing steps towards the house, and this time it passed through the open door. He could hear it coming up, round and round the spiral stairs leading to the inner apartments. He could hardly stay quiet any longer. His heart tossed within his breast like a boat in a storm; he could scarcely breathe. The sound came past the landing, on through the verandah leading to the bedroom, and there, just outside his door, it came to a stop. It had now but to cross the threshold.

Phani's pent up yearning broke out in a torrent. He sprang from his chair and rushed to the door with a wild, agonised cry of "Mani!" that made the window panes rattle. At this he awoke, to find again nothing but the croaking of the frogs and the tired voices of the boy performers ringing in his ears. He struck his forehead in despair.

The next day the fair broke up. The shopkeepers and *jatra* party wended their respective ways back home. Phani spent the day fasting. He gave the order that in the evening no one but himself was to remain in the house. The servants could only come to the conclusion that the Master was engaged in some kind of secret magical rite.

This evening there were patches of clear sky to be seen, in which the stars were shining brightly through the rain-washed air. The moon, long past the full, would rise much later With the end of the fair, the villagers were sleeping off the weariness after their last two wakeful nights, and no boats were to be seen on the river.

Phani was in his seat by that window of the now empty house, with his head thrown over the back of the chair, looking up at the stars. He was thinking of the days when, at the age of nineteen, he was still in college, and how he used, of an evening, to lie on his back on the lawn of the square near by, his arms folded under his head, gazing at these same everlasting stars, as he dwelt in his mind on the girlish face of Mani, in her first youth, sitting alone by the window of her father's village home. How sweet was this occasional separation of those days, how his heart would dance with the sparkling stars, at the prospect of their next meeting, to the mode of some Spring melody with a long-drawn rhythm. And now those same stars only wrote on the firmament with letters of fire : *The world is vanity.*

As he looked on, the stars were obliterated A darkness crept up from below, a darkness rolled down from above, and the two met like the closing of eye-lids. But to-night Phani was calm. For he felt that now the time for his expectation to come true had arrived, that death would at last reveal its secret to the vigilant devotee.

As before, the sound began to mount up the bathing steps. Phani closed his eyes, and settled himself down in his seat in the pose of meditation. The sound entered, as last time, through the unguarded front door; came up

7. Different modes of Indian music are considered to be specially appropriate to different times of the day, or seasons of the year.—*Tr.*

round and round the spiral steps; slowly passed through the long verandah; and stopped for a moment outside the bedroom.

Phani-bhusan thrilled all over, but to-night he would not open his eyes till the very end. The sound then continued over the threshold of his open door into the room. The crinkled *saree* on the clothes-horse, the night-lamp in the niche, the box of *pan* on the bed-side table, the toy-miscellany in the glass case,—at each of these, it made little halts; and finally it came up quite close to Phani's chair.

Then only did Phani-bhusan open his eyes to see, in the light of the risen crescent moon, streaming in through the window, a skeleton standing right in front of him. It had rings on every one of its fingers, bracelets on its wrists, bangles on its upper arms, anklets over its feet, a necklace round its neck, and a chain with a pendant crowning its head,—in a word, every bone was glittering with gems set in gold. They all hung loosely, somehow kept in their places.

But the most awful part of it was, that the eyes in the sockets of the skull were living eyes,—the same large, black eyes, with their heavy eyelashes, their moist brightness, their steadfast, passionless look, as of old. Eighteen years ago, on his brilliantly lighted wedding night, amidst the music of the festive pipes, the wondrous eyes that had looked at Phani at the moment of the auspicious vision,[8] he now saw fixed on him by the gleam of the waning moom of a rainy midnight, and their gaze chilled him to the marrow. He stared at them, in turn, with a glassy look, as of a corpse.

The skeleton beckoned to him with its right hand, the jewels on its fingers flashing out. Phani rose like an automaton. The skeleton went towards the door, its bones clattering, its ornaments jingling, at every step. Phani followed. They went thus along the verandah, round and round down the spiral steps in the darkness, through the unlighted corridor downstairs, and passed out of the building on to the garden path leading to the bathing steps, the gravel making a crunching noise as the bony feet of the skeleton passed over it. The scanty moonbeams could not find their way past the thick foliage of the trees, and through a dense shadow lit by the fitful twinkle of fireflies, they came at length to the landing on the river.

The skeleton then began to descend the steps up which it had come, one by one, with hard, unhesitating footfalls. On the racing current of the brimming river before them, glimmered a thin streak of reflected moonlight. Into the river stepped the skeleton, and with it Phani also placed his foot on the first step under water. At its cold touch Phani awoke.

There was, he found, no one before him, showing the way,—only, on the opposite bank, a row of trees stood sentinal, with the moon over them looking on in blank amazement. Repeated shivers went through and through him, as his trembling feet slid over the slippery step, throwing him headlong into the current.

Though Phani knew how to swim, he had now no control over his nerves or muscles, so that he awoke from his dream only for that one moment, in the next to plunge into the fathomless sleep of death.

His story finished, the schoolmaster came to a stop. And, with the ceasing of his voice, it was again borne in upon me how still and silent all the rest of the world about us had been. I also remained silent; nor in the darkness, could he see the expression of my face. "Do you not believe this story?" he at length inquired, doubtfully.

"Do you?" I asked in reply.

"No, I do not," he said emphatically, "and I will tell you the reasons why. First of all, Dame Nature is not a novel writer,—she has too many other things to do——"

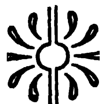
"Secondly," I cut in, "I am Phani-bhusan Saha."

The schoolmaster did not appear a whit abashed. "I thought as much," he averred "But what is your wife's name?"

"Nritya-Kali," I told him.

(*Translated for The Modern Review by Surendranath Tagore*)

8. The "auspicious vision" is a part of the wedding ceremony in which the Bride and Bridegroom take a look at each other, temporarily screened off from public view.—*Tr.*



SOMALILAND PROTECTORATE

By MANILAL, M.A., LL.B., Barrister at-Law

MANY persons—in holy orders and lay people—have written in books during and after the Great War that those who perished during or consequent upon the Great War followed the example of their Lord Jesus Christ.

It is not easy to understand the comparison between the death on the cross and the death of people engaged in the Great War. It looks as though some people want to dignify political wrongs by spreading amongst people a propaganda that the War was glorious.

My experience of those who have been in the War and survived it as well as knowledge of some people who died in the War makes me think that, after taking away the outer or official shell, the men and women who took part in the War, were on the average no better than those who did not fight. In the same way the so-called glories of the British Empire are a mirage. I have seen at close quarters the treatment of coloured labour in the Crown Colonies, and the domination of Europeans in Mauritius, South Africa and Fiji. Those who rule are so different from the Europeans in their own country. In the wildernesses of some British dominated colonies or countries, it is not rare to find specimens of white men or women whose daily behaviours among themselves or towards other people give a rude shock to the conscience of the British Colonies. I have known of University men leading scandalous lives with native women. Drink and sexual vices of officers in the Crown Colonies and Protectorates like Aden are before the people amongst whom they live, and they certainly do not satisfy the aborigines that their masters are morally superior to themselves.

I have heard from people who know that a number of native women are kept in a special locality and British officers visit them. At one time native young fellows started annoying the native girls for receiving Europeans and they threatened to leave the locality to avoid taunts and the coarse behaviour of the young fellows. Some officers thereupon managed to have the young fellows arrested and clapped into jail.

Lately, I have had many conversations with Somalis in Aden and they have revealed a most deplorable state of affairs in their native country. If British officers can behave as they allege, how much more disgraceful must be the life of people in the neighbouring French and Italian Colonies. My experience of Mauritius, Fiji, New Zealand and Australia and my reading of literature regarding countries and peoples leads me to expect that there must be still greater loseness of sexual morals between the white people and natives in French and Italian Somaliland.

When I contemplate the economic and social ruin of the people by European colonists, I cannot accept any claim such as that of Italy to civilize Abyssinia.

People talk glibly of the "white man's burden," whereas I see, on the contrary, more of "the black men's burdens." Time was (a generation ago) when there was no prostitute in Somaliland; now there are lines of houses of such unfortunates in Aden and the contagion has spread across the sea and infected British Somaliland, and the neighbouring Colonies serve only to foment and aggravate the evil. In Somaliland "Courts" exist officially But they have no features of the Courts as understood in advanced countries. There are no official prosecutors, and no lawyers are tolerated at all. People can be tried by "Courts" and sentenced to death, simply because the Officer concerned strongly suspects them of crimes. The Judges and Magistrates have never had any history or training for the administration of justice—and with the "Collective Punishment Ordinance" they can send whole groups of men to jail without determining the guilt of the accused individually. And then there is the "Cr. Justice Ordinance" which enables the "Courts" to exclude the public at the hearing of trials.

One can imagine how horrible and unjust the conditions must be in places where the British Flag fails to protect races from the ravages of the passions of European officers and where they have helplessly to submit to the decisions of "Courts" without the safeguards of lawyers and the moral ballast of public opinion. Truly there is something going very wrong in Hamlet's Kingdom.

OPIUM IN ASSAM

BY KULADHAR CHALIHA

THE history of the introduction of opium into Assam is somewhat obscure. We find no reference to the opium habit in the Vaishnavic (Hindu Protestant Church) literature of Assam, though its poetry and drama cover a wide field and deal with the customs and habits of the people. When the Assamese Kings came into contact with the Moghul Emperors of Delhi, they used to send presents including *afing* (opium) to the Assamese Courts. The chronicles of Assam, called *buranjis,* which were written from day to day contain reference to these presents from the Padsha (meaning Emperor of Delhi), which included opium among other articles. But nothing is known of how far the opium habit was prevalent amongst the people; but it is certain that the extent of prevalence which we find in 1860, was never before to that degree of addiction even during the decadence of the Assamese Kings.

We find from a petition dated 1853 of Maniram Dewen, an Assamese statesman of outstanding merit (who was subsequently hanged for political offence) that poppy was *first cultivated* at Beltola in the district of Kamrup by the Rajput soldiers in 1795.

The British came to Assam in 1826. From 1826 to 1860, no steps were taken to restrict the consumption of opium as the British were busy consolidating their own position during the period.

In 1850 the district of Nowgong alone contained 2,500 acres under poppy cultivation, and on the basis of this calculation it was estimated that in the six districts of Assam about 12,500 acres were under poppy cultivation.

In 1860 the home cultivation of poppy was stopped and the system of issuing from the Treasury was introduced and licences were granted to all "respectable" persons to sell opium. We find as many as 5070 shops with a consumption of 1856 mds. 32 srs. in 1873-74 in which year the system of granting licences was first introduced on a yearly fee of Rs. 12 per shop. In the year 1894 on the recommendations of the Royal Commission certain steps were taken thereon and the Royal Commission decided against opium smoking as injurious, but nothing was done to prevent smoking until the other day and consumption began to raise from 1900 till 1919-20 when the consumption stood at 1748 mds. 4 srs. with a revenue of Rs. 38 lakhs and odd, though the price was gradually raised from Rs. 26 per seer (in 1873-74) to the neighbourhood of Rs. 50 (in 1919-20). This clearly proved that the enhancement of price had little effect on the consumption.

In 1921 came the non-co-operation movement with its temperance activities. Young Assam put its heart and soul into the movement and in 1923-24 the consumption fell to 884 mds. 20 srs. For achieving this 1160 workers were flung into prison, but their sacrifice had not gone in vain. In 1923 the Swarajists, (Congressmen) including the writer of this note, entered the Assam Council and began to press the Government of Assam for the adoption of the policy of total abolition of the opium evil within a period of ten years. In spite of the unwillingness of the Government to adopt the policy and renounce the large revenue from this source, the Council in 1927 carried by a big majority a resolution adopting the wholesome policy of reducing the consumption by 10 p.c. every year. The Government adopted the policy and declared that they were prepared to sacrifice the revenue from this source, but in 1930 indications were made in the Excise reports of the Assam Government that the limit of reduction had been reached and a committee was appointed to look into the working of the 10 p.c reduction and to open anew the register of consumers. The majority of the Committee agreed with the views of the Government and recommended accordingly; but the Council favoured the minority view and rejected the recommendations of the Committee, thus reaffirming the policy of 10 p.c. annual reduction.

The Government in adopting the policy of 10 p.c. only followed the downward course which the consumption naturally took from 1921. To give an example, the percentage of decrease in 1932-33 in the different districts is shown below :

1.	Khasia and Jaintia Hills ..	36.7	per cent.	decrease
2.	Nowgong	25.5	"	do
3.	Goalpara	19.4	"	do
4.	Kamrup	18.3	"	do
5.	Darrong	16.8	"	do
6.	Lakhimpur	14.6	"	do

7.	Sadiya Frontier Tracts	..	13.6	per cent. decrease	
8.	Sibsagar	.. ..	11.8	,,	do
9.	Sylhet	.. ..	7.4	,,	do
10.	Cachan	.. ..	5.7	,,	do
11.	Balipara	.. ..	5.0	,,	do

It may be pointed out that Cachar and Sylhet are the least consuming districts and Balipara is a tiny district in the Assam Valley.

A new danger arises out of the policy of the Government in admitting new applicants for registration who are granted passes for consumption.

In the year 1932-33, we find from the Excise Administration report of Assam, that 1342 new passes were issued and at the close of the year there were as many as 69,605 passes with a monthly ration of 33 mds. 17 srs. 11 ch. and the quantity works out at 8 grains per diem per consumer which is equal to 240 grains per mensem and 2280 grains per annum.

On the 31st March, 1933, the total consumption stands at 355 mds. 24 srs. and in 1934-35 it might stand at 291 mds.

The danger is in allowing new addicts to come in. Unless a vigilant watch is kept by the League Secretariat, the Assam Government is likely to revert to its old policy and allow itself unconsciously to drift into the old ways to make up the loss of revenue.

In Assam it may be safely asserted that all parties and shades of opinion are unanimous in the matter of eradicating the opium evil and the traffic itself should be abolished altogether.

However, a shortage of supply from legitimate sources is likely to bring contraband opium and this deserves careful consideration. The Indian States of Rajputana are the danger spots, but it is fortunate that the distance from Assam is very great and the smuggling can be effectively prevented by the further increase of Excise staff in Assam, if necessary.

There were altogether 27 cases in 1932-33 for illegal possession of opium and for possession of contraband opium.

1. In Assam it is necessary that the Law of opium smoking should be more rigidly enforced than now.

2. That the policy of 10 p.c. reduction should be continued as it has the support of the entire community.

3. That new passes should on no account be granted and the medical examination, which is held in granting (new opium) passes should not be a mere matter of form, as at present but comply with such details as may be prescribed by the medical experts under the guidance of the League and as will command the confidence of the Assamese public.

Assam has done well so far and we expect the League to keep a vigilant watch over this part of the country, the problem of which are not very much known to outside world.*

* The above note was submitted to the Secretary, League of Nations, Welfare Section at Geneva when the writer was in Switzerland in August last.

RAMKRISHNA MISSION STUDENTS' HOME, MADRAS

BY PROF. PRIYARANJAN SEN, M.A., P.R.S.

It was the end of the year. We had been to the South, and Madras was on our way. The city, we were told, contained much that was worth seeing. There was the Aquarium, where you would feel almost dazed by the variety of colour in fish of different classes; there was the Library and the Museum, where the erudite scholar would be in his elements; there the Beach—shining and spread out under the sun—a feast for the eyes and for the heart, too. But being teachers, at least by profession, we could not abjure all interest in Adyar and the Students' Home, of which we had heard so much.

Swami Ajayananda, who had been a graduate of the Calcutta University and a student of history before he had joined the Mission, met us. He was the Warden of the Home.

"How old is the Home, Swamiji?" we asked.

"Well, it is past thirty now. It was started by Swami Brahmananda in 1905; developments there have been since then."

"What is the idea? You want to run a school or a boarding-house?"

"Our object is to provide a home, you see. for needy and deserving boys; so we call it the Home. Food and lodging accommodation are supplied free, and we try to put into the boys ideals of service and sacrifice. We try to work the ancient Gurukula system in which the school and the home are parts of one organic life. To get the best results, the teacher and the pupil must live together in close companionship.

"A good idea, no doubt. But how do you carry it out?"

"It is possible because students know it to be their Home; they manage their own work."

"Do you give religious and moral instruction?"

"Oh yes. We do not believe in merely secular education. Students chant verses from the Gita and the Upanishads every morning; they can freely quote from the Gita by the time they reach the High School stage. In the evening the junior boys are given "talks" on Purana, etc., and the seniors are treated to the teachings of Ramkrishna-Vivekananda. We respect family traditions of individual students and by their help instil into the boys the fact that Truth is one and all faiths lead to the goal."

"But surely this is but a part of your course. What about intellectual education?"

"That is not neglected, certainly. There is a Residential High School where the departmental syllabus is followed, and students are prepared for the School Final Examination. Sanskrit is compulsory for boys of the lower form and the medium is Tamil. There is a branch school also at Mambalam. I may assure you that we are keenly alive to the need of intellectual education. Last year eight of our students in the High School only were Government scholars."

"Are they not rather over-worked then? What about their health?"

"The Home has its own medical ward, and the visiting doctor attends to disorders, if any. But you will be surprised to learn that the health of the boarders is generally so satisfactory that there were no cases of serious illness last year. When we take in students we have them properly examined, and games and physical exercises go far to tone up the system. Quarterly records are kept of height, weight and chest measurements. All the High School boys have to work in the flower and kitchen garden in the evening. The flowers are used for worship, and the Home got a prize from the Madras Agri-Horticultural Society in a competition among residential school gardens."

"Do your boys see much of life outside, or do you shut them in your monastery?"

"You must banish from your mind your idea of a monastic life. We take them out to see places of interest in Madras and also outside, to places like Mahabalipuram, Pallavaram, etc. Select boys are given instructions in music; last year their number was 25; and we celebrate festivals and birthdays of saints and sages by organising lectures and variety entertainments when famous musicians are invited to perform. Occasionally the boys stage a Tamil play. The benefit-concerts that are got up from time to time to go round the country substantially help the finances of the Home."

"Do you make attempts at any social reform?"

"Oh, yes; we take a declaration from the boys that they must not take any dowry when they marry."

"But have you any new features? You see, these are days of economic depression, the bread problem is the most important question. What do your students do after leaving school? They become job-hunters?"

"I see, you are interested in vocational education. We have an industrial school where about 30 students are in training. We have a diploma course on Automobile Engineering recognised by the Government,—four years' theoretical and practical training, and the fifth year is spent exclusively in the Jubilee Workshop."

"But does your vocational course go a long way? I mean, is it a practicable proposition? Many students after getting vocational training remain clerks, after all!"

"There is no danger of that at present. Our workshop gets sufficient patronage, so we take it that its work is satisfactory and so long as we have efficiency we hope to make our vocational training worth while."

We went over the grounds; they were fairly extensive; we then examined the dormitory, and Swamiji was kind enough to show us an assignment chart where prayer, physical exercise, study, gardening etc., were all timed both in hour and in number of bell strokes. Names of students were put down against different works like serving in meal times, grazing cattle, churning milk, collection of cow-dung, taking care of property, etc. Even sprinkling of phenyle and supervision of scavenger work were not forgotten.

We attended the evening prayers. The cool evening breeze came and cooled our brows; the twigs rustled; there was peace in the atmosphere, and with peace, goodwill to men. The mission was here putting in its best in the cause of education, thanks to Swami Amriteswarananda the President and Swami Ajayananda, the Warden of the institution, and the Home was an important centre, we realised, of education in the full and comprehensive sense of the term.

FIBROUS PLANTS OF INDIA AND THE PAPER INDUSTRY

By Prof. KALYAN KUMAR PURKAYASTHA, M.Sc.

India is the natural home of a number of fibre-yielding plants, but there is hardly available today a comprehensive survey of all such plants in the country. Out of nearly three hundred fibre-yielding plants growing on the soil, either in a cultivated or wild state, not more than thirty may be regarded as commonly in use. Considering the various forms of utility of the fibre-yielding plants upon which a number of industries depend, it is regrettable that not more than a scanty knowledge of many of them has been available hitherto. The last enquiry on the subject dates so far back as 1889, when, at the instance of the Government of India, specially selected fibrous plants were examined by experts. In the light of our present-day requirements it would appear that a revision of the work done in 1889 was essentially necessary.

In this article I give a brief account of the important industries dependent upon fibrous plants. These plants have been classified in various ways, but more commonly from the utilitarian point of view. *Firstly*, there are fibres that are utilised for higher textile use by reason of the length in their ultimate forms, as also by the absence of lignification, *e.g.*, jute, abroma fibres, sida fibres, etc. *Secondly*, there are those having less textile value due to lignification and for other reasons, *e.g.*, jute, abroma fibre, sida fibres, etc. *Thirdly*, there are fibres of still inferior quality which are utilised in the manufacture of brushes and brooms, baskets, cordage, mats. *khas-khas*, etc. In this class belong canes, coir, cyperus, salix and bamboos, etc. *Fourthly*, there is a special class of fibres which are derived from seed hairs (kapok) and from the tomentum of leaves. The last mentioned fibres are rarely utilised in the textile industry, though extensively utilised as an adulterant to cotton to impart to it a glossy appearance. Kapok is also utilised in upholstery and in the manufacture of life-belts. *Lastly*, there are fibrous plants and fibrous substances of plant origin used in paper-making. Various fibrous plants may be utilised for the manufacture of paper but commercially, only those possessing higher cellulose content are preferred.

The Industrial gallery of the Botanical Survey of India has a collection of 160 fibre-yielding plants. Even of these the detailed economic value is rather imperfectly known. Sir George Watt as the Reporter of Economic Products to the Government of India held that of these less fortunate fibrous plants at least ten would have successfully supported a number of industries, had proper publicity been given to them.

In Bengal and the neighbouring provinces the introduction of a scheme of restriction of jute cultivation has been freely advocated. It is unfortunate, however, that the question of introducing a substitute fibre-yielding plant has received but little attention. A unique opportunity of introducing some of the useful fibres has thus been lost. The history of exotic agaves furcreas and a few other fibrous plants that have taken to the soil of the country, clearly points to the fact that official effort, if made, for the introduction of other kinds of important fibres would meet with success. Not only would such action have helped to stimulate new industries but a proper selection of plants would have led to the establishment and growth of a bye-product paper industry in connection with the exploitation of other fibrous plants.

The paper industry of India has during the last decade come into wider prominence in the public eye. The general increase in the consumption of better grades of paper encourages the demand for an enquiry on the resources of the fibrous plants of India so far as it relates to the paper industry. The growth of the paper industry in this country on modern lines is of comparatively recent origin. The first mill was started in Bally near Calcutta in the nineties of the last century. Indian paper mills, even today, are unable to meet even half the requirement of the country. It is doubtful, if with all the mills working at their maximum strength, it would be possible to meet the ever increasing demand of paper in India. India has thus been one of the best markets for European, American and Japanese papers. The surplus stocks of almost all the paper-producers of the world dump the Indian market. The following figures would indicate the share of the principal countries with regard to the import trade of paper in India, the figures being the value in rupees of the import :—

	1933-34 Rs.	1934-35. Rs.
United Kingdom ..	88,72,955	94,51,061
Other countries in the British Empire	7,81,207	2,59,683
U. S. S. R.	336	4,010
Finland	11,08,881	12,36,397
Estonia	92,515	52,542
Latvia	24,465	47,332
Sweden	33,55,178	36,09,929
Norway	39,94,217	31,51,483
Denmark	2,727	4,250
Poland	5,336	7,744
Germany	20,18,053	26,08,781
Netherlands	11,38,957	11,93,627
Belgium	4,27,678	3,35,620
France	67,504	63,271
Spain	490	1,687
Switzerland	3,724	2,741
Italy	2,22,332	2,49,241
Austria	25,39,070	21,29,521
Hungary	1,038	79
Czechoslovakia	3,62,116	11,12,046
Japan	12,29,690	10,51,241
U. S. A.	5,77,251	6,15,251
China	70,475	81,718
Other Foreign countries ..	11,377	12,227
Total (foreign countries) ..	1,72,54,810	1,75,71,297
(Empire) ..	90,64,162	97,10,744
Total paper and paste board	2,63,18,972	2,72,82,041

During the same period the share of the principal ports of India is as follows :—

	Rs.	Rs.
Calcutta	82,09,143	83,85,348
Bombay	95,67,159	98,81,882
Karachi	22,09,422	25,67,559
Madras	42,16,192	41,90,518
Rangoon	21,17,056	22,50,734

Paper, as most people know, is entirely dependent on the fibrous plants and fibrous substances of plant origin. In spite of the occurrence of a number of fibre-yielding plants in India, the utilisation of the Indian raw materials was unthought of prior to the time the Government took up the matter. Paper materials in the form of "pulp" are imported from Norway, Sweden, U. S. A. and Japan by most of the manufacturers in India. This "pulp" is nothing more than half-finished paper which enter the Indian ports at a rate of duty lower than that on the finished paper. Indian manufacturers treat the pulp variously according to market requirement. Pulp is sometimes imported on the ground of economy, at other times this is done as Indian materials are regarded as unsuitable for the manufacture of higher grades of paper. The mills find it profitable even when they use imported materials. Here lies the great danger to the potential Indian paper materials. Unless some steps are seriously taken on the utilisation and conservation of the Indian fibrous plants, there remains always the risk that these materials might altogether be supplanted by foreign substitutes.

The Indian Paper Pulp Company at Naihati is probably the only well-established concern which utilises bamboo as a raw material. It was with great difficulty, and after investigation at the Forest Research Institute, Dehra Dun, that this company was induced to utilise Indian bamboos as materials for pulp. The Government had to guarantee against any financial loss, and also agreed to advance a considerable sum of money for the purchase of new machineries.

Besides bamboos, other materials now in use in India are sabai, munj and bhabar grasses. On account of their scattered distribution in India, a continuous supply of these materials has been a problem. In order to meet the demand of the mills, wood pulp from all parts of the world, as already stated, are extensively imported. During 1934-35 mechanical wood pulp imported from the British empire amounted to Rs. 46,620 while from foreign countries during the same period amounted to Rs. 25,71,623.

As already referred to above, Bamboo in recent years has come into wider prominence as a suitable raw material for the manufacture of paper not only in India but in all tropical and sub-tropical countries. The suitability of bamboo as a paper material had been recognised as early as 1860, long before machine-made papers were manufactured in India. Thanks to the investigation of Messrs. Raitt and Pears who at the instance of the Government of India made valuable contribution to the growth of the Indian paper industry. There are about 100 species of bamboo growing in India of which six species are very suitable for the manufacture of paper. Fortunately in India these species dominate the bamboo vegetation. Indian bamboos have in addition certain characteristic properties which are uncommon in other fibrous plants. These have prolific growth particularly in humid localities. It is easier to collect bamboos, and thus it is remunerative from the manufacturer's point of view. Until any better substitutes are discovered, bamboo will continue to be the best paper material available in India.

It is essential that a continuous supply of paper materials, whether it be bamboo, bhabar, or munj grass, is of paramount importance. The conservation of the fibrous plants, in so far as it relates to the paper industry, requires careful and individual attention. In recent years the conservation and silviculture

of the bamboos have been taken up as a separate branch of forestry in other countries. There is, however, one danger regarding exclusive utilisation of bamboos in the manufacture of paper. Bamboos reach a flowering stage after a prolonged period of vegetative growth of, say, 35 to 50 years and this period is followed by the death of the entire stock. It would be necessary, therefore, to introduce suitable varieties which would meet the demand during scarcity. The quantity of bamboos as paper materials available in any area would naturally depend upon the control exercised by the authorities. Ruthless cutting of bamboos would not only lead to the loss of the entire stock but also a loss of its vitality which would indirectly affect the size of the individual plants in the stock.

In India, in connection with the paper industry, little importance has been attached to the research on bamboos. The conservation of this material should be regarded as an integral part of the duty of the forest department. The Soviet government has a separate research department connected with this subject and have since concentrated their attention on the introduction and acclimatization of better varieties of bamboo stocks from all parts of the world in the Soviet land. Perhaps the Soviet authorities have in view the aim of capturing some day the entire paper market of the world, after all the European sources of raw materials have fully been tapped.

The paper pulp section of the Forest Research Institute is the only research organization of its kind for the whole of India. Although the institution has made useful contribution to this industry, it, being only an unit of the huge organization, cannot possibly do full justice to the ever-increasing requirement of the industry. Important paper mills have separate research departments, entrusted with the problems connected with the paper industry. In India we have practically to look upon the 'Dun Institute for the entire work which in other countries are shared generally by government institutes as well as private organizations.

A good deal of readily available fibrous materials containing a fair percentage of cellulose is lost to the Indian paper industry. Some of these would have been better utilised in the manufacture of paper. Take for example jute sticks and jute waste in connection with the hessian industry. These are rarely utilised in the manufacture of paper. It has lately been estimated by the Fibre expert to the Government of Bengal that jute sticks contain about 35 per cent cellulose and may conveniently be utilised for the manufacture of paper. Although their utilisation may not be as remunerative as bamboos are, it would undoubtedly ensure for the jute growers of Bengal a better price for their product. A continuous supply of jute sticks may safely be depended on in Bengal.

A more important wastage of cellulose are the "Begasse" or "Megasse" discarded by the sugar manufacturers. "Begasse" contains about 50 per cent of pure cellulose, these are thrown out in hundreds of tons after the extraction of the juice from canes. Begasse is utilised either as fuel or subsequently utilised as manure after decomposition. It is indeed a costly luxury to have the "Begasse" burnt as a fuel since it has very low calorific value much lower than steam coal obtained from Jharia or Raniganj. As manure also it should be substituted by cheaper synthetic manures.

"Begasse" cannot be advocated to be good paper materials, particularly in the manufacture of the higher grades of paper. It has however, been experimentally found out that from it best qualities of packing papers, straw and paste boards and mill boards may be manufactured. In America some manufacturers utilise "Begasse" in the manufacture of these classes of paper, the raw materials being imported from Cuba. In India there always exists a good market for packing papers, cardboards, mill boards, and paste boards. During 1934-35 the value of packing papers imported into India amounted to Rs. 34,20,575, while that of paste boards, mill boards and cardboards amounted to Rs. 15,94,835. Importation of old newspapers, which substitute packing papers, is increasing from year to year. While in all civilised countries these are considered to be most unhygienic for packing purposes, India has been discovered to be a dumping ground for the discarded European and American used news sheets. The following figures would indicate the value of old newspapers imported in bales and bags in India.

		1933-34 Rs.	1934-35. Rs.
United Kingdom	..	37.22.462	42.03.373
Foreign Countries	..	4,07,433	3,48.379
TOTAL	..	41,29,895	45,51.752

In the interest of national health, a legislative move to stop the utilisation of used papers for packing purposes is absolutely necessary.

ONE VILLAGE AS I SAW IT

By Mrs. GERTRUDE EMERSON SEN

The other day a generous-hearted American millionaire living in a Middle Western state wrote a pathetic letter of appeal to one of the leading American magazines. He had a million dollars he wanted to leave to his town for some worthy cause, but though he had lain awake nights he couldn't decide how to spend it! His small town, he explained, already had a good school system, an excellent hospital, first-class roads, a park, a playground, a swimming-pool. It even had a little art museum. The unemployment problem was not acute. What a situation! There was really nothing he could think of that his town needed! Yet he had made his money in the community, and he felt it ought to go back to the community after his death. So he asked the magazine to conduct a competition for him among its readers, and he offered a prize of a thousand dollars for the best letter giving the best solution of his dilemma.

Unfortunately I cannot tell you the solution, because the prize letter will not be published until next month, but meanwhile it is comforting to know that should any of you in this country decide to give ten lakhs of rupees to your town or village—or for that matter even a thousand or so—you would not have to lose sleep over how to spend your money. Think of the possibilities—pedigree bulls, milk for children, wells for Harijans, schools, scholarships for poor students, hospitals, playgrounds, orchards, a small factory of some kind, a public meeting-hall, even a village radio set. There are a hundred and one useful and desirable ways in which a public-spirited citizen of means can serve his community in India, and it is merely for him to choose the one that appeals most. Some are modern—like the radio. Some are the old traditional ways of giving in the country. You remember how the great Emperor Asoka, more than two thousand years ago, had carved on Rocks and Pillars all over India a list of good works he had fostered, so that others might be inspired to follow his example.

In one of his Edicts, he says:

"Everywhere has King Priyadarsin, Beloved of the Gods, established medical treatment for men and animals. Wherever medicinal herbs, wholesome for men and animals, are not found, they have everywhere been caused to be imported and planted. Roots and fruits, wherever they are not found, have been caused to be imported and planted."

In another Edict, he declares:

"On the roads have I planted banyan-trees. They will offer shade to man and beast. I have grown mango orchards. I have caused wells to be dug at every eight *kos*, and I have had rest-houses built. I have made many watering-sheds at different places for the enjoyment of man and beast. I have done this with this intent—namely, that all the people may practise the practices of Dharma."

As an American journalist and editor keenly interested in India, I was convinced that to know India at all one must know its village background, and so a few years ago I decided to make the experiment of building a small house and settling down by myself for a year in one village. Obviously a village in the United Provinces (where mine happened to be) is not precisely like a village in the Madras Presidency, a village in the Punjab, like one in Bengal, but there is a least common denominator of poverty, if nothing else, which makes all the 750,000 villages in India akin, and I think you will agree that almost any village will show in cross-section the problems that agitate India as a whole—the basic economic problem, the health problem, the Hindu-Muslim problem, the problem of untouchability, and all the rest.

Now let me briefly picture my village. It lies in the northern part of the U. P., not far from the Nepalese border. The surrounding country is low, flat and malarious, but produces an excellent quality of rice. The village itself belongs to a large Taluqdari estate. The one-storeyed houses of mud and thatch, numbering 336, huddle close together, without plan or order. Five or ten minutes' walk in any direction, and you are out in the fields. Indian villages, you know, in spite of the poets, are actually more crowded and congested, in proportion to their area, than cities. Every scrap of land is wanted and fought over for cultivation. The village serves as headquarters for a tahsil of the estate, and it boasts a government primary school, a small dispensary, a branch post office, a police station, a mosque, and a temple. There is also a Panchayat, of fairly recent creation, and on Wednesdays a

weekly market is held in a mango grove at the entrance to the village, to which come traders from the nearest towns and villagers from miles around.

The population, roughly two thousand, is almost equally divided between the Hindu and Muslim communities. But the caste system of the Hindus is shared by the Muslims. Out of 61 separate and distinct castes represented in the village, I found that 20 were wholly Muslim castes, whose members followed special occupations or practised marriage within the group, or both. We also had two or three Sikh forest contractors, a Pathan in the leather and money-lending business, several Marwaris, and a handful of down-trodden Doms, who acted as scavengers. Primitive Tharus were also frequently to be seen about the village, chiefly at its wine-shop, though they lived in tiny settlements on the edge of the jungle ten miles off. Though my village was larger and perhaps more prosperous than the average village, I think you will recognize it as on the whole fairly typical.

So much for generalities. Now let us probe beneath the surface a bit and dig up a few real facts—to begin with, rice-and-*dal* facts · Just one-third of the village families had land of any sort. The average tenant holding worked out at a trifle under six acres, but if one omitted the six tenants at the top of the list, cultivating twenty or more acres, the average dropped considerably. Actually, 49 of the 112 tenants had less than a single acre apiece. It has been estimated in Western countries that no agricultural holding of less than 25 acres can possibly be profitable. Even with the very different conditions of labour obtaining in India, a single acre of land cannot produce enough to maintain, with any margin of decency whatsoever, a family of five or six. So of course everybody wanted more land. But our village fields jostled those of the next villages, and there was no room for expansion in any direction. Even the commonlands for pasturing had been swallowed up. Better methods of cultivation—which the cultivator cannot afford—consolidation of holdings, in these lies the only hope for improvement.

What about the remaining two-thirds of the village, those who are not cultivators? How do they manage to earn a living? I am afraid that only the ghost of the old self-contained Indian village in which the teacher, the craftsmen, the village servants, and other groups, all had their recognized duties and privileges, is now to be found haunting the countryside. Something has radically upset the old scheme of things. Peace there is in the rural areas today, and comparative safety of life, but the village stagnates. The change has been brought about by many factors, but more especially by two developments, developments not restricted to India, but inherent in world conditions.

I am referring, first, to the rapid and inevitable centralization of government within the past century or so, with its by-product of a bureaucracy. As a result, the old democratic village institution has largely been destroyed. The second destructive force, speaking from the point of view of the village, is the machine and the shift from a simple system of barter to a money basis for trade. These have played havoc with the economic life of the village. In Western countries, as the crafts went under during the same process of evolution, the craftsmen at least found work in the factories, but no such compensatory arrangement has as yet taken place in India. Let me illustrate.

One day I carefully examined each article of manufacture in our weekly market, to determine its place of origin. All the aluminium ware came from Germany. It is cheap and light. No use to talk of durability! The villager, like the townsman, buys what will serve his purpose at the least cost. How, then, are the brass and copper-smiths to compete? They can't, and everywhere theirs is a dying art. Eighty per cent of the cloth was either imported from England and Japan or came from Indian mills. The village weavers, and along with them the spinners, cotton carders and dyers, are now languishing. Nails, bolts, locks and most small articles of iron were imported from England. The ironsmiths find themselves dispossessed of a one-time lucrative trade. Lanterns came from Austria, and the oil to fill them from Burma, Russia or the United States. The oil-pressers are left pressing their own stomachs a little tighter. Flimsy imitation jewelry from Czecho-Slovakia flooded the bazar. The silver- and gold-smiths have begun to lower their standards and supply inferior goods. And so on. The market displayed a large assortment of small cheap articles fascinating to village folk, such as safety-pins, needles, buttons, knives, torch-lights, combs, mirrors, socks, umbrellas, playing-cards—but all were importations from foreign countries, chiefly Japan.

Perhaps you are thinking that here is proof of the much-talked of rise in the rural standard of living. Certainly in the old days the villager did not possess an umbrella, and instead of a

lantern his only light was a tiny smoky *chirag*. But what, or who, pays for these luxuries, if you consider them such? The agriculturist, with the export of his crops, the craftsman, with the loss of his means of subsistence! Instead of storing his surplus, if by any chance he has one, against a rainy day—or rather a day of drought—the villager rushes off as soon as his harvesting is done to sell everything he can. The rupees he receives in exchange go to buy all these things he used to purchase from the artisans in his own village, and thus his money, as well as his crop, goes out of the village. Naturally the village is poorer. The artisan class, whose prosperity formerly added to the prosperity of the village as a whole, has steadily sunk in the economic scale Today you will find that many no longer know their traditional crafts. Some few find work in factories. The greater number presses back upon the land, and if land is not available, these unfortunate individuals have little choice but to fall into the rank of landless labourers, whose position is no better than that of serfs. The revival of village industries is no empty slogan. It is the desperate need of the hour. And by this I mean not only the revival of old hand industries, but the creation of many small new ones based on the use of modern machinery, wherever conditions are suitable for starting them.

Nearly all the evils of village life can be traced back to this one withering root of poverty, it seems to me. Of course money-lenders thrive where people need money. We had 49 of them in my village, not all professionals to be sure, but charging the same exorbitant rates of interest, and at least 75 per cent of all the cultivators were hopelessly in debt.

Education and sanitation—that is, the lack of them—are other weak points in village life. As a rule, these automatically follow, but do not necessarily precede, improvement in economic position. As things are now, the illiterate peasant is subject to all manner of extortions. He is constantly putting his thumb-print to questionable documents he cannot read. In order to escape threatened calamity of one sort or another, not knowing his own legal rights, and fearful of all authority, he meekly submits to exploitation from those who ought to serve him. Education is badly needed to help him ward off some of this bitter injustice. It would also make him understand the scientific basis of hygiene. How can you expect anybody to observe sanitary rules if he has no knowledge of a connection between their absence, and disease and ill-health? Once I was trying to do a little crude anti-malaria propaganda. I got hold of a poster showing a gigantic mosquito and explaining underneath in Hindi and Urdu all about the wretched *Anopheles*. An old villager, staring with incredulity at the picture tacked against my verandah wall, remarked that never in his long lifetime had he seen any mosquito so big as that! With utmost difficulty could I make him comprehend that the mosquito responsible for his frequent attacks of fever was the insignificant little insect he knew only too well, that the poster mosquito was many times enlarged.

Having spoken of some of the more depressing features of village life as I saw it, I should at least like to end on a more positive note. I mentioned our newly established Panchayat. In the year I was there, it disposed satisfactorily of 97 criminal complaints and 180 civil suits. The cost of bringing a criminal suit was only 4 annas, of a civil suit from 5 to 13 annas depending on the amount at stake. Think of the saving, both to the villagers and the courts, resulting from this peaceful settlement at home of the village quarrels! Then, the almost complete absence of communal friction was a lesson in good behaviour which the towns might well copy. As many Hindus marched in the *Tazia* processions as Muslims, and once the Mohammedan station master himself piloted through the village and to my door an orange-clad Sadhu caught practising that favourite pastime of ticketless travel, in order to help him collect the price of his ticket and thus avoid the necessity of having him arrested. The friendly co-operation of the whole community at ploughing and reaping time was likewise a joy and an inspiration.

Finally, thanks to his traditional culture, however deficient he may be in modern education, the Indian villager has a surprisingly clear appreciation of virtue and good conduct. He knows right from wrong. He naturally has very good manners. He is infinitely patient. If most of his time is taken up with the problem of obtaining the bare minimum of food and clothing for himself and his family, he still has some time to spare for thoughts of something bigger than himself, for a conception of a scheme of things in which, insignificant as he knows himself to be, he plays a not ignoble part. How often do we give him credit for that part, or remember the tremendous debt we owe him?

RAJA RAMMOHUN ROY'S RELIGION

By Professor S. C. ROY, M.A. (London)

During his lifetime Raja Rammohun Roy was generally regarded as a Vedantist by the Hindus, as a Maulvi by the Moslems and as a Unitarian Christian by the followers of Jesus. He studied the scriptures of most of the principal religions in their original, entered into the spirit of their teachings, interpreted their essential doctrines to his own countrymen and to the advocates of different religions of the world. And yet he was a critic, a rationalist and a controversialist, and as such unsparing and uncompromising in his exposition of the logical fallacies of the tenets of his opponents and equally vigorous in his intellectual defence of whatever was best and noblest and truest in the teachings of other religions: What was then the Raja's own religion?

In the very first publication (extant) of the Raja's works (*Tufatul Muwahiddin*), he writes by way of introduction:

> "I travelled in the remotest parts of the world, in plains as well as in hilly lands, and found the inhabitants thereof agreeing generally in believing in the personality of One Being who is the source of all that exists and its governor . . . From this induction it has been known to me that turning generally towards one Eternal Being is like a natural tendency in human beings and is common to all individuals of mankind equally."

Herein manifests itself the germ of monotheistic fervour which characterised all his religious endeavours and practices. He was not, however, unmindful of the differences of creeds and precepts in religions. He found races of mankind "disagreeing in giving peculiar attributes" to that One Being and "in holding different creeds consisting of the doctrines of religion and precepts of *haram* (forbidden) and *halal* (*lawful*)." He also realised that "the inclination of each sect of mankind to a particular God or Gods, holding certain special attributes and to some peculiar forms of worship or devotion, is an excrescent quality grown (in mankind) by habit and training." There were thus in man (*a*) a natural tendency to turn towards one God, the creator and preserver of the universe, and (*b*) a habit reinforced by training and conditions of his enviroment to adopt some credal beliefs based on the peculiar attributes of God and resulting in divergent modes of worship, cult and rituals The Raja's reflection on the existing religions of his times led him to emphasise the essential element of unity in all religions, as displayed in the natural and universal feature of monotheism—and to deprecate, if not eliminate, the non-essential forms of doctrine and rites, which owe their origin to the local, tribal or accidental and traditional differences in mankind. If we analyse this underlying thought in the Raja's supreme religious conviction, we recognise the following factors, which support a universal theory or philosophy of religion on the solid foundation of a comparative theology, of which Raja Rammohun was a great pioneer scholar:

(*i*) All religions have a universal element, *viz*., a belief in and worship of one God as the Creator and Preserver of the Universe, a monotheistic substratum which all races of mankind share in common.

(*ii*) The truth of a religion or the truths contained therein can be apprehended and appreciated only when this common feature is grasped and separated from the accidental differences due to local and temporal conditions, as the kernel from the husk.

(*iii*) In so far as habits and training of men differ and give rise to narrow sectarian views of life and the world, there are prejudices and superstitions clinging to all religions, which might be regarded as the irrational or erratic elements of religions. "Hence falsehood is common to all religions without distinction," as boldly asserted by the Raja in his introduction to his earliest extant work, "A Present to the Believers in One God."

The works of Raja Rammohun Roy reveal an unmistakable earnestness and enthusiasm to emphasise the first factor, to understand the common element as distinguished from the differentiating features of more or less accidental origin, and at the same time to denounce and eliminate the third factor—the falsehoods and superstitions which gather round every religion in course of its evolution.

This can be clearly illustrated from the prefatory and introductory remarks he made in the English (and Bengali) translations of the Vedanta (extracts or abridgment) and the Upanishadic treatises, so far as his attitude towards the religion of the Hindus is concerned,

and in the compilation from the New Testament of the Bible known as "Precepts of Jesus, the Guide to Peace and Happiness" so far as his attitude towards the Christian religion is concerned.

In his translation of an Abridgment of the Vedanta he aimed at "establishing the Unity of the Supreme Being and that He alone is the object of propitiation and worship" and expected to prove to his European friends that "the superstitious practices which deform the Hindu religion have nothing to do with the pure spirit of its dictates." To those of his countrymen (especially among the Brahmins) who were ill-disposed towards Rammohun he offered these translations of the Vedanta and the Upanishads in order to vindicate his "own faith and that of our early forefathers" and to convince his countrymen "of the true meaning of our sacred books."

The essence of Hinduism, as reflected in the Upanishads and the Vedanta, was discovered by the Raja when he declared:

"An attentive perusal of this as well as of the remaining books of the Vedanta, will, I trust, convince every unprejudiced mind that they, with great consistency, inculcate the Unity of God; instructing men at the same time, in the pure mode of adoring him in Spirit." (*Vide* the Raja's Introduction to the Translation of the Mundak Upanishad.)

The religion of Raja Rammohun is thus the religion of the Vedas and the Upanishads, which are rightly termed the Vedanta, (or the Resolution of all the Vedas, the most celebrated and revered work of Brahmanical Theology, as the Raja held), but this was as far removed from popular Hinduism as it was from popular Christianity and Muhammadanism. The Vedantic religion of Raja Rammohun established "the Unity and incomprehensibility of the Supreme Being and that His worship alone can lead to Eternal Beatitude." It maintained that the sole regulator of the universe is but one, "who is omnipresent, far surpassing our power of comprehension, above external sense, and whose worship is the chief duty of mankind and the sole cause of eternal beatitude; and that all that bear figure and appellation are inventions." This religion of the Raja thus discarded polytheism, disowned the plurality of gods and goddesses in the Hindu pantheon, rejected idolatry and deities and ceremonies resting thereon, and condemned the superstitious practices of murder, self-destruction, human sacrifice, etc., in the name of religion.

Of idolatry Raja Rammohun was a born opponent. He writes:

"My constant reflections on the inconvenient or rather injurious rites introduced by the peculiar practice of Hindoo idolatry which, more than any other pagan worship, destroys the texture of society, together with compassion for my countrymen have compelled me to use every possible effort to awaken them from their dream of error; and by making them acquainted with their scriptures, enable them to contemplate with true devotion the unity and omnipresence of Nature's God."

He has repeatedly directed the vigour of his pen against the advocates of idolatry and well-nigh silenced them by the crushing weight of his arguments. But at the same time he was not altogether indifferent towards the Hindu scriptures that are generally quoted in support of idolatry. In his preface to the English translation of the Isa Upanishad, the Raja is quite explicit on the question.

"Should it be asked", says he, "whether the assertions found in the Puranas and Tantras, etc., respecting the worship of the several gods and goddesses, are false, or whether Puranas and Tantras are not included in the Sastra, the answer is this:—The Puranas and Tantras, etc., are of course to be considered as Sastra, for they repeatedly declare God to be one and above the apprehension of external and internal senses; they indeed expressly declare the divinity of many gods and goddesses, and the modes of their worship; but they reconcile those contradictory assertions by affirming frequently that the directions to worship any figured beings are only applicable to those who are incapable of elevating their minds to the idea of an invisible Supreme Being, in order that such persons, by fixing their attention on those invented figures, may be able to restrain themselves from vicious temptations and that those that are competent for the worship of the invisible God, should disregard the worship of idols."

The same spirit of accepting the truth and essence of spiritual monotheistic worship and rejecting the external forms and non-essential creeds and doctrines will be apparent in the Raja's polemics against the Christian missionaries and controversies or discussions regarding the credal elements of Islam. His was, therefore, a universal religion in the true sense of the term—based as it was on the universal truth of all the principal religions of mankind. With Buddhism he inculcated the principles of pure morality as indispensable means that leads men to eternal happiness, even when they profess faith in the Supreme Being. In his view of the Vedanta,

"Moral principle is a part of the adoration of God, *viz.*, a command over passions and over the external senses of the body and good acts are indispensable in the mind's approximation to God; they should therefore be strictly taken care of, and attended to both previously and subsequently to such approximation to the Supreme Being; that is to say, we should not indulge our evil propensities, but should endeavour to have entire control over them; reliance on and self-resignation to the only true Being, with an aversion to worldly considerations are included in the good acts above alluded to."

In a word, the Raja's interpretation of the sacred scriptures of the world revealed to him a fundamental unity in so far as they inculcated not only the enlightened worship of One God, but the purest principles of morality.

In reply to an essay written by Subrahmanya Sastri holding that the study of the Vedas with their subordinate sciences (Vedangas) was indispensable to the knowledge of God and therefore to the attainment of eternal beatitude, the Raja wrote his "Apology for the pursuit of final Beatitude independently of Brahmnical Observances"—whereby on the authority of Vyasa and other authors of the Hindu scriptures he proved that the study of any particular scripture could not be the only means of acquiring knowledge of God. This was quite in accordance with the ancient tradition that a person by studying the Gita alone can acquire final beatitude and that the Agam Sastras, as taught by Mahadev, are too the means of imparting divine knowledge to those who study them. It follows that study of *any* scripture as well as study of *no* scriptures could lead to the same goal.

This liberal interpretation of the Hindu scriptures not only prepared the minds of the various Hindus for a mutual appreciation of the truths contained in the spiritual part of the Vedas, the Smritics and Agamas, etc., which had created endless conflicts among the respective sects before the days of Rammohun, but also led the way for a reconciliation of the various scriptures and prophets of the world, or for a harmony of religions.

In the Trust-deed of the Brahmo Samaj the Raja laid the foundation of the Universal Church, which is to combine all the religions, and in fact, all the races of mankind, into an organic unity. It is not without significance that in a tract entitled "The Universal Religion," or "Religious Instructions founded on sacred authorities" (published in 1757 S. or 1829 A.D.), the author of the Trust-deed of the Brahmo Samaj gave a brief account of the worship enjoined in the sacred writings "worship due to that Being who is pure as well as eternal and to whose existence Nature gives testimony." The following extracts will show the essential conceptions of Universal Religion, as formulated by the Raja :—

"Worship, when applied to the Supreme Being, signifies a contemplation of his attributes." "Worship is due to the Author and Governor of the Universe. Neither the sacred writings nor logical arguments can define his nature. He cannot be defined either by intellect or by language." "The Supreme Being is imperceptible and unexpressible in the sense that his likeness cannot be conceived;" and yet "he is capable of being known as far as his existence is concerned;" "that is, that there is a God, as the indescribable creation and government of this universe clearly demonstrate : in the same manner as by the action of a body, we ascertain the existence of a Spirit therein, called the sentient soul, but the form or likeness of that spirit which pervades every limb and guides the body we know not."

"To this worship no one can be opposed on sufficient grounds; for, as we all worship the Supreme Being adoring him as the author and governor of the Universe, it is impossible for any one to object to such worship, because each person considers the object whom he worships as the author and governor of the Universe; therefore in accordance with his own faith he must acknowledge that this worship is his own. In the same manner, they who consider Time or Nature, or any other object, as the Governor of the Universe, even they cannot be opposed to this worship, as bearing in mind the Author and Governor of the Universe. And in China, in Tartary, in Europe and in all other countries, where so many sects exist, all believe the object whom they adore to be the Author and Governor of the Universe, consequently they also must acknowledge according to their own faiths, that this worship is their own."

Herein we discover the seed of universalism germinating in the Raja's mind, because the religious ideal and life, as lived and practised by him, was only a natural unfolding and logical development of the thought conceived of in the above lines. Nowhere was this liberalism and spirit of universalism so rationally and outspokenly given utterance to before his advent. The only parallel I can quote in this connection is to be found in the verses of the Bhagavadgita, where, too, all men are said to worship one and the same God in different forms. *Vide*

ये यथा मां प्रपद्यन्ते तांस्तथैव भजाम्यहं ।
मम वर्त्मानुवर्त्तन्ते मनुष्याः पार्थ सर्व्वशः ॥

Also :—

येऽप्यन्यदेवता भक्ता यजन्ते श्रद्धयान्विताः ।
तेऽपि मामेव कौन्तेय यजन्त्यविधिपूर्व्वकम् ॥ etc., etc.

But Raja Rammohun was not content with this alone. He raised the crucial point by a few more questions, which are worth considering :—

Q. Are you hostile to any other worship ?

Ans. Certainly not; for he who worships, be it whosoever or whatsoever it may, considers that object as the Supreme Being; or as an object containing him; consequently what cause have we to be hostile to him?

Q. If you worship the Supreme Being and other persons offer their adoration to the same Divine Being but in a different form; what then is the difference between them and you?

Ans. We differ in two ways : first, they worship under various forms and in particular places, believing the object of their worship to be the Supreme Being, but we declare that he, who is the Author of the Universe is to be worshipped; besides this, we can determine no particular form or place. Secondly, we see that they

who worship under one form are opposed to those who worship under another, but it is impossible for worshippers of any denomination to be opposed to us.

Q. In what manner is this worship to be performed?

Ans. By bearing in mind that the Author and Governor of this visible Universe is the Supreme Being, and comparing this idea with the sacred writings and with reason. In this worship it is indispensably necessary to use exertions to subdue the senses, and to read such passages as direct attention to the Supreme Spirit. . . . It is repeatedly said in the sacred writings that theological knowledge is dependent upon truth, consequently the attainment of truth will enable us to worship the Supreme Being, who is Truth itself.

Q. According to this worship, what rule must we establish with regard to the regulation of our conduct and other worldly matters?

Ans. It is proper to regulate our food and conduct agreeably to sacred writings; * * * to act according to our wish is opposed both by the scriptures and by reason. * * * In fact, however, it is highly improper to spend our whole time in judging of the propriety and impropriety of certain foods, without reflecting on science or divine truth; * * * * therefore, it is certainly far more preferable to adorn the mind than to think of purifying the belly.

Q. In the performance of this worship, is any particular place, quarter or time necessary?

Ans. A suitable place is certainly preferable, but it is not absolutely necessary; that is to say, in whatever place, towards whatever quarter or at whatever time, the mind is best at rest, that place, that quarter and that time is the most proper for the performance of his worship.

Thus in the tract called "Universal Religion," Raja Rammohun laid down the essential principles of the religion that can be truly defined as the worship of one Supreme Being in truth and spirit, the religion that is best characterised by the features of universalism, liberalism, rationalism, toleration for all sects, harmony of creeds and scriptures, and prophets, unity of the human race, the reconciliation of moral idealism with the fervour of spiritual monotheism, the combination of the divergent modes of practice and theory, known as the paths of Karma, Jnana, Bhakti, Seva and Yoga. He was born a Hindu and endeavoured to raise the true spirit of Hinduism above narrow sectarianism and the caste system, and above the superstitious and inhuman rites that not only divided the house of the Hindus among themselves, but made it an object of contempt and ridicule to outsiders. But he extended his hand of fellowship to the Moslems and Christians, to the Europeans and Americans, irrespective of creed and colour, climate and language. In the "Humble Suggestions," we come across the following words of liberal and tolerant spirit, breathed by the Raja :

"Among foreigners, those Europeans who believe God to be in every sense One and worship Him alone in spirit and who extend their benevolence to man as the highest service to God, should be regarded by us with affection, on the ground of the object of their worship being the same as ours. We should feel no reluctance to co-operate with them in religious matters, merely because they consider Jesus Christ as the Messenger of God and their spiritual teacher, for oneness in the object of worship and sameness of religious practice should produce attachment between worshippers."

On the principle of the Raja's Religion, even those who believe Jesus Christ to be God Himself and construct images of him "should not be hated" or treated in an unfriendly manner, but "we should act towards them in the same manner as we act towards those of our countrymen who worship Rama and other incarnations."

This brings us to the last great act of Raja Rammohun Roy, the Trust-deed registered on the eighth day of January in the year of Christ 1830, a memorable document in which the spiritual genius of the master-mind found its consummation. It will be a fitting conclusion to what has been said above to bring out the salient points of the Trust-deed :—

(1) The grant of lands, buildings, etc., was meant for the use of the building and its grounds as a place for religious worship. (2) These were to be used, occupied, and enjoyed as and for a place of public meeting of all sorts and descriptions of people without distinction as shall behave and conduct themselves in an orderly, sober, religious and devout manner for the worship and adoration of the Eternal and Unsearchable and Immutable Being who is the Author and Preserver of the universe; (3) The worship of God is to be conducted here not under or by any other name, designation or title peculiarly issued for and applied to any particular Being or Beings by any man or set of men whatsoever; (4) no graven image, statue, sculpture, carving, painting, picture, portrait or the likeness of anything shall be admitted; (5) no sacrifice, offering or oblation of any kind shall ever be permitted; (6) no animal or living creature shall be deprived of life either for religious purpose or for food; (7) no eating or drinking (except such as shall be necessary by any accident for the preservation of life) feasting or rioting, be permitted; (8) in conducting the said worship and adoration, no object animate or inanimate that has been, is or shall hereafter become or be recognized as an object of worship by any man or set of men, shall be reviled, or slightingly or contemptuously spoken of, alluded to either in preaching, praying or in the hymns or other modes of worship that may be delivered or used; (9) no sermon, preaching, discourse, prayer or hymns be delivered, made, or used in

such worship but such as have a tendency to the promotion of the contemplation of the Author and Preserver of the universe, to the promotion, of charity, morality, piety, benevolence, virtue and the strengthening of the bonds of union between men of all religious persuasions and creeds; (10) a person of good repute and well known for his knowledge, piety and morality to be employed as a resident Superintendent and for the purpose of superintending the worship so to be performed; (11) such worship to be performed daily or at least as often as once in seven days.

Over a hundred years have passed away since this document was enacted, and much water has flown down the Ganges in the intervening period. But the rocky foundation of Universal Theism, as built by the Raja has remained standing as an invulnerable fortress in the midst of all revolutions in the social, and economic world and reforms in political constitution. The work of Raja Rammohun Roy endures today in the history and evolution of the Greater Brahmo Samaj outside the small community of theists in India. Millions of educated Indians all over the country claim the Raja today as their own, as the father of modern India, as the veritable pioneer in the fields of social reforms, political legislation and literary and educational progress of the Indian continent, and as such, the greatest hero or soul-force of the modern age. Four great names of Bengal, outside the Brahmo Samaj, will go down to posterity as the makers of new Bengal and for the matter of that, as among leaders of the Indian national life, *viz.*, (1) Pandit Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar, (2) Sir Surendranath Banerjee, (3) Swami Vivekananda and (4) Sir Ashutosh Mukherjee. These great men have really carried forward the work of Raja Rammohun Roy in the spheres of (1) social reforms, (2) political agitation on constitutional lines, (3) philanthropic services based on the Vedantic ideal, and (4) advancement of learning, respectively. And although none of them were members of the Brahmo Samaj, it would not be inconsistent with the religious conception of the great Raja Rammohun to accept all these four great men and other heroic personalities of New India as worshippers of the One Supreme Being in spirit. This point of view is a cause for rejoicing that the greater Brahmo Samaj has been widening its sphere of activities and pushing forward the realization of the ideal for which Raja Rammohun Roy lived and died.

MONETARY REFORM

By S. K. SARMA, B.A., B.L.

THE devaluation of the currencies both of the on-gold and off-gold countries, which followed in rapid succession the devaluation of the franc, has brought to another stage the monetary experiments which the Chancelleries of Europe have been compelled to take as a post-war phenomenon. The first eighty years of the nineteenth century are said to have witnessed in Europe the promulgation of three hundred constitutions; but the monetary experiments in the last two decades may be said to be no fewer in number. The British Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Neville Chamberlain, hoped that the tripartite agreement between America, France and the United Kingdom, to keep to the parity of their exchanges, may eventually lead to the re-introduction of the gold standard; but one is not in a position to know whether a return to the gold standard is only a pious wish of certain "sound money" men or the real objective towards which European statesmen are fashioning their efforts. President Roosevelt has assured us that there is enough gold in the United States to redeem every dollar issued. The gold holding in the Bank of England is surely enough to revert to a gold standard, being nearly fifty per cent of the note issues. If the French capitalists had not been afraid of the Socialist regime, but had withheld the exportation of their capital to foreign countries, or even if their compulsory repatriation had been successful, it should be possible for France to work the gold standard on the authentic lines. But a people who have once tasted the fruits of devaluation are not likely to, give up easily the benefits thereof; and when the dollar and the sterling are devaluated, the turn of over-rated franc was bound sooner or later to

come. Indeed it was incubating long before M. Blum took up the reins of office, but he protested when he assumed power that he would not take any such risk. The force of economic circumstances was too powerful for him; and today there is no on-gold country in Europe: every country has gone off-gold and every country has also devaluated its currency.

We are therefore in the peculiar position that whatever the metallic reserve of western powers—and their gold-hunger is not satiate—they have entered on an era of paper money. The reciprocal agreement between the powers to accommodate each other with gold at a price to be fixed daily is definitely stated to be to help the exchange control and is more a matter of technical detail than a change in the system of paper exchanges. It has been authoritatively declared to be so in regard to sterling. The dollar, the sterling, the franc and every other currency is a paper currency for which the respective governments are not bound to issue gold either for internal or external purposes. The rate for every ounce of gold may vary from day to day in London, Paris or New York dependent upon the daily requirements of each country; but as between these paper currencies certain rates have been agreed upon presumably in relation to their purchasing power parities. The tripartite agreement between England, the United States and France is intended to "peg" the exchanges at the level now agreed upon as being best suited to serve the economic ends of each nation. The stability of the exchanges is to be maintained by the exchange equalization funds each country is maintaining. The object of these funds is to smooth out variations in the exchange rates which are bound to happen owing to variations in the demand and supply of foreign currencies due to fluctuations in trade and long or short term capital movements. Although stability of the rates of exchange between the paper currencies is the principal aim, free exchanges connote the idea of the rates varying, and they will be kept within limitations. Theoretically the rates must find a corrective by the operation of the internal price levels. If a foreign currency is in high demand, exports will increase and imports decrease to that country and the equation of demand and supply will restore the original rate. The object of stabilization funds is to shorten even more quickly the period of restoration. The most harmful among the factors that might affect the rate is the movement of short term funds which have been estimated by an economist as approaching £1000 millions. Such movements are checked by the paper currency system, as the moment there is a transfer, the exchange value of the currency of the country to which it is moved, appreciates preventing further buying at the same rate, and making it more costly to repatriate it. The dis-equilibrium in the rate will be corrected by exports from the debtor to the creditor country.

In his book on "Monetary Reform," Professor Keynes wrote that 'a regulated non-metallic standard has slipped in unnoticed. *It exists.*' That was said in 1923. But a paper standard has now become an object of conscious and sustained endeavour in monetary practice. It is not to be supposed that the western powers have fully comprehended the evils of the gold standard or have equally clearly realised the advantages of a paper currency. The reciprocal agreements whereby the United States has earmarked about eleven million dollar gold reserve as the keystone of the new stabilizing system for Britain, France and America, may not indicate a new type of gold standard, but is certainly evidence of the view that sound money requires a metallic basis ultimately to meet international obligations. That these obligations should be discharged not by the movement of precious metals but of goods and services is as yet hardly realized. A free exchange based on paper money implies no transfer of any metal; it implies that when the trade relations between two countries necessitate payment by one country to another on balance of their transactions, the discrepancy would be corrected by the transfer of goods by the debtor to the creditor country facilitated by a sharp and immediate fluctuation in the price of the exchange. No gold need pass from one country to another. Whether that will be the natural evolution of the present tendency or in the expressive language of Mr. Keynes, 'whilst the economists dozed, the academic dream of a hundred years, doffing its cap and gown, clad in paper rags, has crept into the real world by means of the bad fairies—always so much more potent than the good—the wicked ministers of finance,' is more than can be predicted now; but the all but willing approbation of every country in Europe to this experiment, heralded by the socialist government of France which, whispering like Donna Inez in Byron's immortal poem, it would never consent, consented to the installation of the paper regime, is full of augury for the future. Pegging at the exchanges and the maintenance of exchange stabilization funds may yet be replaced by a system of free paper exchanges as experience gained from the

working of the present system discovers the disutility of any ultimate metallic basis.

The objections to a gold standard or even to an international standard have been eloquently emphasised by experience which needs no support from a priori reasoning; and it shows that if it is only possible to play the rules of the game, the evils of the system may be reduced to a minimum. But they are seldom played Under an authentic gold standard when the exports of a country fall short of the imports, the currency of the foreign country will rise in value and if it has passed the gold export point, gold will have to be shipped to pay for the balance. Or there may be a short-term loan created in the creditor country, or securities sold to it. One of these or all of these should happen in the debtor country resulting in deflation as an immediate result. There must be a corresponding inflation in the creditor country. The result must ultimately be the flow of goods from the debtor to the creditor country thus counteracting the fall in internal prices of the one and rise in the internal prices of the other. In actual practice this is seldom the case. The debtor countries deflate leading to contraction of credit, increased bank rates, fall in internal prices; and to prevent further export of gold, they raise also high tariff; on the other hand, they sterilise the gold imported and also raise tariff walls to prevent imports of goods from debtor countries. Thus the gold standard has instead of facilitating international trade actually impeded it, besides being responsible for the imposition of heavy tariffs all round. It is hopeless to expect that, supposing the gold standard is restored, guarantees would be forthcoming in the future for the game being played in fairness. Violent fluctuations in internal prices must always result from the operation of the gold standard both in the creditor and debtor countries, which have been obscured in the pre-war period by reason of the intervention of the United Kingdom by virtue of her position as a creditor nation and the world-centre of the gold market. As a creditor nation, England had a surplus income from her foreign investments which was wisely lent abroad; and she did not store gold. Mr. Lucas calls this appropriately a "Controlled Sterling Loan Standard" and the system as a kind of British-controlled "World Exchange Equalization Fund," whereby foreign countries getting into debt with each other had it settled by transferring their sterling balances or raising loans in the London money market.* All this has changed now. America, the post-war creditor nation, sterilized all the gold she got by way of payments to her with the laudable, and from her point of view unobjectionable, object of securing her own internal price stability, with the result that the debtor nations had to deflate twice as fast as otherwise it would have been necessary if America had deflated. The debtor countries imposed tariffs to save domestic trade and improve the balance of foreign payments. And America also put heavy tariffs to check the inflex of cheap foreign goods.

We are not entitled, as I said, to quarrel with America for her refusal to lend freely her surplus income from foreign investments, or for her attempt to keep her money stable internally, or for claiming refund of the war-debts, or even levying heavy import duties, to prevent unemployment. All these she was perfectly entitled to do. But her attempt, as contrasted with that of pre-war England, killed the gold standard and made it unworkable. It is greatly to be wished that every country did likewise. Instead of pursuing a policy of national economics in the field of money, the Powers began to stabilize the exchanges and brought on the world all the evils of depression and growing unemployment. The principal aim of the United States was to ensure internal price stability and if world price stability was also assured, it was doubly welcome. But President Roosevelt was not prepared to sacrifice American economic development to a theory. The one issue before him was how best to avoid unemployment and arrest the spread of depression within his country. If prices had to be increased, he would do so with the aid of the imported gold; but to re-lend it to a wasting Europe may accentuate depression. The example of America has been happily followed by the United Kingdom where today sterling stands depreciated by more than eighty per cent. The recovery of British trade due to a depreciated sterling has had its reaction elsewhere. The fundamental policy of American economics is also the root cause of the efforts at devaluation of the franc, and the rest of the gold-bloc countries in its wake. If the experiment is followed by the removal of exchange controls, import and export quotas and the gradual abandonment of tariff walls, expediting the free growth of international trade, as it seems likely, it will have blessed the statesmen whose blundering efforts have been the cause of so much universal woe in the past. The fact of the matter is, each country must regulate its monetary policy according to its own requirements

and according to the internal price level it seeks to maintain; and if that is done, the exchanges will have adjusted themselves to rates in accordance with the purchasing parities of their currencies, for money is worth what it will buy. The interval price level is the thing and the endeavour should be to maintain it without violent fluctuation. The object of the Central Banks, or whatever is the controlling currency machinery to regulate the credit policy, should be to secure that end. If that is clear, movements in foreign trade which may disturb the exchange rates must be allowed to correct themselves by the automatic action of internal prices affecting the import and export of goods.

The question is one relating to the comparative importance of price or exchange stability. Under a gold or any other international standard stability of both cannot be had. The influences operating in favour of exchange stability, even where the international trade is comparatively insignificant, are always powerful; and where the preponderating trade is external, its importance is paramount. But where the domestic trade is of greater worth, stability of internal prices is the main consideration. Perhaps in the case of the United Kingdom, which is the entrepreneur of the world's trade, the scales weigh decidedly in favour of stable exchanges. In the case of a country like India as well, where the choice is forced on the Government by their past commitments, the "drain" requires a stable rupee. Our exports have to be perpetually in excess of our imports to cover the balance of payments by seventy-five crores annually. The European merchants interested in our foreign trade and the Government of India who have also to make remittances to London, insist upon the maintenance of a stable rate. One can easily understand therefore the splenetic outbursts of irate Finance Members when the question of the rate is brought up. A fluctuating rate in the foreign market, which may at the same time steady internal prices, is a trifle inconvenient and if that inconvenience can be avoided at the expense of others who may suffer for it, namely, to Englishmen foreign nationals as in the case of India, it is a matter of little or no concern to the currency authority, which is the Government of India. But no national Government can long continue to subordinate the interests of domestic to foreign trade, which can only be a fraction of the total trade of the country Enlightened democracy will never suffer violent fluctuations in internal prices, strong ups and downs with all their attendant evils, because it is convenient to adjust accounts with the foreigner with a stable rate in the foreign exchange market. It would rather pay any price to preserve a sound internal economic system, though a heavy price need not be paid, as speculators in the forward exchange market are willing to take on their shoulders the burden of fluctuating exchanges. A counterpart of such speculators is not to be had where exchange rates are stabilized by the adoption of an international standard resulting in violent fluctuations in internal prices, in deflation in debtor and inflation in creditor countries. It is the general body of the people, labourers and workers of sorts, that suffer and ultimately succumb to the perils of unemployment, starvation and slow death.

I sometimes wish that Lord Curzon's dream of a gold standard based upon a gold currency had been our lot during his regime, or immediately after, in which event we should have learnt by now the wisdom of the West which has practically abandoned it. The Midas touch of gold is not for us. Since the United Kingdom went off gold we have exported nearly three hundred crores worth of gold, or two hundred and twenty-five millions sterling. Curiously enough that is just a little under the stock in the Issue Department of the Bank of England. Historians tell us that Queen Elizabeth, who was a member of the syndicate which financed the expedition of Drake, had left with her £40,000, which she invested in the Levant Company, out of the profits of which the East India Company was founded. It happens, says Professor Keynes, that £40,000 accumulating at 3¼ per cent compound interest would correspond to the four thousand millions at which British investments overseas are estimated to stand today. Every pound which Drake stole from Spain is worth now a hundred thousand pounds! Professor Keynes has left out of his calculations the gold which Clive and his marauding hordes shipped away to England. I am not good at arithmetic and I would ask you to calculate at compound interest at 3¼ per cent what the three hundred millions would amount to in a hundred years. And of this huge sum we have been deprived because England has gone off-gold and India is linked to sterling. Sir James Grigg says that criticism of this policy is "monkeying" with the ratio and is "rubbish." Far from that being the case it is tightening the noose round the neck of the starving and helpless millions who know nothing about the ratio or the exchanges. All that they know is that prices have

fallen to an alarming extent, that the rentier is needlessly benefited, that the debtor is subjected to all the hardships of a deflated currency and that they have been deprived of their savings in gold. The Government have been forced to impose revenue duties bordering on the protective to balance the budget. Sir James Grigg is a free trader; he abhors in speech protection of any sort. I call upon him to explain before God and his conscience how he can consistently with his professions justify the Indian protective duties and the eighteen penny rupee. He can justify the one and not both by any means of economic legerdemain. He has made an astounding statement that the purchasing power parity of the rupee was 1*s*. 8*d*. last year. So the rupee is really devaluated! I suppose he thinks that the twopence has really gone into the pockets of the Indian producer at the expense of the British exporter. One wonders what similarity of goods produced by England and India went into the calculation of Sir James Grigg's price index. Does he know that what India produces England does not, and from the index of prices of dissimilar commodities one cannot measure purchasing power parities? If he means that relative internal prices are higher in India, which is the same thing as saying that the rate of exchange is wrong in relation to purchasing power parity by ten per cent, *i.e.*, the difference between 1*s*. 8*d*. and 1*s*. 6*d*. English exports to India should rise and Indian exports to England fall. Sir James Grigg will one day explain his theories and their applicability to India more leisurely than he had time on an adjournment motion.

The important thing to note is that between two paper currency systems as the sterling and the rupee the rate of exchange is dependent under normal conditions upon the internal price levels of commodities entering into the international market. Their price indices determine the rate at which demand and supply of commodities, and therefore of money, would equate. But the normal conditions may be interfered with by the action of the Government or its currency authority. There is an interesting chapter in the monetary history of our country which throws a lurid light upon it. When the mints were closed to the private coinage of silver in 1893, the rupee stood at 1*s*. 2*d*. By 1898 it was raised to 1*s*. 4*d*. at which rate it stood stabilized till the war. But as there was a great demand for Indian raw materials, the Government was forced to coin rupees; and between 1898 and 1908 about one hundred crores had been coined and put into circulation, bringing the total circulation to two hundred and thirty crores. This naturally raised the level of internal prices and by 1912 the Indian prices stood highest in the world. As the rate of exchange had been stabilized at 1*s*. 4*d*. the rupee, the high level of internal prices stimulated imports and the Secretary of State for India had to sell reverse councils on two occasions, once in 1902 and again in 1907 The rate of exchange fell. It would have fallen to a lower level permanently but for the heavy borrowings in sterling and remittances to India on capital account. The war necessitated the augmentation of the export trade especially in war materials and the demand for the rupee pushed the rate at one time to 2*s*. 8*d*. or practically double the rate at which it stood at the commencement of the war. The sterling and the rupee both became paper currencies, the rupee being printed paper or printed silver. When prices soared high in the boom year following the close of the war, internal prices stood comparatively more stable in India than the exchange which was allowed to fluctuate. On the basis of 1919 taking it at 100 the Indian and English prices rose to 112 and 129 respectively in 1920. The purchasing power parity, as worked by Mr. Keynes, was 115 and the actual exchange 152. That was the highest point reached. The lowest touched was in 1921 when the Indian and English prices fell to 95 and 65 respectively. That is, whereas Indian prices fell 16 points, English prices fell by 50 per cent. The purchasing power parity was 69 and the actual exchange was 72. It meant that when the Government of India failed to peg the exchange to a particular rate, we escaped the disastrous consequences of violent changes in internal prices such as was experienced in England. Why the Government of India fail to grasp the significance of this lesson, it is not possible to comprehend. Indian prices, which were high enough in 1919, were comparatively more stable than the fluctuation in the exchange rate warranted. Instability of exchange, nay, the practical doubling of the rate was suffered though the internal prices did not call for it. Whether it was by chance or design this policy of letting the exchange fluctuate was adopted, deviation from it and the attempt to stabilize the rate showed a lamentable lack of wisdom, and persistence in the change a deplorable instance of financial folly.

I therefore fail to understand how it is that the estimable gentlemen all over the country, from Cape Comorin to the Himalayas, from Quetta to Calcutta, who constituted themselves

into the now defunct Currency League, which was very vociferous a couple of years ago, was content with stabilizing the exchange though at a lower rate of 1*s*. 4*d*. or why they are not carrying on propaganda for a monetary policy which would raise internal prices and let the exchange fluctuate, if need be, settling down ultimately to a rate towards which the demand and supply of goods in the international market would oscillate. Even now we are hearing faint echoes as if from a grave of the League's ambition for fixity at sixteen pence from western India. It is a vain, purposeless and meaningless jest. The only explanation that I can gather is that these capitalists are content with a small rise in prices which would deprive labour of its real wage. They are the lineal descendants of the men who during Lord Curzon's time and after were persistently urging the claims of a gold standard based on a gold currency. He must be dreamy philosopher indeed who thinks that a reflation of twelve and a half per cent will have brought the millennium he is after. It is practical doubling in the price of agricultural products that should be the immediate objective and the monetary policy of the country should be shaped towards securing it. The Reserve Bank was acclaimed with a flourish of trumpets by both the jingo and the nationalist press, the one vying with the other, as our financial saviour; and what has it done save finding places in the directorate, central and local, to moneyed nationalists? What is its declared monetary policy? What do the mute and tongue-tied directors, who do us the honour of drawing their sitting fees without demur, say about the grave depression which has plunged axle-deep the car of progress in the mire of starvation and unemployment? I do not want the directors to disclose official secrets, but surely they can take the public into their confidence through the mouth of their Governor periodically. And what does the Governor say is the policy he is aiming at, if he has any policy at all? Echo answers what except that he has now resigned. There is no use referring the questioner to the sections in the Reserve Bank Act and the weekly bulletins as to the statement of accounts. The language of figures may be interesting reading and may satisfy the curiosity of the mathematician; what is required is the language of facts, an unvarnished enunciation of the policy and the narration of the steps taken to realize it. Of these we have been painfully spared.

Let us remember that a paper currency has not only slipped into India, but has been pursued as a matter of definite aim. Over two hundred crores of paper money are in circulation and perhaps an equal amount of silver rupees which are as good as paper for all monetary purposes. The silver rupee may be worth a fraction for non-monetary purposes, but that is a different matter. The Reserve Bank as a currency authority cannot inflate money in India to any considerable extent; the process is subject to the condition that the exchange stands at 18*d*. the rupee. A Central bank can inflate money by entering into open market operations, by the purchase of securities. The Reserve Bank of India can likewise purchase securities in the market; but its purchase of sterling securities can have no effect on Indian prices; they will be held in England. A maximum of twenty-five per cent of the note issue is fixed by statute for the purchase of rupee securities of fifty crores, whichever is greater. As there are already about twenty-three crores of securities held in Government paper, the expansion of money is limited to less than thirty crores at the present level of the note issue: If the Bank of England purchased thirty crores of securities, it can expand money to the extent of over two hundred and seventy crores. The thirty crores may be deposited in joint stock banks by the sellers of the securities and as these banks keep a cash ratio of 1 to 9 to the deposits, the thirty crores can form the basis of the joint stock banks expanding their loans and advances to the tune of two hundred and seventy crores. The joint stock banks need not keep these thirty crores in their tills; they can deposit it with the Bank of England as the deposits with the Bank of England are treated as cash. The Bank of England finding its cash increased by thirty crores, may in its turn increase its loans and advances by another sixty crores or such sum as it considers safe to build its credit system upon. We have no idea to what extent the scheduled banks and other joint stock banks will have their deposits increased by the purchase of rupee securities by the Reserve Bank and to what extent they will increase their loans and advances so as to increase the money in circulation. That the rupee securities held by the Reserve Bank never reached the maximum of twenty-five per cent of the note issue shows that inflation of money, and therefore the rise of internal prices, is not one of the pursuits of the Napoleons of high finance who are at present charged with the destinies of the Indian paper currency system. High internal prices mean heavy imports and fall in the exchange rate. Assuming that the Indian joint stock banks

play the same role and work on the principles as their compatriots in England, their policy of expanding money will break the edifice of exchange so laboriously propped up by the Government. I wonder if the eminent nationalist financiers who waxed eloquent over the possibilities of the Reserve Bank functioning as a central bank to regulate the basis of credit and currency by entering into open market operations, seriously realized the limitations imposed by the ratio which is sacrosanct.

Realizing fully the superiority of a paper currency, the question may well be asked why I advocate the reopening of the mints to the private coinage of silver as the only proper solution of our monetary ills. It may be answered at the outset that for the purpose of international trade and payments abroad, the silver rupee and the rupee paper make no difference. The only country which stuck up to silver till recently has taken to gold, and China has left India the solitary country with a silver currency. The evils of a gold or international standard in that it may cause a deflation by withdrawal of the standard money are eradicated. Silver may be exported from India as any other commodity from the vast hoards if creditor countries want it; but they want silver no more than paper. The balance of payments will be adjusted not so much by the export of silver as by a quick change in the ratio as in a paper currency, leaving the prices of only those commodities entering into our export trade affected. The general level of prices internally need not be seriously affected at all, as there will be no contraction of currency. The volume of money will remain the same, and there will be no forced unemployment such as follows the withdrawal of gold from a gold standard country. Even if there should be a withdrawal of the silver rupee for payment to creditor countries, the volume of silver in the country is so great that the supply of money will be kept constant and steady by silver being brought to the mints for coinage. We have at least a stock of one thousand ounces of silver from which could be replenished the silver rupee that may be exported to correct the balance of trade. In fact, it is the comparatively trifling amount of annual accumulations to silver in proportion to the volume extant that has made rupee prices steady. With open mints, therefore, the price of silver which is now hovering round twenty pence is bound to rise. The value of the silver hoards will have doubled making it easier for the rupee to be converted into specie and *vice versa*. Fancy the owners of one thousand ounces of silver suddenly finding the eight anna worth of silver stock being valued at a rupee! They will get an unearned increment of a hundred per cent in the value of their silver possessions. It must certainly cause an economic revolution if each man's hoards are doubled one fine morning. The capital at his disposal will also have increased. It will have an effect on prices such as the discovery of a mine with rich seams of the precious metals, the discovery of another Mexico or California.

With a paper currency internal prices in each country will be controlled by the currency authority, and in his book, "What Everybody Wants to Know About Money" Mr. Cole rightly points out that 'the question which the world—and each country—has to decide today is whether it has at its command a sufficiency of skill and knowledge to undertake this work of monetary control.' He was far from suggesting that the technique of control needed to remedy the situation had been fully worked out or that there was a general agreement among skilled persons about the basic principles of monetary management. But with free silver as the basis of the monetary system no such difficulty arises The evils of an automatic currency which would be persistent in a gold standard are avoided by the natural prohibition from export by the very nature of things; while ensuring the advantages of a paper currency, it enhances the value of the hoards of silver which have been accumulated by ages both to serve the purpose of a measure of exchange and a standard of value. It is not that the incalculable benefits of free silver are not widely and generally appreciated by the Government, but they have been unfortunately in the past pulled by the Anglo-Indian mercantile community, who are interested in a stable exchange, and also by easy-going Finance Ministers who found in a fluctuating exchange difficulties for balancing the budget. In placating the one and relieving the other, the country had to make enormous sacrifices by way of the fall in internal prices, by arrest of progress for lack of capital, by poverty and unemployment. By reverting to a silver standard we shall have wisely refrained from the path of folly and ignorance due to what has now proved to be an optical illusion, the success of a gold standard. It was not in vain that Professor Marshall, one of the greatest economists of the last generation and who has moulded the economic thought of the living, held that money must be national, with which view Professor Keynes completely agrees. The import of the foreign breed of a gold or sterling exchange standard has not stood

the warm climate of the Indies. Will our statesmen and financiers think again and think deeply; and will our nationalist leaders spare a minute or two from the alluring pre-occupations of politics for what after all is the profound problem of the times, the problem of monetary reform? Spasmodic efforts will never succeed. Sustained agitation and informed criticism are requisite at a time when men are not likely in such matters to be carried by appeals to emotion and I can only hope that they may be forthcoming in an ampler measure than has been the case till now.

LAND TAXATION IN INDIA

By MANEKLAL VAKIL, M.A., LL.B.

Who is the Owner of Land?

"The Land Revenue is of such importance to our Indian Empire that many persons desire to have some general knowledge of what it is and how it is levied and managed. Intimately connected on the one hand with the past history and later developments of land tenures it appeals to the Jurist and the Student of the growth of institutions and customs; not less connected on the other hand with questions of taxation, land-valuation, rent and agricultural conditions in general, its administration invites the notice of the economist." (Baden Powell's *Land Revenue Administration*).

The tenure of the Zamindars of Bengal represents a late if not the latest development in the land-interest and was the localised outcome of the dying of corrupt system of State commencement. The study of it can throw no light on the real customary tenures of the country." ,

The modified Zamindari system which was later adopted in the United Provinces, the Central Provinces, the Punjab and the Northern Districts of Madras was also given up and the Ryotwari System of Bombay was practically adopted by the British Government for the rest of India.

The Bombay Land Revenue Code does not enunciate any theory of proprietary right. It does not call the land-holder a proprietor but it describes what the practical results of his rights are. The right of occupancy is itself a property being permanent, heritable and transferable.

Mr. F. G. H. Anderson in his latest edition of the Land Revenue Rules of 1921, printed at the Government Central Press, Bombay, admits that at the dawn of History in Vedic India the texts lean to the view that land revenue was a tax for the maintenance of Kings and the benefit of his Government. He however states that

"The most modern theorists in economics maintain that the community by its representative, the Government, is entitled to the rent on land more specially that of non-agricultural land which is less earned than any rent. This right is not based upon the theory of ownership. He is further of opinion that if the Government can tax even up to the extent of taking all the unearned rent than the distinction between the ownership and right of taxation is purely academic. For land on which the occupancy has been granted since establishment of the present Government, of course the proprietary right is unquestioned and such land forms a very large portion of the existing cultivated area more especially in the Bombay Presidency."

The Bombay Land Revenue Code, however, is drafted on the implied assumption that the Government is the owner of all the land in the country including the land which is cultivated by the peasant. Failure to pay the Revenue assessment renders the land liable to forfeiture even though the peasants' rights in the land might have increased a good deal in the market value. Moreover, it gives peasants no right to what is below the surface. He has no right to any mines or mineral products which are reserved to the State. The Revenue assessment which is a tax payable in cash alone is liable to be increased and the principles of such increase are beyond the understanding of the common peasant. According to the ancient Sanskrit writers the land is not the subject of gift by the Government for as regards its proprietorship all men stand in the same position When land must have been plentiful it would naturally belong to the first occupier or the person who would clear forest and make it cultivable. The waste land was the *res-nullius* of the ancient Roman Law to belong to nobody, not even the king. He merely exercised jurisdiction over persons who resided within his kingdom and in return for the protection which he offered and the assistance which he could render from the combined collections in the Treasury he was entitled to a tax which was levied in kind and not in cash. In the nineteenth century the payment in kind was replaced by the payment in money which was supposed to have a stable value at least more stable than the price of the natural produce of agricultural land. The payment in cash was preferred by

Governments to enable them to make proper estimates of their budgets and thereby come to a certainty as to the income of the Government. It was alleged however that it was also beneficial to the peasant inasmuch as it enabled him to know exactly what assessment was to be paid. This worked fairly well so long as no attempt was made to increase the assessment which was guaranteed at least for a period of 30 years from the land settlement. But in the post-war revision of settlements, the cash assessments were revised considerably as a result of post-war inflation of currencies and prices throughout the world. Since the general decline of prices in 1929 as a result of increased production and curtailment of Bank credits the peasant has been unable to make both ends meet and the cash assessment became difficult to be paid by him as he could not realise the necessary cash from the sale of his surplus produce. Governments in all countries thereupon embarked on the further depreciation of currencies and protective tariff to safeguard the local industries, both agricultural and industrial. Money has thus become as unstable in value as any other commodity and depends upon the currency and tariff policy adopted by any particular Government in retaliation to similar policy followed by the great exporting countries of the world.

The argument of certainty of payment which obtained in the 19th century is absolutely incorrect in these days. On the other hand before the advent of British Rule the peasant according to "the ancient law and constitution prevailing in India" used to pay his land tax by the share of the produce under Hindu Rajas and even under the settlement of the Mahomedan Emperor Akbar had the option of paying the tax in kind or in cash as he chose. A share of the produce which was a fixed one according to the quality or class of land he cultivated, was very convenient to the peasant. If he had to leave a part of his land fallow for the purpose of the rotation of crops, there would be no production from that part and therefore no tax on the same. If there was a bumper harvest the State would get a larger quantity and if there was a lean year the share of the State would also automatically decrease. In years of famine brought by either draught or heavy floods the State would naturally get nothing. On the other hand the State would also have to assist the peasant if he happened to be without any private resources to enable him to tide over the particular season or year.

According to section 39 of Pitt's India Act of 1784 which wanted to put a stop to the

"corruption and oppression that everywhere prevailed, the Government of the East India Company were to settle and establish upon principles of equity and justice, according to the laws and constitution of India the permanent rules by which their tribute, rents and service shall be in future rendered by the Ryots, Zamindars, Polygars, Talukdars and other native land-holders."

Lord Cornwallis practically ignored the provisions in Pitt's India Act in favour of the Ryots and created Zamindars and Rajas in Bengal from mere adventurous farmers of revenue to fill the coffers of this Company. Cambridge History of India drops the word Ryot and substitutes the word Rajas in giving a summary of section 39 of the Pitt's India Act of 1784. In the Company's analysis of Laws and Regulations, the Pitt's India Act contains the word Ryots. The laws and constitution of India referred to in the said section 39 would naturally mean the customary tenures of the peasant proprietor in the soil under the Hindu Rajas according to the Sanskrit laws as well as under the Mahomedan Rule as can be seen from the Ain-i-Akbari of Akbar which was being quoted by the Governors-General in their despatches to the Court of Directors of the East India Company in London.

Apart from the right of the first occupier or clearer of waste-land to hold it as an absolute owner subject to payment of any tax which the Government may constitutionally levy from time to time, there is another theoretical argument advanced that the right of conquest gave to the conquerers the right of ownership. Such a right of ownership is very frequently before the mind of the Revenue Officials in British India as well as the Indian States. Most of the feudal princes claim to be the owner of land in their State as a result of conquest during the troubled times. This is an absolutely untenable theory because no conquerer can turn all his subjects into slaves attached to the soil. The King or any other type of constitutional Government can levy a tax in return for the protection and other assistance which the State is expected to award to its subjects.

No King or Executive Government can dare dispossess all its subjects for fear at least of a general rebellion. In practice they dare not disturb out of policy the possession of the agriculturist owner as they find it inconvenient to do so. There must be somebody to till the land and raise crops to enable the State to realise a tax out of the same. The theoretical occupancy right, permanent, heritable and transferable, is got to be conceded and the poor peasant

does not know any difference between the right of absolute ownership and such a right of occupancy. He is simply defrauded by the law-makers of the particular epoc and the theory of the right of conquest giving the king the absolute ownership in the land is merely a fiction of the jurists who are anxious to place the ruling power whether the same be in the form of monarchy or the trading corporation like the East India Company or the Constitutional Government like the Government of the King in Parliament. The poor Indian peasant knows nothing about the English language nor about the juridical and economic theories expounded by the supporters of the Government in the Legislatures or the paid officers of the Bureaucratic administration.

From the foregoing discussion it will be seen that the peasant was the owner of the soil which he cultivated and he received various benefits from the Government in the form of protection, free grazing in the commons, and assistance to tide over a temporary financial difficulty in return for the produce of the land which he cultivated by way of a contribution to the State expenses. He has been deprived of this right of ownership in the land by the creation of landlord interests under the British Government and his pauperization increased under the money economy which made him a chronic debtor in his complete illiteracy to the shrewd village money-lender.

The peasant proprietor is being fast turned into an annual tenant paying exorbitant rent to the so-called occupancy Khatedar who assumes the roll of a small Rentier while the increasing population has turned nearly half the agricultural land-workers into landless labourers on the soil.

II

What Does the Peasant Pay?

To appreciate the incidence of the various taxes, cesses and dues paid directly or indirectly by the peasant, it is necessary to have some idea of how the peasant actually stands in the cultivation of his land. He must own, if he possibly can, the plough, cattle and the manure, implements of agriculture and if he has not got these then he must borrow them in return for his labour. He must also have the money to pay for his seed and this also he may have to borrow at an exorbitant rate of interest, may be, by undertaking to pay double the quantity he borrows by mortgaging the crop which is yet to grow. The only thing that an Indian peasant of these days can call his own is his manual labour and for that too he must feed himself, his wife and children and the milking cow and the plough cattle in the course of the year. To feed his cattle he must also have to raise fodder on a part of the land. In addition to this generally has in these days to pay interest on the accumulated debts of previous years. The exploitation by the priest who is supposed to meet his spiritual needs and his victimization in his ignorance of unproductive social expenditure is a heritage of the past evil of the Indian soil. The State in India does little to give him any facilities for modern education to enable him to understand the evil effects of such exploitation and unproductive expenditure. He is generally illiterate and the State in India does very little to remove his illiteracy. He has no scope therefore to know any thing better, not even the necessity of village sanitation, better help of his family and cattle or the economic and the legal system by which he is being continuously exploited. He is therefore unable, in his poverty and ignorance till he re-educates himself, nor has any inclination to send his little children to school if there happens to be any in the neighbourhood, inasmuch as he can ill-afford to spare the time of his children from looking after the grazing cattle and watching the crops. The vicious circle goes on from generation to generation and there is very little hope left for him to improve his general health and education beyond the focilized culture of the priest's sermons without any racial improvements, physical or mental. What one observes on the country-side is a continuous decline in the racial physique of the Indian peasant. Foreign bureaucrats cannot be ignorant of this state of affairs but either he is indifferent or feels utterly helpless to do any thing for the improvement of the Indian peasant when he is hide-bound by the laws which he must administer and the policy which he must execute. Even a majority of the educated classes in India have not yet become conscious of this continuous racial decline for the past century and a half and the few educated men who have understood it feel equally helpless in effecting any improvement for want of any control over State finances or an organization of a statutory character which can serve the people by diverting the State revenue to schemes for rebuilding the racial, cultural and economic life of the modern Indian nation in the twentieth century. The Pax Britannica has destroyed the martial spirit or even that of any economic enterprise both amongst the Indian peasant as well as the

dweller of the town. It has rendered them inefficient slaves to carry on economic production in a grinding system of heavy taxation to pay every year the fat salaries of the bureaucracy and the heavy drain of all surplus by way of interest, dividend and tribute to England for the past services of a few foreigners and loans of money financed by the surplus derived from this country itself in the previous years.

In this hopeless and helpless condition of affairs commissions after commissions of foreign experts arrive in India to remedy the things and make recommendations without touching the fundamental policies of Imperialism and even these recommendations fail to be carried out by the Executive Government as inconvenient to the main policy dictated from Whitehall. Even the Royal Commission of Agriculture presided over by the present Viceroy which submitted its Report in 1928 had merely to deal with the economic side of agriculture without discussing the legal tenures or the taxation policy of the Government of India. Remedies have been suggested therein which nobody thought of executing with seriousness until His Excellency's arrival in India after a period of about seven years. Even then these remedies are being attempted to be put into practice but without much hope of success and therefore in a half-hearted spirit. But the bureaucratic administration have to make a show of such attempts because the Viceroy wishes them to do so. If Lord Linlithgow really wants to do something for the Indian peasant he will have to look for the remedies outside the report of the Commission and embark upon a new policy and new laws and in attempting to do so, His Excellency may have to fight strenuously against the autocratic dictation of the Grand Moghul in Whitehall. Even under the new constitution he will have to make it absolutely clear that he will support the Provincial Governments if their Legislatures desire any radical change in the laws of Land Tenures and the new system of taxation involving a just and equitable incidence of tax according to the capacities of the individual to pay; but it is more than doubtful whether even the new Legislatures can embark upon such a policy inasmuch as the very constitution itself has been so framed as to debar by the heavily weighted majority of vested interests in the shape of land-holders, foreign and mixed industrialists from even proposing any such new legislation with any chance of success.

It is all the more necessary therefore that the Indian people outside the Legislatures whether they have a franchise or have not yet got it, ought to know exactly what is necessary to revive the Indian peasantry and thereby to rebuild the whole Indian nation in the shortest possible space of time.

The Indian peasant pays a cash assessment to Government through the intermediation of the Zamindars in the Zamindari Provinces of Northern India and C.P., and through the small owner of occupancy even in the Ryotwari tracts in Provinces of the rest of India. In addition to these he pays the Zamindars' share in the shape of heavy rents and he also pays the various local cesses for education, roads, sanitation and what not. He contributes to the famous Insurance Funds, he pays excise and import duties on the necessaries of life like salt, matches, sugar, imported showy and attractive articles, not to mention the excise duties on alcoholic drinks, opium and other drugs which have ground all the classes of the peasantry with a vicious habit to drown their miseries of a life full of anxiety and of premature old age even though the majority of the peasantry in the villages is still free from drinking and drugs under the influence of prohibition taught both by Islam and Hinduism.

If any attempt is made to improve the economic condition of the peasant by giving him facilities for subsidiary home-industries, the present system of piling indirect tax upon tax on articles of daily consumption leaves the peasant always on the margin of starvation without giving him any economic relief or nation-building culture as a return for some more work in the form of a subsidiary home-industry. His exploitation will still go on and the Indian race and culture would continue to deteriorate.

All attempts at so-called economic improvements of the peasant by giving him the facilities of land-mortgage banks, more co-operative credit, better breeding bulls, encouragement of home industries must fail to achieve the desired result and will simply divert the attention of national workers from working for a new constitution which can embark upon equitable laws and equitable taxes.

(To be Continued)

BOOK REVIEWS

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in The Modern Review. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published. —Editor, The Modern Review.

ENGLISH

A CONSTITUTIONAL HISTORY OF INDIA : *By Arthur Berriedale Keith. Methuen and Co., London, pp. x, 536.*

Most Englishmen who take up their pen against Indians think of India as "our possession," and of the Indians as "our subjects." If a slogan had been invented to express this idea, it would have been "India for Englishmen," not "India for Indians." This is the outstanding impression I get from dipping into the apologetics of *A Constitutional History of India* by Arthur B. Keith, D.C.L., D. Litt., F.B.A., a Lecturer at Edinburgh University and an ex-assistant secretary to the Imperial Conference in London, England.

The book wearily traces out the political development of India from the dawn of the seventeenth century right down to last year. Into the making of this hefty volume has gone much toil, sweat and also ballyhoo. It represents the special slant of an imperialist English thinker who believes in the nonsense of a "manifest destiny" and a "white man's burden." He is perfectly satisfied with his prejudices.

The treatise is spun out into eleven lengthy chapters, sometimes piling obscure details upon details. Almost a third of the work is devoted to the East India Trading Company, its attempt to secure a political foot-hold in India, extension of its domination, establishment of government, system of administration, exploitation and corruption. Then came Victoria as the Empress of India, inaugurating the golden age of bureaucracy. Here Professor Arthur Keith narrates at great length the central and provincial governments, Indian finance, frontier wars, military defence, the judiciary and the legal system, and the Indian States. Coming to the age of Indian political unrest, he discusses the Minto-Morley concessions, the Montagu-Chelmsford concessions, and the Simon-Hoare concessions better known as the Government of India Act, 1935.

The empire-minded Professor bewails Ramsay MacDonald's "lack of balanced judgment" because the ex-premier was once "in favor of great concessions to Indian sentiment"; and he bemoans the fact that the Labor Government of 1929 should have so far forgotten itself as to have actually used the term "Dominion status" as the distant objective of the English policy in India. He predicts all kinds of dire consequences for such utter recklessness! Indians should obviously be content with the privilege of living in perpetual subjection—a sort of inferior clients of John Bull. Many of the other anti-Indian arguments of the learned Professor are of almost the same calibre.

Doctor Keith supports the Government of India Act—which is about as long as an overgrown American telephone directory, but is without even a Bill of Rights. A farce, a travesty of a Constitution. He admits, however, that in the federal government only "the semblance of responsible government is presented" and concedes that "the federation was largely evoked by the desire to evade the issue of extending responsible government to the central government of India. Moreover, the withholding of defence and external affairs from federal control, inevitable as the course is, renders the alleged concession of responsibility all but meaningless."

There is an old anecdote about the farmer who tried to cut down his feed bills by mixing a bit of sawdust with his horse's oats, increasing the substitution daily until, just as the nag had learned to get along on a ration of pure sawdust, it died. The political horse of India is given by the India Act a synthetic freedom. The nag may learn to eat this concoction, but it may die just as the diet reaches its 100 per cent substitution.

The book reads, in spots, like a footnote to the Simon travelogue, sometimes referred to facetiously as the Simon Commission report. The Edinburgh messiah tells all non-believers the "efficiency" of various repressive measures and asserts that the gagging press laws had not at all "checked the rapid growth of newspapers, periodicals and presses" in India. Presumably, they helped their rapid growth. Inferentially the more repressive laws the press encounters, the faster it grows and more it prospers. It is a pity that the publishers in the British Isles do not clamour for such fine enactments.

Mr. Haji's bill to regulate the coasting trade is denounced as a "confiscatory measure". An interference with entrenched interest is immoral, anti-God. I suppose that by the same process of ethical reasoning, the fat-cats of the slave traffic would still regard its abolition as confiscatory. But why go on?

Mr. Keith beats the tocsin for the empire. His only worry is how imperialism may be saved, reformed and patched up, or made to work a little longer. To those of the Indian camp, the issue is different : imperialism cannot be mended, now or later.

Prof. Doctor Arthur Keith has tried hard to put as good a face on the record as he could, but can scarcely expect his opus to attain recognition as a best seller on the strength of his romantic ideas of imperialism.

It has a very satisfactory index.

Sudhindra Bose

AN INDIAN LOOKS AT SWEDEN ("*Hindo rigardus Svedlandon*"): *By Lakshmiswar Sinha, Eldona Societo Esperanto, Stockholm. Pages 200. Paper cover 4/3, bound 5/9.*

Mr. Lakshmiswar Sinha has done a great deal to inform the Scandinavian public about India and her ideals. He has been touring Sweden and Norway, lecturing about his country and its great men like Gandhi and Tagore.

In the remotest places of these northern states crowds of people flocked to hear him speak and many had never heard nor seen an Indian before. The language he used was Esperanto, which is now learned and spoken by thousands of people, especially of the more humble classes, in all the small states of Europe, where the national tongue does not belong to the so-called great languages of the world.

I was surprised to find how many peasants, workmen and elementary school teachers could talk Esperanto fluently when I visited Scandinavia this summer whilst I had some difficulty in finding intellectuals speaking as freely in English, French or German.

After three years spent in Sweden, Mr. Sinha now publishes in Esperanto a remarkable book about that country. He has been living in Swedish homes and loves the friendly and humorous nation, under whose roofs he was so heartily received and entertained.

He has admired the landscape, from the fisherman's villages of the coast to the dark forests of the center and the snowy plains of the north. He has wondered at the beauty of Stockholm with its many bridges, its splendid city-hall and its workmen crowding the libraries and evening classes.

All this he describes in a picturesque manner and the book will make its way. No subject is more actual. In America nowadays every one wants to know about Sweden and President Roosevelt sends three committees of experts to study the social conditions.

Nowhere has democracy brought its best fruits in such a successful way as in Sweden. Women take part in public life and give it a generous tone. Co-operative organization makes life cheaper and governments supported by workers and peasants develop education and a high standard of living. All sorts of state insurances exist to help citizens in old age or in sickness and give their children free medical treatment.

All this has been reached without violence and by really democratic effort with full freedom of discussion and tolerance of other people's opinion. About the social and economic progress of Sweden Mr. Sinha's book could have given us more information, but his impressions of the country and of its atmosphere give a true and charming picture of what I consider the highest civilization in Europe.

EDMOND PRIVAT

THE DACCA UNIVERSITY STUDIES: *November, 1935. Vol. I. No. 1. Published for the University by Brindaban Dhar and Sons, Ltd., Calcutta and Dacca. Price Rs. 1-8 per copy.*

There are ten articles in this number: two on European literature, six on historical subjects, one on Sanskrit poetics, and one on Chemistry. From the historical articles, it seems clear that under the able guidance of Prof. R. C. Majumdar and his learned colleagues, Dacca, has developed a school of historians who know what they are about, and write impressively. All the articles are genuine works of research, and the contributors have a first-hand knowledge of the sources they had to consult: Four scholars drew upon Persian manuscripts and one on an old Javanese inscription. The three research students have ably treated of such difficult subjects as "The Date of the Khadga Dynasty," "The Death of Himu," and "An Old Javanese Inscription of the Saka Year 841." Dr. M. I. Borrah introduces his readers to an interesting subject, *viz.*, "Immigration of Persian Poets into Bengal," but he has hardly been able to do justice to it. Pandit Prakash Chandra Lahiri has not written his article on "Jagannatha's treatment of the Guna-Concept in Sanskrit Poetics" for lay readers, for they will not be able to form any idea of Guna from it. I read with great pleasure and profit Mr. J. N. Chaudhuri's learned contribution, "Maeterlinck's Dramatic Method". I wish I could say the same of Mr. P. K. Guha's "Modern Problem Plays". Of the 18th century English drama he writes: "With the honourable exception of the plays of Goldsmith and Sheridan, ... plays of two kinds comprised the entire dramatic output of the century,—light and frivolous farce, burlesque and satire on the one hand, plays replete with sanctimonious pose and morbid sentimentalism on the other. There were, besides, some heavy and sonorous tragedies, but they too had no contact with life." I do not know what plays Mr. Guha had before his mind when he wrote this. From the "mass of unnatural and insignificant plays" of the first half of the 19th century, he picks out Shelley's *Cenci* as an exception, though it is not clear on what grounds. It was never considered fit to be staged. Speaking of the post-war drama, he observes: "The most significant features of the post-war stage of English problem-play are the unflagging freshness and fecundity of Shaw, the emergence of Somerset Maugham and the meteoric conquest of the stage by Noel Coward". Concerning Maugham (born 1874), I do not see in what sense he can be said to have emerged after the war since his *Lady Fredrick* was published in 1907, *Penelope* in 1909, *Land of Promise* in 1914 and *Caroline* in 1916. If by "Meteoric Conquest," Mr. Guha suggests short-lived flash, he has truly described the success of Coward, for Coward does not exercise undisputed sway over his realm today. With great hesitation, I have to draw Mr. Guha's attention to the following sentence: "Even such a social *pivot* as the marriage-*bond* is no longer treated as sacrosanct, and it now *bristles* with speculative complications which are providing *food* for anxious thought to the people of the age." Is this confusion of metaphor due to too much reading of Shakespeare?

S. N. RAY

DOWN BUT NOT OUT: *By the Author of "The Private Papers of a Bankrupt Bookseller." George Allen and Unwin, London. Price 5s. net.*

Peter Gogg had been to war. He married after his return, but lost both his wife and his employment within a year. Finding all avenues of employment closed, he began to live on the government dole. The author narrates how Peter Gogg gradually realized that the essence of living happily consists in the cessation of desires rather than in the ceaseless attempts to satisfy them. As a philosophy, this conclusion of Gogg may have the charm of novelty for some Western minds, but is a commonplace truism in our country. The author however, has failed in his attempt to make a real living story out of the dry bones of that philosophy. We can, at best, give some credit to the hero for his persistent attempts to improve his stock of knowledge. The dole system permitted him to live an easy life of inaction.

SUHRIT CHANDRA MITRA

THE INDIAN PEASANT AND HIS ENVIRONMENT: *By N. Gangulee, C.I.E., Ph.D., formerly Professor of*

Agriculture and Rural Economics. Published by the Oxford University Press. Price Rs. 7.

In the work under review the author has discussed some of the vital problems that confront the Indian countryside and its inhabitants. Since 1910, the author has had opportunities of being closely associated with Indian rural life and of studying its problems. He was long connected with Poet Tagore's village uplift work. Also in 1926-28, the opportunity came to him as a member of the Royal Commission on Indian Agriculture to see in every province in British India the work of the administrative organizations concerned with the welfare and prosperity of the rural population. In the course of the tours he also paid a number of visits to the villages and inspected certain rural welfare centres run by non-official agencies. The present volume is chiefly formed of extracts from the journal kept by the author during this period and a selection of letters written to several persons since the author began studying Indian agricultural and rural problems. For the convenience of the reader these extracts and letters have been classified to indicate the main topic they deal with into five chapters. In the last chapter have been included a number of letters on the constitutional problems in relation to rural India.

In recent years the problems of inproving rural environments are forcing themselves upon the attention of the government and the public. What is needed is bold initiative for a concerted action. Spasmodic efforts there were and still there are. But mere social efforts by a few non-official agencies or even by the official departments are not adequate for the purpose of uplifting the masses from their present state of existence. They can only serve as pioneer endeavours. Land reform, re-organization of credit facilities, mass-education, improved sanitation and effective local bodies these are the urgent needs of those who live in the Indian countryside. The present work attempts to stimulate public interest in these matters concerning the social and material improvement of Indian rural population. For this the author's endeavour is commendable and his work is bound to be of great interest to all connected with rural uplift in India.

Sukumar Ranjan Das

SRI SWAMI NARAYANA, A GOSPEL OF BHAGWAT-DHARMA: *By Bhai Mani Lal C. Parekh. Published by Sri Bhagwat-Dharma Mission House (Harmony House), Rajkot, India.*

This book describes the life-story of Swami Narayana, who was a contemporary of Raja Rammohan Roy. It is a record of Bhagwat-Dharma, according to Shri Ramanuja, whose Vishistadwaita or qualified monism, the Swami accepts as his own. He organized the Sampradaya known as Satsang,—the core of its teaching is the belief in the living Personal God, who is known as Purushottam, the Supreme Person, and is the Creator, Preserver and Sustainer of the universe. It can be regarded as a text-book of Hindu religion according to Satsang Sect.

Jitendra Nath Bose

THE INDIAN MONEY MARKET: *By Professor Krishna Kumar Sharma, M.A., B.Com., Bangalore, 1934. Pages 292. Price Rs. 2-8.*

CURRENCY AND COMMERCE: *By Professor Krishna Kumar Sharma, M.A., B.Com., Bangalore, 1934. Pages 324. Price Rs. 3.*

The author of these two books admits that both of them have been primarily intended to serve as text-books for Arts and Commerce degrees. Consequently, they have been mainly written on traditional lines, incorporating the ideas and analyses of recognized writers. *The Indian Money Market* is an attempt to present before Indian students a clear view of the working of the monetary and banking system in our country. The Report of the Central Banking Enquiry Committee collected a mass of information on the subject. As it is not possible for all under-graduate students to study carefully the Report with its adjuncts, attempts to present the findings of the Report in a Smaller Compass are particularly welcome. Dr. Panandikar's *Banking in India* is an attempt in this direction, and Prof. Sharma has also ably traversed the same ground.

The other book should attract more attention, for, it is "a survey of fundamental principles" of currency and commerce. The author has been fairly comprehensive in his presentation, and though he has avoided the intricacies of recent monetary theory, his work will serve as a useful handbook for college students. The chapters on the Bank of International Settlements and the Trade Depression give in broad outlines much that the students will appreciate. Both these books can be unhesitatingly recommended for perusal by those for whom they have been intended.

Bhabatosh Datta

THE SUCCESSORS OF SHER SHAH: *By Prof. Nirode Bhushan Roy, M.A., Ananda Mohan College, Mymensingh. Pp. 104. Price Rs. 2-8.*

This monograph on the successors of Sher Shah is the first-fruit of historical research of Prof. Nirode Bhushan Roy, a research-pupil of Sir Jadunath Sarkar, to whom he dedicates his book. Mr. Roy's choice was happy as his treatment of it shows. This book has creditably filled a sad gap between the biographies of Sher Shah and Akbar. As regards the importance of this period the author says, "The continuation of his father's liberal policy by Islam Shah, the further development of the excellent administrative system founded by the former, the Reformation movement in Islam, the ascendancy of Himu and his lieutenants like Ramya foreshadowing the future eminence of Rajah Man Singh, Bhagwandas and Todar Mall—all these invest the period of this book with a singular interest."

The author has made the best use of all available authorities, Persian and English, throwing light on this period of history. Facts, which are the bricks of historical edifice have been laboriously quarried and carefully sifted by him. We hope this book will remain for some time the standard history of this period so far as facts are concerned, though the author's judgment of men and things in some cases may require revision. We propose to examine the author's estimate of Islam Shah, the central figure of his history:

Mr. Roy says, "And he was not a typical Afghan with only a thin veneer of culture. He was extremely polished, there was nobody who could equal him in witticism and humour. He was so clean and dainty that at the time of taking food nobody saw his finger greased." It seems that Mr. Roy has formed an idea of the typical Afghan from the habits of the familiar Kabuli cloth-dealers and userers in their loose dirty *paijamas*. It will perhaps be admitted that culture, polish and cleanliness are not peculiar heritages of any race but concommitants of status in life. Love of music and poetry, literary accomplishments and verse-making also are not incompatible with Afghan character. Even a Pindari follower of Amir Khan would sooner part with war-horse than with his *sitar* when starvation faced him. An Afghan can appreciate everything, and turn his hand to any

trade except account-keeping. If Islam Shah was anything he was a typical Afghan who delighted in war and the pleasures, if not of the chase but of the pursuit of revenge and tribal feud. "Islam Shah set the pattern for a new type of kingship which reached its culmination in the brilliant personality of Akbar. A great warrior, an able administrator. an enlightened and essentially modern king.........." pp. 64. This is perhaps the limit of exaggeration.

Of political far-sight and wisdom it is very doubtful if Islam possessed any. Three pillars of Sher Shah's empire, namely, Shujaat Khan in Malwa, Khawas Khan in Rajputana and Haibat Khan Niazi in the Punjab—became stumbling blocks to him on account of his own breach of public faith and treachery to his eldest brother Adil Khan. Sher Shah's empire was not feudal, though he created three big governorship on the frontiers. These three provinces were to serve as bases of conquests of the Deccan, Gujrat and Afghanistan respectively in the scheme of Sher's imperialism, and their governors were only capable of achieving these conquests. Let us remember the dying wish of Sher who regretted that he could not open the road of Sunni pilgrims overland through the territory of the heretical Persians. Sher knew that the best way of breaking the unruly Afghans was to divert their martial qualities to the channel of foreign conquests which Islam Shah failed to realise. If Islam Khan had any political wisdom he would have seized the opportunity of Kamran's appeal to him for help against Humayun. The conquest of Kabul or of Kashmir from Humayun's ally Mirza Haidar would have solved the Niazi problem.

Mr. Roy has also misunderstood the character of the loyal and saintly Khawas Khan. He has betrayed inability to weigh evidence by rejecting the testimony of Nizamuddin and Niamatullah as regards the motive of Khawas Khan's rebellion.

Departure of Khawas Khan from Jodhpur proved the signal for Rajput risings. It was apparently during this period of confusion that Rao Maldev issued from his retreat and recovered Jodhpur, Chitor was retaken by the Sisodias and Islam's authority was challenged in Chatsu in Jaipur territory.

Mr. Roy jumps at the conclusion that it was Islam Shah Khan who conquered Eastern Bengal because (*i*) two coins of 1542 A.D. of one Barbak Shah, son of Humayun Shah, have been discovered in Mymensingh and Sylhet and (*ii*) Islam Shah sent an expedition against Isa Khan's father. If Eastern Bengal did not form a part of Sher's territory, how it was that his famous Imperial Road had its start at Sonargaon? Why did the Portuguese allies of Mahmud allow Sher's Lieutenant to occupy Chittagong? Against these two coins of one strange king without a capital and with a fictitious ancestry, there are dozens of Sher's coins from mints of Eastern Bengal. Secondly, Isa Khan's ancestor Kalidas Gajdani, a bias Rajput of Oudh had no chance of migrating to Bengal and securing a jagir there till Oudh and Bengal formed parts of the same empire which could be only in the early years of Sher's rule. Further, that an expedition was sent against a chief by Islam Khan does not necessarily presuppose that he must have been in rebellion in Sher's reign. Mr. Roy concludes, "It is very likely after the conquests of Sher, Mahmud Shah retreated to the fluvial region of Eastern Bengal and ruled there" (p. 39). This may be pardonable in an half-informed numismatist but not in one who had at his disposal ample evidence of written history. Mahmud Shah the last Sayyid king of Bengal fled from Gaur not eastward but westward to meet Humayun at Muner in Bihar and implore his aid against Sher. He evidently died in Bihar, as he is not mentioned thereafter in any contemporary history.

Islam Shah was not an improvement on his father, but much inferior in tact, statesmanship and character. He was at times a petty and vexatious tyrant. None but the author perhaps sees anything sagacious and praiseworthy in depriving his nobles of male elephants and female beauties, and in making his subjects salute his shoes placed on the carpet of state to represent him. Mr. Roy has been, however, more successful in his portrature of Hemu and Adali.

If Mr. Roy has committed errors himself, in all fairness it must be admitted that he has also been able to rectify errors of fact and judgment of his predecessors in the same field; *e.g.*, testimony of Tarikh-i-Daudi accepted by the author of *Sher Shah* on the affair of Ghakkars and Sher Shah should be rejected in favour of the three more reliable authorities, Abul Fazl, Niamatullah and *Zubdat-ut-tawarikh*, the last was not available to Mr. Roy (p. 20 and foot-note). Mr. Roy has also thrown down a piece of research of Dr. V. A. Smith, now prominent in our school histories; namely, that Akbar and not Bairam Khan killed Hemu (appendix ii—v). The controversy started by Smith was taken up afresh in the Dacca University when a schoolboy in a letter to Dr. R. C. Majumdar, PH.D., Head of the Department of History, asked him which of the two versions of the story of Hemu's murder found in the school histories of Mr. Adhar Chandra Mukherji and Dr. Majumdar was correct. On a re-examination of V. Smith's data it was found Smith's conclusion was unacceptable as he, having failed in his attempt to overthrow authority of Badayuni against his hypothesis, fell foul upon us, poor Orientals, even the most independent among whom lie and flatter, according to Smith, even without any gain in view. Throughout his *Akbar* Smith's pillar of authority has been Badayuni except perhaps on this single episode, and he never doubted Badayuni except when he found at variance with Europeans. Though we do not go so far as to hold, as Macaulay does, that Jesuits were liars by double right our acquaintance with even well-informed European authorities writing for the illumination of the West regarding India goes to prove that aliens have always been dupes of prejudice and bazar-gossip on such matters.

Mr. Nirode Bhushan Roy appears to be quite right in pointing out the fallacy of Smith on this episode of Hemu's murder (appendix); though he is wrong to hold that "even the son of Bairam Khan, Khan Khanan Abdur Rahim says that Akbar refused to slay Himu who was beheaded by his father." Abdur Rahim had nothing to do with this statement. This is professedly a mere summary of Abul Fazl's account like the most part of the historical narrative in Abdul Baqi Nahawand's *Maasir-i-Rahimi*. A year after the publication of Mr. Roy's book, Mr. Sukumar Roy, M.A., a Research Scholar of the Dacca University, published a lengthy paper on Hemu's murder in the first number of the Dacca University Studies. Though Mr. Sukumar Roy has shown laudable industry in collecting more materials than those at the disposal of V. A. Smith and Mr. Nirode Bhushan Roy has weighed evidence correctly. The substance of his Persian writers quoted by him. The substance of his paper is that V. A. Smith's conclusion rests on insufficient evidence, but he nevertheless stumbled upon historical truth regarding this episode. He emphatically maintains that Arif Qandahari, a servant of Bairam Khan, who was as much a contemporary as Abul Fazl and Badayuni, gives the correct version of the incident; *i.e.* Hemu was struck first by Akbar and when there was yet a little life left in the half-dead victim Bairam finished him.

But he commits the same fallacy as V. A. Smith whom he supports; because if it is permissible to accept the testimony of a servant of Bairam, it is not logical to reject that of hostile Badayuni in favour of Akbar. In fact none knew so such about Himu's execution as did Badayuni who says one or two learned Shaikhs also earned the piety of Ghazis by striking blows on half-dead Hemu, besides Bairam Khan. Badayuni writing in secret and in resentment against Akbar could have no motive in concealing Akbar's blow if it had at all been dealt on Himu. In their cross-examination of witnesses and appraisement of the value of evidence, V. A. Smith and Mr. Sukumar Roy play rather the advocates of a party, and not sober judges of facts of the case as a whole.

We only hope that the admirer of Islam Shah should not take amiss our spirit of criticism and put it to the partiality of the biographer of Sher Shah; because though Sher and his modern biographer, like every normal person, aspire to overcome everybody would welcome defeat only from sons and pupils.

K. R. Qanungo

SANSKRIT-ENGLISH

AN IMPERIAL HISTORY OF INDIA (in a Sanskrit text, c. 700 B. C.—c. 700 A. D.): *By K. P. Jayaswal. Published by Motilal Banarsi Dass, Lahore, 1934.—Pp. XVI + 77 + Index XIV + Sanskrit Text 75. Price Rs.* 8.

The original Text written in Gatha Sanskrit which the great Indologist, Mr. K. P. Jayaswal, edits under the above name forms a chapter (Chapter 53 in Part III) called *raja-vyakarana-parivarta* ("the Section on the prophecy about kings") of that most important Mahayana treatise, the *Manjusri-mula-kalpa,* in which is embodied a history of Buddhism. The whole of this book was first discovered in Travancore and edited previously by the late Mr. Ganapati Sastri. Scholars have occasionally been drawing from this chapter in Sastri's edition to illustrate their own view-points on several historical topics by putting their own interpretation to the original text. The late Sastri's edition of this book (in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series) cared not be regarded as scientific, because he had to depend for setting the text on a single Ms., and hence his printed text suffered from various defects. But in the edition under review, Mr. Jayaswal has striven very hard to remove some of those textual defects, with the help of the Tibetan translation of the book (prepared about 1060 A. D.) incorporated in the Kangyur Series. A comparative study of these two available versions (Sanskrit and Tibetan) by the editor has made it possible for us to get nearly at the central and real reading of the original text. The arrangement of the edition of the Sanskrit text by the editor under separate Sections based, according to him, on separate historical topics, is very useful to scholars. But the original Sanskrit text should have been placed first in the edition, and after it, the editor's translation of some of the extracts of his choice and his comments thereupon. Juxtoposition of the Text and the Comments would have elicited greater appreciation from scholars. One has to look for the text at the end of the book, while trying to grasp rightly the editor's interpretation in the comments.

The most difficult and strenuous job is the interpretation of such old and sometimes cryptic texts. The chapter on history in the original text is written, just as in the Brahmanic Puranas, in a prophetic strain. But unlike the history of Indian kings treated in them as beginning from "the pre-Mahabharata War down to 320-348 A. D.", the history treated of in this Mahayana work is, according to Mr. Jayaswal, "a succession of empires from the time preceding the Buddha to c. 750 A. D. where it stops", *i.e.,* those under the Saisunaka dynasty, the Nandas, the Mauryyas, the Sakas, the Nagas, the Guptas, the Maukharis, the Vardhanas, the later Guptas etc. Some of these dynasties have been more fully described in the book than other; and for some the description is rather short and fragmentary. The editor seems to be quite correct when he says that the author of the Buddhist work wrote his history section "from the point of view of Gauda," and to him Gauda meant "the whole of Bengal" and included "generally Magadha" too. Several new informations of history such as Brahmadatta's real personage, age of Panini, Chanakya's chancellorship continuing through three successive reigns, date of Nagarjuna etc., have been very well made out by Mr. Jayaswal. The names of many historical personages have been mentioned in the original book by means of initials and sometimes by various other devices. This fact has rendered the task of interpretation very hard indeed. Hence Mr. Jayaswal's identifications could not sometimes but be based on pure guess and therefore far-fetched and fanciful. India shall have to wait for future discoveries to confirm many of the editor's suggestions, *e.g.,* (1) that the Pakshas or Yakshas were the Early Kushans—the Kadphises (p. 19), (2) that the ancestors of the Vardhana dynasty were ministers evidently to the Maukharis (p. 28), (3) that Vishnuvardhana (=Yasodharman?) was connected with Thanesvara and was ancestor of the Vardhana dynasty (p. 29) etc. The editor appears to have fallen into a great confusion regarding the chronology of the Nepal kings, for the Nepal Lichchhavi dynasty is to be dated from about the first century A. D. and not from the time of Samudragupta (c. 350 A. D.) as thought by Mr. Jayaswal (p. 21). A thoroughly misleading chronology is given in the editor's comments in this connection. King Udayadeva belongs to the Lichchhavi dynasty of Nepal and not to the Thakuri, as taken by him. He translates the words *Kalingodreshu* and *Udrasandhishu* in vv. 636 and 638 respectively of the text, as having reference to the "Seas" and adds that the names of the seas, "Kalinga Seas" (p. 32) is important. Evidently then he takes the word '*udra*' to mean 'Seas' quite an unusual meaning. May we not take it as referring to Udra (spelt *Udra* in the text)—the name of a part of the old province of Orissa? It also appears doubtful whether the word Prabhavishnu in vv. 694-695 (§30) and in v. 755 (§37) is really a proper name or merely an adjective in the sense of 'lordly or powerful', Mr. Jayaswal recognises the word as a proper name and equates him with Pravarasena Vishnuvriddhi, the Vakataka emperor (p. 48). The overwhelming idea about Bharasiva-Nagas in the editor's mind forced him to interpret in his own way some of the verses in §37. Again the editor has omitted any reference to the most important Bhitari seal and its contents while writing his comments on the most controversial matter regarding the later history of the Imperial Guptas as discussed by him in §38.

This is, however, certain that Mr. Jayaswal's comments elucidating the whole system of Gauda rule and the original text, will now enable scholars to reconsider many problems of Gupta and later Gupta history. It may unhesitatingly be remarked that many of the interpretations put by the great Indologist are plausible and scholars will ever remain grateful to him for them. It is expected that further study by competent scholars of this very important publication of Mr. Jayaswal will gradually bring out many a new fact of Gauda history

from the fall of the Imperial Gupta house down to the rise of the Palas.

Some printing mistakes escaped the notice of the editor, *e.g.*, मर्वपक्किश्च for सर्वपक्तिश्च (p. 45, Text), Mhendra for Mahendra p. 34, Sankagana for Sankaragana (p. 30), Garha for Graha (p. 58, text) etc.

Notwithstanding the above remarks and criticisms, Mr. K. P. Jayaswal is to be heartily congratulated on his having placed this unique publication before the scholarly world.

R. G. BASAK

ESSENTIALS OF GRAMMAR AND LANGUAGE: *By Kurt F. Deidecker, M.A., Ph.D. The Anchorite Press, New York, N.Y.*

The book under review deals with the bare outline of Sanskrit grammar leaving aside, as far as possible, the details and intricacies. It will thus be found useful and interesting to beginners—especially Europeans intending to learn Sanskrit. An attempt has been made in the introductory portions of the work to create among the latter an interest for the subject by drawing attention to the close relation between Sanskrit and English which as is shown, contains a number of words of Sanskritic origin (though there may be difference of opinion with regard to the source of some of the words cited) and many having a striking resemblence with similar words in Sanskrit. It is to be regretted that an eagerness for brevity has led in cases to the sacrifice of important matters, as for instance illustrative examples to elucidate the rules of Sandhi. A number of inaccuracies and printing mistakes are noticed in the book. We draw the attention of the learned author to a few of them so that they may be corrected when a fresh edition comes to be published. The aorist forms of the causative form of the root *jan* are inadvertently presented as those derived from its non-causative form (p. 69) though there is considerable difference between the two sets of forms. That the roots *drs* (दृश्) with desiderative endings (p. 71) and *is* (ईश्) (p. 72) may be conjugated only in the middle form, has been overlooked and active conjugational forms of them have been given instead. The intensive stem form of the root *car* is given as *carcar* (p. 71) though it should be *cancur* (चञ्चूर). Of printing mistakes reference may be made to the following: हतौ for हेतौ (p. 20), देवम्य for देवस्य (p. 21), लक्षनं for लक्षणं (p. 21), पृष्ठं for, पृष्ठं (p 24), *consonants* for *vowels* (p. 22). The pictures of Indian things and scenes, especially those of Etmad-ud-Dowla's Tomb (p. 64) and a goldsmith at work (p. 91), have no connection with the subject-matter of the work. A selection of better and more appropriate illustrations would have made the volume all the more attractive.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

SANSKRIT

THE KATHA UPANISAD: *By Prof. J. N. Rawson of Serampore College. Published by Association Press, 5 Russell Street, Calcutta. Pages* XVIII+242. *Price Rs.* 7/8 (*or* 12*s.* 6*d.*).

This is a very good edition of the *Katha Upanisad* from the able hands of one who has a sympathetic understanding of the subject. Prof. Rawson shows remarkable grasp of the subject and a mastery which is certainly not very common. There are two Introductions—a general introduction to the Upanisadic literature as a whole, and a special introduction to the *Katha*. Both of them are full of useful information and bear marks of ripe scholarship. The survey of the general literature on the subject and the study of the divergent views will be found helpful to the serious student of the subject. And the general or casual reader will find here an able edition of the text with English transliteration and metrical translation in English. The frequent notes will be found an useful aid to a scholarly appreciation of the book. Though occasionally Prof. Rawson departs—needlessly, as we think—from the traditional interpretation (*e.g.*, vi. 12, 13), yet he always gives his reasons for such departure and provokes a discussion which must be helpful even to those who will not agree with him.

We congratulate Prof. Rawson on the excellent edition that he has brought out and venture to hope that he will follow it up with similar editions of some of the other important Upanisads as well.

U. C. BHATTACHARJEE

SAMSKRITA-KADAMBARI-KATHA: *Bana's Kadambari, abridged, simplified and retold in the words of the original, by Nilkanth Shankar Navare, B.A., (Hons.), B.T. Aryasamskriti Press, Tilak Road, Poona City. Price annas ten.*

Mr. Navare has undoubtedly laid students of Sanskrit literature, both in India and in Europe, under a great obligation by making the story-contents of Bana's magnum opus easily accessible to them even during the first stages of their Sanskrit studies. The booklet is sent out with the blessings of no less a person than Pandit Mahamahopadhyaya Vasudevashastri Abhyankar. In his preface the author explains his own technique of summarising the great romance and adds a short account of Bana's life and works. The *Kadambari* has been reduced to 1|8 of its original size by omitting unwieldy and non-essential parts with the sole purpose of presenting to young beginners of Sanskrit an easily intelligible and abridged edition of it, without as far as possible impairing the beauty of the original expression. The author may be said to have succeeded admirably in attaining this ideal. The addition of a few notes on difficult words and a collection of some catching aphorisms at the end, with a few pictures interspersed here and there, make the book an altogether useful publication.

V. V. GOKHALE

KANNADA

KARNATAKA VEERA KSHTRIYARU or A NEW APPROACH TO THE DRAVIDIAN PROBLEM: By *Sj. S. B. Joshi. Publishers: the Manohar Grantha Bhandar of Dharwar. Crown Octavo. Pages* 178. *Price Re.* 1 *only.*

The author says that the Yadus and the Turvashas of the Rigveda were no other than the Dravidians who were in turn the Kurubas or Hattikars of Karnataka. As the author follows many times the philological argument, one is tempted to say that some of his arguments are fanciful. But on second thought, one has to admit that we cannot lightly brush aside the thesis that he has advanced. He is sustained and consistent, and deserves the attention of the best of us who are interested in the mysteries of race-origin, race influence, and race conflicts.

The author is throughout direct, perspicacious, and simple in his treatment.

R. R. DIWAKAR

MY IMPRESSIONS OF TIBET

By RAHULA SANKRITYAYANA

TIBET is a country so little known to the outside world that its name has come to possess a mystic charm. The snow-capped mountains serve as a natural barrier to all intruders from outside. Its high altitude—even the river-bed being as high as 12,000 ft. above sea-level, its dwarf hills variegated with colours and bereft of vegetation, its rocks covered with earth, its weather cold and frosty with snow-fall, the scanty rains, all of these combined have a peculiar effect on the stranger visiting this land of mystery. Quite in keeping with the quaint natural surroundings its people still live a mediaeval life—a life without the modern facilities of transport and communication, without newspapers and the printing press. Though cinemas, theatres and other forms of amusement are unknown to them, the sources of their recreation are not a few. Their diversions are many. Music and dancing are almost natural to them. The mild ale and the boiled tea are the most refreshing beverages of the people.

For a student of ethnology and sociology Tibet holds out mines of information. Its system of polyandry, universally condemned by those having no knowledge of the very unusual and trying condition of life of the Tibetans, originated under quite peculiar circumstances. Tibet is an inhospitable land yielding but little to the very best of human labour. The Tibetans have to face and fight an unsympathetic nature. In early times a sparse population had to struggle against overwhelming odds. It was a struggle for their very existence. There was a tremendous—an absolutely urgent need for an increase in population. They were impelled by nature to solve this problem by the introduction of a system which at the present time prevails nowhere but within the borders of the tableland of Tibet. The system gave rise to sentiments which brought all the members of the family closer and closer. The brothers in a family were bred and brought up to share the same rigid and hard life toiling and suffering together. Any dogmatic religion would have been tempted to introduce a new order of things by forcing on the Tibetan people its ethical code which would have been not only quite useless but absolutely harmful. Be it said to the credit of the Buddhist faith, that it proved itself expedient enough to recognize the existing order of things and the prevalent state of social affairs.

Almost half the male population of Tibet lives in monasteries, mostly leading an idle life. During the early period of the introduction of the Buddhist faith in Tibet about the middle of the seventh century, monks were not numerous inasmuch as, thanks to the influence of the Indian scholars, ample discrimination was exercised in their choice and admission into the order. And as for the scholars from India—the Buddhist pioneers in Tibet, they themselves kept to a very high standard of ethical life, wished all around them to conform to it and took scrupulous care to maintain that standard. They brought to bear their tremendous influence on the people to check the degeneracy among the monks. But on the disappearance of Buddhism from India, the land of its birth, at the close of the twelfth century, degeneration actually set in. And this state of affairs was accelerated when about the middle of the thirteenth century, Kuble Khan, the Mongol Emperor of China, transferred the political power to the ecclesiastic head. Even to this day the state of things continues to be the same. It has endured for seven centuries. Some minor changes have been effected in course of these centuries, Sa-kya being the first to try the change. Today, as before, the monks wield a great power in the land, and it is they who control all the spheres of Tibetan life. The church is the most powerful institution, and it is, as may naturally be expected, very conservative. It strictly upholds the old order in which reforms are not permissible. This is one of the main reasons why the Tibetans are supposed to be living even to this day amidst the environments of a fifteenth century civilization.

Though Tibet is characterised by the primitive manner of living of its inhabitants the monasteries are treasure-houses of art and culture. Their murky archives covered with layers of dust conceal within them thousands of manuscripts as old as a millennium. In spite of their best efforts the universities of Oxford and Cambridge have not been able to preserve much of their most valued relics of the past, whereas the monasteries of Tibet generate in the visitor

a profound sense of veneration and wonder and compel him to reflect on the glorious antiquities livingly preserved for uncounted centuries. In fact, one feels that the twelfth century is but yesterday for the Tibetans. Fortunately artistic taste is universal in the land. The Tibetans have an instinct for the choice of colours, and their perfect skill in their display is indeed unsurpassable. The untidy external of a Tibetan stands in great contrast to the actual ways of his life at home where punctilious care is bestowed on the simplest articles of use. A foreigner, judging him by his appearance, would indeed be greatly mistaken in his hasty and superficial conclusions. Artistic sense and good taste are discernible in every article of use. The engraved and embossed cup-stands, the carved and tiny tea-tables and vases which contain parched-flour, painted in vermilion and ornamented with flowery tracings of gold, at once arrest the attention of a visitor and he is compelled to acknowledge that the Tibetans have an instinctive love of art. One only wonders occasionally why things of beauty and art should have been left to lie in an environment which does not redound to the credit of the Tibetans. It may justly be said that no nation in the world, except perhaps the Japanese, has been able to excel the Tibetans in their instinctive love and universality of art.

From generation to generation a good many artists—painters, moulders, skilled workers in plaster and metals—have been busy in producing remarkable works of art—paintings and icons and images of bronze and plaster. Almost all the ancient monasteries of Tibet are virtual repositories of beautiful objects of art that have been collected and stored here for ages in abundance. Although an occasional fire or a political complication has done some mischief to several monasteries situated on the frontiers and elsewhere, there exist even to this day hundreds of monasteries that are intact and in good condition. Lha-khang-chhen-mo of the Sa-kya monastery, built by Phags-pa, the preceptor of emperor Kuble Khan, presents to the eye a spectacle almost indescribable in words It is surrounded by high walls punctuated with single-rooms rising upward in several storeys. The main-gate is massive and there are extensive courtyards. On entering the inner-gate one is confronted with a row of colossal figures of the four guardian deities of the four quarters which inspire awe. Crossing the next courtyard one enters the main temple which is remarkable for the height of its roof supported by scores of massive columns of the Himalayan pine, forty feet in height with a circumference of about ten feet each. It is amazing to think how these columns were carried to the land of Tibet across the Himalayas through several passes some of which rise as high as 18,000 ft. It is no wonder if this huge monastery is considered by the pious and simple Tibetans to have been built not by men but by genii working under the command of the powerful emperor and of his still more powerful preceptor. When the eyes of the visitor get accustomed to the comparative gloom of the interior, the scanty light entering only through the few openings high up in the gate-walls, a wonderful sight is revealed to the spectator. The China-silk banners of different colours and varied designs enwrapping the lofty columns are the first to attract attention. And as the visitor lifts his eyes almost unconsciously, he witnesses with admiration a very costly tapestry covering the roof and displaying a remarkably rich harvest of designs of flowery vegetation, Chinese dragoons and the like, worked in blazing gold. Next to this, rank high the big images, gilt outside, of Buddha and Bodhisattvas, and several stupas of considerable architectural beauty, set with precious stones and containing the relics of the hierarchs of later times. Facing the images, close in front of them and arranged tier upon tier, are the rows of beautiful articles of porcelain—cups, flower-pots, and toys representing animals, presented to the monastery from time to time by the imperial dynasties of China. In surrounding passages, walls on either side are covered up to the ceiling by piles of manuscripts, some of which are illuminated and supposed to be the Tibetan Tripitakas. They are piled in the manner of bricks in close adhesion. Among these there is a massive manuscript of the Astasahasrika-Prajnaparamita written in letters of gold on black paper and weighing more than ten stones. The interest here becomes varied and multiplied. It will take volumes to give a complete description of all the details.

A precipitous flight of steps which leads one to the roof of the monastery, ends by the side of a modest-looking room with a considerably rough wooden frontage. The rude exterior of this room conceals within itself a big collection of valuable manuscripts including those written and improved upon by Phags-pa himself and several of his predecessors and successors in the Sa-kya hierarchy. In their midst there lie undisturbed forty and more bundles of palm-leaf manuscripts in Sanskrit, originally carried away from India to Tibet before 1200 A.C.

At a distance of about a furlong, on the

other side of the river there stand a series of residential buildings and temples of the Sa-kya monastery. A room in the Shi-tok palace, Gya-lha-khang, contains more than five hundred bronzes, including a hundred from India. Of these about two dozens, belonging to the period ranging from the fifth to the twelfth century, are remarkable specimens of artistic execution.

* * * *

This was my third journey to Central Tibet. During the first journey in 1929-30 my aim had been directed more towards literary research than to geographical explorations or to the thrills of adventure. But once I found myself within the borders of this land of quaint customs and weird natural surroundings, curiosity and human temperament compelled me to take note of its magnificence. This was my experience during my first visit. The mystic charm gradually faded away from my mind as I got accustomed to the life and geography of the land, and was occupied with the purpose of my visit. During my several visits to Tibet I was fortunate enough to study closely the life of the people. I mixed with the high and the low, monks and lay-men alike. I was quite at home in their company and often felt as one of them. I must admit with sorrow that I found most of the people there unreliable, both as regards their promise and behaviour and having little respect for human life, as has been testified by other travellers who came to this land. But these evils, as I found afterwards, were only skin-deep. Their souls were not tainted. Though they acted against ethical principles they had not the wiliness to conceal their crimes. Their ways, therefore, were straight. One remarkable thing about the people is that they are not conservative by nature. But their geographical isolation coupled with the bigotry of the political authorities, ever resenting and resisting any possible reform, is mainly responsible for making them what they are. If they get any chance of breaking away from the shackles which arrest their progress, the Tibetans are sure to transform themselves in no time. The transformation will astound the world in the manner of Srong-tsan-sgam-po, the greatest Tibetan and father of the Tibetan culture, who within the period a few years built a vast empire extending from the deserts of Gobi to the foot of the Himalayas, and from Central China to the Pamirs, by leading and disciplining his undaunted and intrepid countrymen into a great power, and by presenting them with the newly imported alphabets. It follows therefore that the Tibetans are a people who can take quick and long strides in the path of progress. They may emerge into the modern stage from their fifteenth century condition even within a decade, as they suffered themselves so willingly to be transformed into a great people from a nomadic tribe about the middle of the seventh century.

A POEM

I made for her a bed of flowers
and I closed the doors
to shut out the rude light from her eyes.
I kissed her gently on her lips
and whispered softly in her ears
till she half swooned in languor.
She was lost in the endless mist
of vague sweetness.
She answered not to my touch,
my songs failed to arouse her.

To-night has come to us the call of the storm
from the wild.
My bride shivered and stood up;
she has clasped my hand and come out.
Her hair is flying in the wind, her veil is fluttering.
her garland rustles over her breast;
The push of death has swung her into life.
We are face to face, and heart to heart,
my bride and I.

RABINDRANATH TAGORE,
in The Visva-Bharati Quarterly



A Tibetan Family

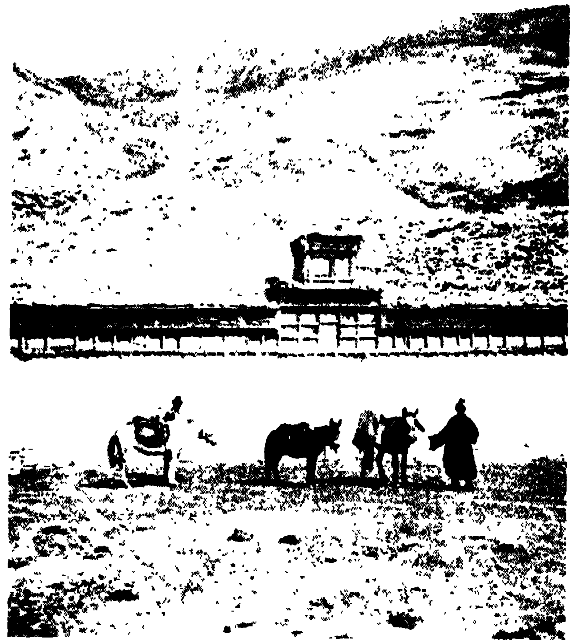


A nobleman of Tibet





Women of Tibet
Photo: Rahula Sankrityayana



Scenes of Tibet
Photo : Rahula Sankrityayana






Scenes of Tibet
Photo : Rahula Sankrityayana



A Tibetan Landscape
Photo : Rahula Sankrityayana

ABDICATION OF EDWARD VIII

By FREDOON KABRAJI

EDWARD VIII, bidding England a touching farewell, has left her shores and renounced the greatest throne of history. His brother succeeds him to the throne and the sentimental-minded wish him long life and a glorious reign. The radio has pictured that spectacle of colourful heraldry that took place this afternoon to proclaim the accession of George VI against the setting of 1936-London. According to the window-dressed unanimity of world press-opinion, imperturbable little England has emerged triumphant out of yet another crisis of her great career of conquest and rule in history. And the benumbed millions of the world and the Empire will have perceived that the more clear-cut of the issues of this vast and confused drama are as follows:

(1) A constitutional monarch of a throne that has for centuries gloried upon a strength broadbased upon a people's sovereign will has abdicated in the name of that people and "in their best interests" over an issue that was not as simple as it seemed.

(2) That the self-styled "Mother of Parliaments" and the Parliaments of the free Dominions of the Empire have won a great victory over the Crown.

(3) That the hoary institution of British Monarchy has once more proved to be of paramount importance in the balance against the wishes of the Monarch's heart and the natural sentiments of his people.

(4) That the patching up of that institution as the rock of Empire solidarity after so severe a shaking of its foundations displayed to all who followed the day to day denouements of this one week's drama with their heads rather than with their hearts two outstanding qualities of the British people as embodied in the personality of one who has proved himself the perfect Briton, Mr. Baldwin. These two outstanding qualities of the British character are its diplomatic subtlety and its monumental hypocrisy.

Edward VIII had the difficult job of combining modernity with kingship—for his outstanding quality is that he can be only himself and that himself is the pattern of up-to-the-minute modernity. That is his keynote: a lover of life, a hater of forms and ceremonies, impatient to have his own life. The last.. carried to an extreme, amounted to an impatience not only to have his own life but his own wife also!

Shaw has said that the decisive factor in Edward's abdication was not his wife (to be) but his job—he hated his job with all his soul. That, however, is a point of difference on which Edward himself, with all his honesty, might find it difficult to judge. Probably the truth was that with his .wife by his side he might have got on with his job, that is, if he had been free to have Mrs. Simpson at his side and keep his throne at the same time.

There has been some talk again (over this crisis) of Britain's pride in her Monarchy as the pillar of a great democracy: the expression "our democratic monarchy" has been freely used. I fail to see anything but a plain contradiction in terms in that expression. But not so the true Briton. To him the expression is potent with charm, beneficence, grace and good sense. What on the face of it appears to non-Britons nonsense or hypocrisy appears to the British mind as the essence of the perfect plan!

It was all right and, indeed, a splendid advertisement as long as Edward was "our democratic Prince." It gave to his Ambassadorship for Imperialism just that delightful unofficial touch which went so much further than the ponderous official touch with the unthinking millions. But when that same Prince, "the same man as before," as he told us in his first broadcast as King, went the whole hog of modernity and democracy in his determination to marry a woman who had the triple disqualifications for the Queenship of Britain—common birth, foreign nationality and divorce proceedings—then he found himself face to face with the alternative to abdicate! At a touch, at its first real test, (in other words) democracy and modernism has deserted the hereditary scion of Monarchic traditions: and the abdication has shown conclusively that England is not yet advanced enough in her outlook of so-called democracy and so-called modernism to take that expression "our democratic monarchy" to its logical and literal extremes.

This is the verdict that must be passed upon this episode of the Crown's cleavage with

the Constitution in so far as we are to accept the evidence of the "facts" that the newspapers here have dared to tell during the progress of the ten days of crisis. *Eleven* days ago such temerity would have been impossible. The affairs of royalty had hitherto been preserved in a vacuum. Fleet Street, hitherto bound by its own iron laws, had scrupulously respected the cardinal principle of its own behaviour, namely, that the affairs of *British* Royalty must ever be preserved in a vacuum. What happened then on the 3rd of December will now make that date a flaming red-letter in Fleet Street's Calendar. For on this date, with sweating of blood, Fleet Street resolved to scrap its own cardinal principle and to tear (most of) the veil of secrecy away from the unsuspected serenity that England believed made up the graciousness of England's Majesty. The vacuum was gone and outside air rushed in. Yet even this rush of air was attempted to be censored! Now, at last, after the abdication is complete and the new accession secure, the *whole* veil has been torn aside and a dossier of evidence has been published that is sufficient to make the most worldly-wise and well-informed folk pinch themselves and ask whether they had been napping while the dashing young British Monarch was gaily piling up a hundred good reasons against his remaining on the Throne of England.

What are those hundred good reasons? They are, shall we say, a hundred outrages against convention, against etiquette, against sanctified snobbery....They make a complete diary compiled from documented facts and photographs of Edward's indiscretions with Mrs. Simpson over a period of several years! They make a Scotland Yard Secret Police dossier which was placed before the Cabinet during the days of crisis and now for the first time in England they make the featured sensation of an honest-to-goodness British periodical—"Cavalcade." The whole story is at last out. And it came out the morning after the night before, that is, the night of Edward's dash for Portsmouth, whence he looked his last (for a long time) upon the white cliffs of England.

Fleet Street sweated blood, I have said, when it decided on the night of the 3rd December to tell some facts concerning the drama that has just ended. But, with all their sweating, they tore away but a part of the veil. "Cavalcade" has torn away the whole of it.

And what do we now see?

We see that the then Prince of Wales first met Mrs. Ernest Simpson as far back as 1926. That the lady was then Mrs. Aldrich Spencer. That the democratic Prince was a frequent guest at Mrs. Spencer's hot-rhythm and cocktail parties at that magnetic lady's luxurious London residence in 1934. That although the vivacious lady courtesyed to him and called him "Sir" in public, her free-and-easy nature reached out to the natural humanity in the royal scion, so that a friendly understanding developed into an easy intimacy. That from this time onwards, making fashionable Mayfair furiously jealous, the Prince kept Mrs. Simpson's company a great deal both openly and carelessly—carelessly, because gossip was busy and journalistic-hawks and various other hawks who hover around the outskirts of royal parties on continental holidays were no less busy securing photographs of (to them) inestimable value because a photograph cannot lie and here were photographs that showed the Prince with Mrs. Simpson at a lingerie shop and others with Mrs. Simpson in a paddleboat, or in swimming lack-of-attire on a sunny beach of Southern Europe. Royal persons are not free. It is on record that the late George V, doyen of propriety, had on more than one occasion to call his heir's Bohemian ways to question. And it is said that a long upper lip is an index of stubbornness. The Prince had a long upper lip although only a small chin. On January, 22, the day of his accession, Mrs. Simpson was a privileged guest on the royal balcony watching the proclamation pageant. This was too much for Mr. Baldwin and the Archbishop of Canterbury, who took an early opportunity to be so bold as to speak to the new King. It is not recorded what King Edward told them on this occasion. But it is believed that his reply was both brief and blunt....Moreover, we have seen that the Prince had a long upper lip. Now the King had the long upper lip—for Prince or King or Duke of Windsor, he is the same man that so many have been delighted to know and a few have not been so delighted. The same man—modern-to-the-minute, frank, unconventional, ready to shock the staid and the conventional, fond of work, fond of play and extremely susceptible to the charms of the opposite sex.

The dashing young Monarch, I have said, was piling up a hundred reasons against himself why he should not remain on the throne of his fathers. All these are to be found in catalogue order with dates, times, and places recorded in the Scotland Yard Secret Service dossier which was placed before the Cabinet during the Crisis just over. A hundred outrages, as that dossier showed, against convention,

against propriety and etiquette and sanctified snobbery. Lovers of decency who gave their loyalty to Edward as their King had a nagging feeling all the time back of their loyal hearts that the man Edward was letting down the King very badly indeed. Now if he had only not gone about it all so openly! Now if, like his ancestors, some of whom were also pleasure-loving—if like them—he had gone out to seek his pleasures behind a screen of respectability—that would have been right and proper! It is all that lovers of decency have ever asked of the unconventional—a little hush-hush, that is all! *That* would never have given rise to such wide-spread scandal over the bazaars of Europe and across the Atlantic as this open flouting of old standards, privilege and conventions even after he had become King.

Matters reached ahead during the ex-King's Adriatic holiday immediately following that sensation of the shooting outrage when a revolver was aimed at him a few months back in London. On this holiday Edward combined a pleasure cruise in the Adriatic with a personal call upon some of Europe's dissatisfied rulers. (A matter of acute discomfort and annoyance to the Home Foreign Office). Thus he visited Kemal Pasha and the Dictator of Greece and whether he went about formally or informally, Mrs. Simpson was at his side. She was photographed at his side wherever he went. In some places the police confiscated the cameras of the overjoyed press-photographers. King Edward ordered the police to hand back the cameras. The first photographs of the King's holiday scenes appearing in Fleet Street showed Mrs. Simpson beside him. But quickly came a proprietorial ukase from the proprietors to the editors of the Fleet Street journals. In all future photographs of the King's trip, the figure of the graceful lady by his side must be cut out. And forthwith it was cut out. Presently, however, American magazines carrying the most vulgar references to the King and Mrs. Simpson's visit to a hairdressing saloon, that lingerie shop and that paddle-boat (where two were company) etc. and etc., began to cause considerable uneasiness at Fleet Street board meetings and secret Cabinet meetings, while tongues wagged in the drawing-rooms and club-lounges of London's elite.

It was only then, that Fleet Street, with sweating of blood, took the decision to break through a silence self-enjoined in loyalty that was turning out to be not in the spirit of that even higher loyalty which seemed now to demand that certain facts be faced and told. So the facts were faced and *some* of them were told. For the first time for three hundred years it was openly admitted that Kings were human! And the problems of King Edward's difficult position were sympathetically illuminated in the Fleet Street Press over the first three days of the crisis. The slightest suggestion of an abdication was completely ruled out and the concentration was upon that single question of whether a precedent for a morganatic marriage could or might not be created. The voice of the people was succinctly expressed over these earlier days of the crisis either for or against the single issue whether one with the divorce-court position of Mrs. Simpson could or could not be considered for the high position of Queen of England. It would be true, almost, to say that the vote was fairly equally balanced. Cries were also raised that Mr. Baldwin was suppressing the full facts; that the King was being baited and rushed—that his decision was being forced; that the position was developing into one of an open split between the King and his Ministers; that there was a political ramp somewhere to get rid of a King who had perhaps, offended against the constitutional practice of his father and grandfather although remaining within his rights by demanding of bureaucratic civilians to produce certain papers at (to them) awkward moments. "Hands off our King!" as some demonstrators shouted referred at this time to an idea in the popular mind that Mr. Baldwin was acting Cromwell to one who was not even an autocratic Charles I. And to the credit of Edward it should be gratefully remembered by the English nation that had it not been for his rigidly self-imposed impartiality he could have exploited his immense popularity with the common people to rally the only too-eager support of the Fascist elements to his side by forming a King's Party and plunging the country into civil war. Instead he observed his constitutionally-enjoined silence throughout the ten days' crisis with so loyal a duty to his subjects that not a hair of any of their heads was touched.

Never before had such wild talk been heard in England as this talk of personal enmities, Fascist alignments and breaches in the relations of Crown and Cabinet. The full truth will yet be known some day but already a healthy spirit of historical enquiry has come into evidence and it is a very notable thing that there is not very much difference between the insinuations made by the Communist Member in Parliament on the debate that followed Mr. Baldwin's announcement of the abdication and the insinuations just made by the Primate of England

against the social set in London which included Mrs. Simpson and which set has, as alleged by both the Communist Member and the Primate of England, been the indirect cause of Edward's undoing. Their evil influence on Edward's later life has been castigated in unmistakable words. This insinuation was howled down when the Communist Member got up to make it in the Commons. This very insinuation was broadcast and listened to last night by millions because it was made by the Primate with the full authority of the Church.

The outside world that has followed this crisis through its ten days of twistings and turnings will have appreciated one outstanding feature of it—a feature native to the British peoples: their calm and their self-control, their clear judgments and their trust in their leaders. The praises of Mr. Baldwin's handling of the gigantic issues involved have not been overdone. At 70 years of age he has proved himself a master pilot and won back a faith that he had all but lost with the electorate. For him it has been an astonishing accession of moral prestige. Similarly for the Archbishop of Canterbury, the venerable Primate, who has now dared to tell the fast set that had got their boy King into their net, "You stand rebuked by a Nation's judgment!"—it has been a great moral triumph. Thus the Cabinet supported by Parliament and the Church have won a Waterloo.

The five Communist votes against an over-400 majority on the Abdication debate might be taken as a fairly true index of British feeling on the questions raised; millions have read the outbursts of Messrs. Maxton, Buchanan and Gallaghar, the extreme left M.P.s, the substance of which outbursts was that Monarchy has been proved to have outlived its functions in our day, and that the halo round the heads of kings is a false halo. It is possible that the people of England in their quiet way will be adding up "two and two for themselves." They will be weighing up the words of the Primate as well as the words of the Premier. They will be coming to their conclusions in their own slow time. But it is significant that so much outspokeness has been allowed over matters concerning kings and royal personages hitherto held as sacred and quite beyond the reach of any criticism. I am not sure that the courageous outbursts of Messrs. Maxton, Buchanan and Gallaghar will not compare very favourably in the minds of the British masses with the stern words of the Primate, until they rub their heads and say: "Curious, come to think of it, but those blokes said the *same* thing *first* and *they* were howled down. If one part of what they said—and said *first,* mark you, was right—may be the other part is right too. And the other part of what these Communist blokes said was that it's 'igh time that England thought of pensioning off their kings and queens and introducing a Republic!"

"It is the little grain of mustard seed."

LONDON,
12th December 1936

REVIVAL OF HINDU MAGIC

By AJIT KUMAR MOOKERJEE

In Sankaracharya's commentary on the Vedanta Darshan, references have been made to bewitching performance of *Sutra-krida* (rope-trick). These rope-tricks are offshoots of "Indrajala-Vidya, "Kanchumara-Yoga," "Chhalita-Yoga." The modern Indian rope-tricks are the same rope performances so often mentioned in the ancient Hindu Scriptures.

Illustrations of these are found in the Mahabharata and the Ramayana.

Regular schools for the culture and practice of magic were said to have been held in Nalanda University, Taxila University and Abantipura University. Even Lord Krishna, Lord Balaram, Lord Buddha and his cousin and disciple Devadatta, Lord Mahavira and others were said to have been trained in this.

Among those who are bent upon a revival of this forgotton art, Prof. Pratul Sorcar is one of the foremost. After the conclusion of his studies in college, Prof. Sorcar's enthusiasm steadily increased; he explored all sorts of likely and unlikely places throughout the country in a fascinating search for old Hindu occult sciences, in the course of which he passed through many adventures. He met with frequent disappointments, but his indomitable energy and perseverance prevailed in the long run and in the end he has been able to discover the now widely talked of Indian Rope Trick.

The Indian Rope Trick : Sorcar with his rope









Photo : N. S Adhvaryu

From many evidences we come to know that this Indian rope-trick has been done in different parts of India in different forms, but generally the story runs thus :

"The conjuror sits cross-legged in an open space. He throws one end of a coil of rope into the air, of which about 15 feet (sometimes 20 or 25 feet) remain stiff in the air like a pole. A little boy climbs up the rope and balances himself at the extremity. At a signal from the conjuror he entirely vanishes. His master then calls him three times, but hearing no answer, he then takes a knife in his hand, apparently in anger, lays hold of the rope and climbing it, goes quite out of sight. He then throws the hand of the boy upon the ground. then his leg. then his other hand, then his other leg, then his body, then his head. He then comes down with his clothes stained with blood. The juggler then takes the limbs of the boy and applies them one to another, he then stamps upon them and it stands up complete and erect."



The man with X'ray eyes
Photo : N. S Adhvaryu

Among those who have seen this or the works which described this rope-trick historically, the volume of Travels by Ibn Batutah of the 14th century, Mr. S. W. Clarke's researches of the 16th century (Germany), the Memoirs of Jehangir of the 17th century, Po Sing Ling (China) of the 18th century, The Times of India of 1892, Gholam Mohammad Munshi and G. Annaji Rao of 1895-96, B. R. Fairfax (The Morning Post) 1903, Mrs. Penell Williamson (The Morning Post) 1907-8, The Times of India 1912-14, and Mr. and Mrs. Prowse (The Daily Telegraph) 1913-15 may be mentioned.

It is worthy of note that before the court of Jehangir a Bengali magician performed this rope-trick in the beginning of the seventeenth century at Delhi. The following is the account we can get from the "Memoirs of the Emperor Jehangir" written by himself and translated from a Persian manuscript by Major David Price, Member of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland.

"They produced a chain of fifty cubits in length, and in my presence threw one end of it towards the sky, where it remained as if fastened to something in the air. A dog was then brought forward, and being placed on the lower end of the chain, immediately ran up, and reaching the other end disappeared in the air. In the same manner a hog, a panther, a lion, a tiger, were successively sent up the chain and all disappeared at the upper end. At last they took down the chain and put it into a bag, no one ever discerning in what way the animals were made to vanish into the air in the mysterious manner described."

Recently the Occult Committee of the Magic Circle of London has made a statement before the world that any modern magician who will come forward and perform the Indian Rope Trick before the committee will receive a reward of 500 guineas. They have now enhanced the offer to 5,000 guineas, on the chance of its yet being claimed. Mr. Sorcar has boldly accepted this challenge and announced, "I can do the Indian Rope Trick. I will make an ordinary rope ascend unsupported by any visible agency. Then one of my assistants will climb up the rope. Then both the assistant and the rope shall disappear. I will allow only the former part of my trick to be photographed, but the latter I won't—as I want to keep my process a secret."

Mr. Sorcar is famous besides for his other original feats of "X-ray Eyes"—*i.e.*, cycling, working out mathematical sums and drawing pictures in a blind-folded condition, licking red-hot iron rod, walking bare footed over fire, etc.

We come to know from the following reports how Sorcar has thrilled the public by his various performances in different places : (1) Defying Government Regulation handcuffs under the vigilant watches of prominent spectators besides Mr. J. C. Farmer, the Inspector-General of Police. Prof. Sorcar was handcuffed with two pairs of Government handcuffs by the Superintendent of Police and the Circle Inspector of Pabna district, Bengal. When both the hands had been tightly secured, the keys were retained by the police officers. Then Prof. Sorcar, to the surprise of all, opened out both the pairs. Prof. Sorcar defies handcuffs of all countries and says. he cannot be handcuffed. (2) Force-writing. Then followed an interesting item of 'will-power.' The Inspector-General was requested to write anything he pleased on one blank writing pad. That request having been complied with, the written matter was handed over to the Superintendent of Police, Pabna, Mr. Zakir Hosain, to have it read. The S. P. accordingly

read, "I promise to give the magician one gold medal, as I am highly pleased with his feats. J. C. Farmer, 19|8|36."



Sorcar with handcuffs on

But Mr. Farmer at once said that he had not written a word of it. He had written, "I will not go to Paksy today," etc. After close investigation by the spectators it was found that the promise of the medal was the writing of Mr. Farmer and bore his signature. The Inspector-General also at last admitted it, but he could not understand or explain how the writing had mysteriously changed under his very nose in broad daylight. (3) The cutting and re-joining of the tongue of a man. He will hypnotise any member of the audience who will lie in a trance. A body of responsible doctors forming a committee will then watch his pulse—it will grow faster and faster and then will stop dead. A surgeon will now sever the tip of the tongue, but he will make it whole again.

He has performed this feat in several parts of India, and Burma. The most successful performance was at the palace of Tajhat, Rangpur



Sorcar defies handcuffs

(5th May, 1935). The climax was reached when Mr. F. O. Bell, I.C.S., who went to supervise the feat, fainted at the sight of this performance, which he referred to as a horrible scene.

Sorcar has been elected by the committee of London Magicians Club as their 'full member and they presented him with their Jewel,' and recently he has been made an honorary member of Leicester Magic Circle.

He intends to start for Europe early with a complete repertoire to prove that the secrets of the East have not yet been lost.



INDIAN WOMANHOOD

MRS. MANECKLAL PREMCHAND, Bombay was elected one of the Vice-Presidents of the International Council of Women at a meeting of the Council held at Dubrovnik, Yugoslavia in October, 1936.



Mrs. Manecklal Premchand

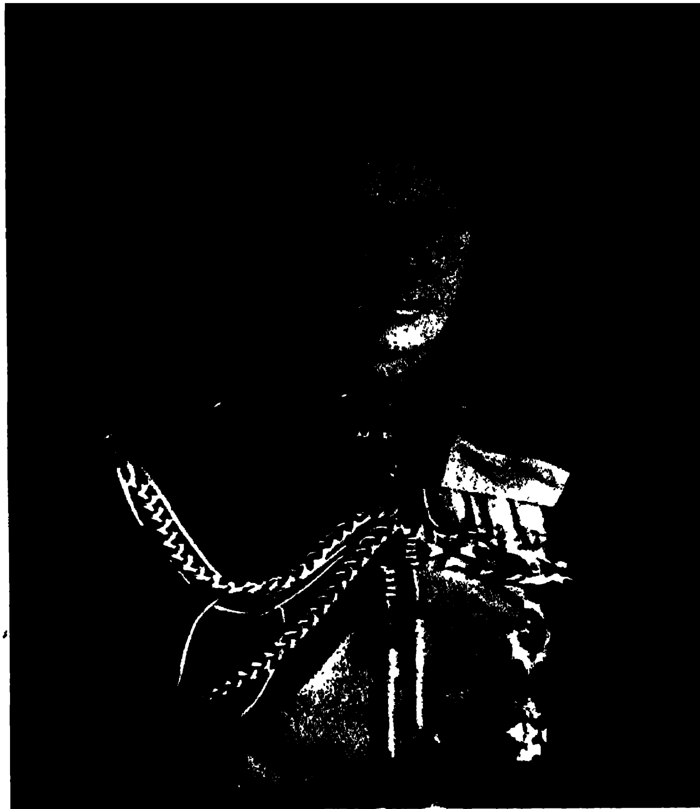


Mrs. Imtiaz Ali

She was the Chairman of the National Council of Women of India from 1930 to 1934, Chairman of the Bombay Presidency Women's Council in 1923-24, Representative for India at the International Council of Women's Meeting in Paris in 1934 and is at present a Vice-President of the National Council of Women in India.

MRS. IMTIAZ ALI is the only Muslim lady in India to hold a pilot's 'A' Licence. She is a writer of short stories, romances and prose poems in Urdu. She took to flying in January 1936 and completed her course for the 'A' Licence in June, 1936.

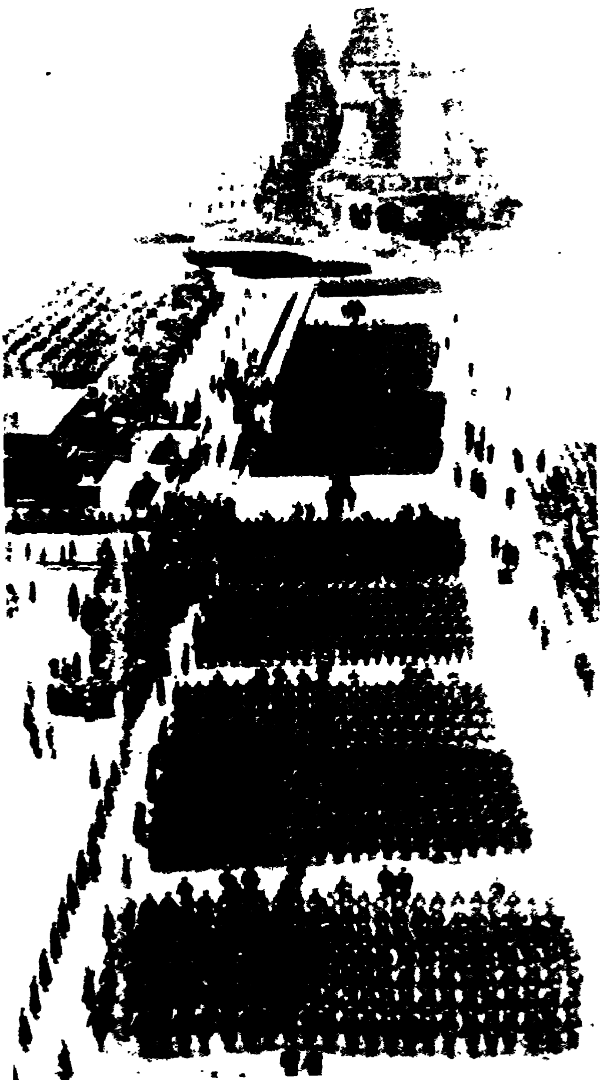




King George VI



Queen Elizabeth and Princess Elizabeth



Russia's Red Army

Ex-King Edward and Queen Mary

Soviet Russia's war manœuvres: Infantry of the air
Photo shows armed men dropped by parachutes from bombing-type planes



A Russian infantryman stepping from his parachute and preparing to advance after landing



Signing of Jap-German Treaty



A Feudal procession of Japan

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Art in Soviet Strait-Jacket

The Soviet regime has made unquestionable progress in teaching the Russian masses to read and write; but it is debatable, observes William Henry Chamberlain in the *Asia*, if it has made corresponding progress in teaching them to think. The writer approaches the subject from the angle of the individual thinker or artist :

Viewed from this angle, Soviet art, taking that word in its broadest connotation, has been in a strait-jacket ever since the Revolution. The jacket has been straiter at some periods and looser at others.

But there has always been a dominant slogan, from which author or artist deviated at the peril, in the best case, of having his work administratively boycotted, in the worst, of being sent into exile. There have always been proscribed and taboo themes and styles. The cut and color of the uniforms have changed from time to time; but Soviet artists have never been free to wear whatever intellectual costumes they liked.

The methods of bureaucratic pressure on the individual artist are varied, far-reaching and unmistakably effective. One will see on every Soviet publication, on books and magazines, on theater and concert programs, the stamp of the Glavlit, the abbreviated title of the chief censorship department, which is attached to the Commissariat for Education. This organization not only sees to it that no "dangerous thoughts" are published by Soviet writers; it also makes sure that no contaminating ideas enter the country from abroad. For example, the Bible and all other works of a religious nature are completely excluded from the Soviet Union.

The Main Repertory Committee performs for drama and music the birth control functions which the Glavlit exercises in the literary field. Typical achievements of the former organization have been the banning of Schiller's "Mary Stuart" as "religious and monarchical" and of Massenet's opera, "Werther" on the ground that "it is irrational in our age to cultivate Werther moods;" the forbidding of the performance by the Moscow Art Theater of a dramatized version of Dostoevsky's "The Brothers Karamazov" and the elimination from the Soviet stage of several plays by M. A. Bulgakov, one of Russia's most talented postwar satirical writers.

Apart from the regular official censorship agencies the Soviet author must run the gauntlet of other forms of control over his self-expression. Lynx-eyed Communist critics, swift to scent "counter-revolution," are quick to pounce on the least signs of heterodoxy in the plot or characters of a new novel or play. The tone of Soviet literary criticism often suggests a violent political polemic, or even the summing-up of an impassioned public prosecutor, rather than an effort to assay the esthetic or psychological qualities of the work under discussion.

Over and above all other censors and critics is Stalin himself, whose occasional interventions in cultural fields are invariably followed by the most sweeping consequences. It was Stalin who devised the formula of "socialist realism," which is now obligatory for all Soviet writers. An intimation from Stalin that, in his opinion, philosophy had not kept pace with socialist reconstruction was sufficient to dethrone the veritable pontiff of Soviet philosophy, Deborin.

An angry outburst by Stalin against an historical article by a young research student named Slutzky, in which the dictator used the phrase "counter-revolutionary Trotskyism and rotten liberalism toward it," was the signal for a wholesale revision of history books and set every young Soviet professor with an eye to his career to hunting for new traces of "contraband Trotskyism" and "rotten liberalism," which could be triumphantly exposed and denounced.

Stalin's most recent intrusion into the arts was disastrous for Shostakovitch, one of the most promising Soviet young composers, whose opera, "Lady Macbeth of Mtzensk County," based on a tragic story by Lyeskov, had been generally hailed as a masterpiece. Stalin heard the opera and expressed dislike for it, after which both this opera and other works by Shostakovitch were withdrawn from Moscow opera-houses and concert halls.

Strange Bedfellows

It is interesting to find Germany and Russia, with their political creeds diametrically opposite, adopting the same attitude towards intellectual freedom. The German people, *The New Republic* informs, are to buy not what they choose, but what Nazi politicians like them to read :

Hans Johst—a name that will not be recognized by critics for any intellectual distinction—is nevertheless so fervid a supporter of Hitler that he is president of the Reich Chamber of Literature. At a celebration in hallowed Weimar in honor of book week he said that National Socialist books will be exclusively sold and will be put over with "loving force." "Our state," he declared, "needs a revelation of our spirit. Resistance will be broken with dynamite." Dynamite seems a curious instrument for a revelation of the spirit, but there is no doubt that Herr Johst means what he says, because he threatens to "eliminate the lukewarm among the booksellers" and says he will not tolerate a dictatorship by the buying public. They must instead be "convinced and led."

Religion in Russia—Word and Deed

In the course of an article contributed to the *Unity*, Victor S. Yarros observes :

Everyone knows, of course, that the Russian government and the Russian intellectuals are atheists or agnostics, and that the word religion is *never* on their lips, save for purposes of ridicule and contempt. The Russian Bolsheviks hold that religion is mostly super-

stition, fable, myth, not to say nonsense, encouraged by crafty priests in the interest of the powerful and wealthy. In an address at an important gathering a noted Chicago educator called the Russian government a "Godless crew" and was loudly cheered.

But we should bear in mind that, as some one has said, ninety per cent of the controversies of the world are due to misunderstanding, to differences, unacknowledged and unexplained, in the use of terms.

The Russian Communists may be a "Godless crew" —and what are the Agnostics of Europe and America?—but some good Christian missionaries have pointed out that there is more essential Christianity in the Russian system and the Russian policies, domestic and foreign, than in all the capitalist and bourgeois systems of the world. Is there anything Godless, or irreligious, in the idea of abundance for all, in old-age pensions, in insurance against unemployment, in the concept of production for use instead of for private profit, in complete equality of men and women, in effective protection of children's health, in extending educational opportunities in city and village, in recognizing the state's obligation to give work to every human being capable of work and to require work of every such individual, and in taking all possible steps to prevent waste in industry and in life?

After all, what is essential Christianity, or essential Judaism, or essentials Buddhism? Whether you read the Old Testament or the New, the Western prophets or the Eastern, the modern humanists or the old, what definition of religion do we find ni these passionate and eloquent teachings? Does not Micah speak for *all* the Hebrew prophets—as Miss Edith Hamilton affirms he does—when he tells us that all that religion requires of us is to do justly, to love mercy and to walk humbly? What does Jesus say on the same subject? And what St. James? And what Buddha?

Be just, be charitable, love your neighbor, help him in his need, cultivate a spirit of modesty and simplicity—this is the essence of *any religion* not synonymous with superstition and empty dogma.

True, we are enjoined in the Scriptures to love God as well as our fellow men, but, as Matthew Arnold pointed out long ago, we finite and limited and ignorant beings can do nothing, directly, for God. We cannot even form a faint notion of God. We use the term glibly, but we attach no real meaning to it. The notion of pleasing God by singing his praises is of course childish. It is clear from the context that even those prophets who emphasized the love of God thought of service and unselfishness *as the only real way of manifesting love of God.*

Russia is seeking and working to build up a commonwealth on the basis of service, equality, fraternity, and genuine individual liberty. The government has no other aim or purpose. There is in Russia no worship of a mystical, totalitarian, authoritarian State. There has been a dictatorship of the Communist party—a party dedicated to the ideals of all the social prophets. We may dislike dictatorships, and we may condemn force as a means of social reconstruction. We may prefer gradualness, evolution to revolution and coercion. But all these things are irrelevant to the central issue—the issue, namely, whether the system, the way of life, the laws and institutions being promoted in Russia by the Communists, are irreligious and Godless.

Peace and the Spanish Situation

The *Unity* observes editorially:

Blum and Baldwin rightly saw that the issues which divided the Spanish combatants were issues which divided people in practically every European country, and that, if avenues were opened for armed help to loyalists and rebels, Europe would straightway become divided, even as Spain itself, and a Spanish war would become a European or even world war. So the neutrality policy was a genuine endeavor after peace. But look at the result! While the democratic countries, of course sympathetic with the republic in Spain, kept hands off and thus left the republic to do its own fighting and to furnish its own arms, the Fascist countries, as incontrovertible evidence seems to show, paid no attention to the neutrality pact, but from the beginning poured men and arms into the hands of the rebel forces in Spain. This might have been expected, for when have Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany ever kept any promises which they found it convenient to break? It is this active assistance of the Fascists which has brought victory to the rebel cause, and thus sealed the fate of the Spanish republic, and in the end, of course, through the creation of one more Fascist state, will add one more dreadful influence to peace in Europe. The very policy which was dictated by the fear of war, in other words, has now brought war only so much the nearer. This is a typical dilemma in the whole peace problem of the world. Time and again, the Fascist states get the jump on their rivals, to their own great advantage, because the latter have a primary interest in peace and the former have not. Yet these latter cannot move effectively without themselves endangering peace! It's a riddle worthy of the Sphinx.

Canada and its Problems

Dr. Ivar Lissner writes in *Reclams Universum*, Leipzig:

Canada has three anxieties, which were, so to say, born with the land and are clinging to her as her destiny, *viz.*, too much of administration, too many railways and too much space. In this extensive land with its barely 10½ million men, the average wealth per capita is as much as 3076 dollars; but with the costly election methods and independent embassies maintained in foreign countries and police-forces required to guard the wide territories, Canada is indeed paying too heavily for merely keeping up the appearances of a real independent state, while she has in fact nothing but vast empty spaces at her disposal, enough for ten to twenty separate states. The railways are as unwieldy as the administrative structure. The Canadian Pacific Railway is the biggest private company of its kind in the whole world and the Canadian National Railways the largest railway concern belonging to state. This country has more railway in relation to her population than any other land and an eternal deficit budget has been the price of winning this record. We must not forget that Canada supersedes the U.S.A. by 700 sq. miles in area and is nearly as large as the European continent; and after all Canadians on the eastern coast must keep themselves in connection with those living on the western coast. Hence also the tradition that every political party, wanting to come into power, must offer its own programme for the solution of the railway problem. In 1871, 18.6 per cent of the population lived in cities, today 55 per cent do it. This means that only 4½ million souls live in the vast countryland. If we take away from these the women, children and old persons, we see that only one million men have to a till a land, stretching across 90° of longitude! The infinite expanse of the western wheatfields can only be compared with the ocean. It is just as if the whole of Europe were to die out and remain a solitary wilderness,

waiting for men to come and till it, and then the labourers of a single saved city were to come out and undertake to work upon the whole continent!

The Nobel Peace Prize Winner: What Was His Crime?

The award of the Nobel Peace Prize to Carl von Ossietsky brought forth, as reported in our columns last month, vehement protest from Germany. E. C. H. reviews in the *Manchester Guardian* a pamphlet called *What Was His Crime?* issued by fifteen distinguished English men and women among whom are Aldous Huxley, H. G. Wells and J. B. Priestly; the following extracts are taken from the review:

The story of Ossietsky's life is a terrifying one, not simply because of the treatment he has received since the Nazis came into power but chiefly bcause he stood, and still stands, for ideals which were once acknowledged in civilized Europe—peace, freedom, and justice—and has been tortured only because he preached them. He was born in 1887 in Hamburg, and even before the War had seen the harm that militarism was doing to Germany. The War, throughout which he served, confirmed his opinion that 'there is nothing more devastating than the omnipotence of generals,' and he, like so many others in the rest of Europe as well as in Germany, hoped that the new Republic, with its brilliant intellectual life, meant a final break away from the disastrous rule of the army.

He maintained the whole time an extremely sane and single-minded point of view. He protested both against the wholesale shooting of demonstrating Communists by German police and against the Soviet's treatment of the followers of Trotski. He urged the Social Democrats and Communists to unite and consistently pointed out the unreality and weakness of the Republic's resistance to the old spirit of militarism, which was fighting the whole time to recapture its lost power.

The paper in which he expressed his views was the *Weltbuhne* (World-Stage), of which he became editor in 1927. It was not unnaturally a distasteful production to the army, who finally had him charged with treason for an article in which he had hinted at Germany's secret rearming. For two years the case was held over, and when he was finally tried and convicted in 1931 (the case was heard *in camera*) he was given an opportunity to escape while the possibility of an appeal to the President was discussed. This opportunity he refused to take. He gave himself up voluntarily, explaining to a friend who was driving him to the prison and who urged him to cross the Czech frontier while there was still time, 'A man speaks with a hollow voice from across the border.'

While he was in prison a new charge was brought against him. One of the contributors to his paper had written an article which contained the words *soldiers are murderers.* His speech to the Court is one of the most remarkable and noble that any lover of peace has ever made: 'I have never stood before a court of law,' he said, 'with greater pleasure than on this occasion. The article completely represents my opinion. I am not one of those who became a pacifist when Germany was defeated in 1918. I have fought war and been a member of pacifist organizations since 1912. And I repeat that what I saw of war only confirmed my earlier opinion of it—that war brings terror and despair to mankind, and that there is nothing heroic about it. . . .'

Training of German Girls

Before the modern development of girls' education concludes itself into a hard and fast system, observes Mrs. Yella Vulpins-Erdmann in *Die Frau Berlin,* it is necessary that the mothers raise their timely voice and point out what they consider to be revolting to feminine taste and good conscience:

The first thing that strikes us today is that in spite of the repeatedly emphasised difference between the nature of man and woman, this theoretical view is little taken into account in matters of actual practice and method . . . We have nothing to say against discipline as such, because we know that discipline is the result of character-training supported by one's own inner resolution. That it was wanting in the privately educated women of old days is also admitted. But so far as mere outward drilling is concerned, a different view is possible. Drilling may be necessary for training in protection from gas or sanitary help etc., but when it is introduced into fields of activities where it should not properly belong, it loses its justification. And yet martial country-games of a purely masculine nature, propaganda marches of a military type, roll-calls and inspections are the order of the day in girls' training. Stories of war and adventure are recommended today as Christmas presents for young girls.

Under the old system, a woman used to consider the family as her sole destiny and field of activity and there can be no question that she must develop in her a sense of the larger social atmosphere around her. But we are giving the latter aspect an exaggerated importance today, observes the writer.

Even an occasional desire to be alone for oneself is regarded as an offence against the ideal of fellowship and as proscribed individualism. The time-tables in such organization as the Workers' Camps are so arranged, that scarcely one hour is left free for being devoted to self-reflection, after the long and strenuous physical activities of the day. The necessity of being alone and of reflecting and of collecting oneself is all the more in the case of women, who live, more than men, out of their own inner strength of mind. If this necessity is not fulfilled, the result will be a decay, an incapacity for truly fruitful human activity, a feeling of miserableness and unrelieved mental discontent. . . .

And again, as regards character-training, loyalty to society will suppress the loyalty to one's own self, and obedience to the leaders the obedience to the inner voice, and courage in external dangers the courage of one's own convictions. The latter virtues are certainly of no less importance to the German woman than the former. An all too onesided training to a sense of fellowship may result in a superficiality of thought and judgment, a 'mechanicalness' and bluntness of feeling, because, we must never forget, the great and the fruitful is born not in the throng of social relationships, but in stillness and solitude . . . The leaders of our youth are therefore warned before overfeeding the boys and girls of the land with the ideals of fellowship, comradeship and blood-relationship.

Workers of Germany

The People's Tribune condenses an account, contributed to *The Nineteenth Century* by T. P. Conwell Evans, of the general well-being of the German workers:

The German people are more contented today than they were in 1935 and the year preceeding; the doubts and anxieties of the Revolution are diminishing, and in many important spheres affecting their daily life reconstruction is taking shape. Beautifying the environment of factories such as was done in England many years ago by the Quaker cocoa-manufacturers and the Lever soap-works at "Port Sunlight"—is an established policy "to be applied to the whole of Germany by the Government." Paid holidays have become the rule for German workers, and the Government provides them with facilities for cheap holiday travel at home and abroad. Cottage holdings and allotments are being established for industrial workers on the outskirts of large cities.

The German Government also arranges for many thousands of children living in densely-populated districts to have six months' schooling in the country during the summer months.

Ability in the humblest classes is sought out and encouraged. A National Competition in Trades and Callings has for its object the promotion of technical skill and to select for higher education the most promising apprentices. About a million young people of both sexes take part in this competition, coming from all sorts of trades and undergoing tests of their skill, chiefly in their own calling but also of general knowledge. The most skilled apprentice has the honour of meeting Hitler in addition to winning a scholarship. Then there are the Public Service Works Camps, in which 200,000 young men from 17 to 25 years of age spend six months in a community-life which is designed to accomplish two things—reconditioning and reclaiming arable land, and establishing a deeper fellowship and understanding between different classes of the people brought together for half a year in an atmosphere which provides some of the community advantages of college-life. In their leisure hours these young men are encouraged to find some means of expressing their individual skill—wood-carving, painting, drawing, music etc.

The general aim of all these institutions is to give the skill of the artisan and the agriculturist a professional status "and to arouse a pride in one's calling which may be compared to that of the guildsman in the Middle Ages."

Japanese Poetry

A. Sakai writes in *The Young East*:

By "uta" Japanese poetry), which is pure Japanese poetry, is generally meant a poem of thirtyone syllables, of which "Kimi-ga-yo" (Lord's Reign) is a most typical one....We have what is called Haikai, or more popularly, Hokku poems of seventeen syllables. This style of poetry is highly prized and appreciated in Japan for the suggestions it gives. Basho, by far the greatest Japanese Hokku-poet, wrote an undying verse which literally is on the lips of every Japanese. It reads:

Furu-Ike ya—Kawadzu tobi komu—Midzu-no-Oto,

(Oh, old pond -A frog jumping in- The splashing sound of water.)

This short Hokku, commonplace and incomplete as it appears in sense and diction, is much loved by the Japanese for it implied suggestions, for with its seventeen syllables one can easily visualize a quiet old pond, where the sound of a frog jumping into it resounds in the quietude of the place. Nothing is expressed about the tranquil stillness of the pond, but one readily sees in the mind's eye a remote and deserted pond surrounded by hoary trees.

Kaga-no-Chiyo, a 17-syllable poetess of great renown, wrote another undying Hokku on the death of her son. It reads:

Tombo-Tsuri- -Kyo wa dokomade—Itta yara,—

(Dragon-fly-catcher—How far today—He has gone, I wonder.)

The boy was wont to catch dragon-flies and his bereft mother, unable to realize his death, thinks that he is away from home catching dragon-flies. But her sadness is plainly suggested by this 17-syllable poem, though nothing is directly expressed to that effect. I will quote one more Hokku:

Ki ni kuwanu—Kaze mo aroni Yanagi, kana,

(Not pleasing—The wind sometimes may be, but—O willow!)

The Hokku describes the "big-heartedness" of a willow, which obediently swings as the wind blows, even though it may not always be pleasing to the tree. A Hokku is quite incomplete both in diction and expression, so that interpreted or translated as it stands, it makes little sense, but its suggestion makes up for its literary incompleteness. One has to read between the lines in its interpretation, for implication is more important than expression in this short but typical poetry.

Japanese Emigration

Toru Ogishima observes in the *International Labour Review*:

The organization of Japanese emigration, in its present form, is the result of a process of gradual growth. Its origin goes back to the years before the war, a period at which public opinion, seriously perturbed by the population problem, began to show its anxiety to reform the conditions of emigration and to unify the principles on which it was organized. Since then twenty years have passed, rich in varied experiences, an outcome of which has been the coherent group of methods applied today.

Japanese emigration is distinguished primarily by the close control or intervention of the State in all the phases of its operations: the recruiting of the emigrants (a task not carried out directly by the State, but by the emigration agents) is very much facilitated by the activities of the staff of different ministries; much of the cost of transport of the emigrants is borne by the State, which pays substantial subsidies to the shipping company concerned; there are strict regulations for the protection of the emigrants, from departure to arrival; and the State takes an active interest in the measures taken by various institutions on behalf of emigrants in foreign countries.

The State thus completes the activities of the private organizations. The result is a homogeneous whole, and it may fairly be said that the whole series of operations involved by emigration is the subject of a carefully co-ordinated single policy.

Over and above the wish to assist the emigrants—who are specially privileged in Japan in the matter of social protection, as compared with all other classes of citizens—it should be noted that all measures have a further essential motive. This is the wish to transplant the agricultural knowledge and skill of Japan to the countries where they can be put to good use, and to surround such action by a whole series of precautions—taught by the experience of the failure of Japanese emigration to the United States—to enable the Japanese to settle in the foreign country without injury to its moral, intellectual, or material conditions. Thus the only emigrants now accepted, with few exceptions, are agriculturists, either for certain countries of Latin America, or for Manchuria, and arrangements are made to prepare emigrants going to Brazil by giving them some instruction in the religion, language, and manners and customs of that country.

It should also be pointed out that the recently created "emigration societies" are particularly interested in emigrants with some capital. Here again we find manifested the wish to try to meet the needs of the countries of destination. Although it is still too early to assess the results obtained in this direction, the present writer is of opinion that this tendency will become the characteristic feature of Japanese emigration in the future.

Japan has almost completed the organization of its system of emigration. It is, however, a striking fact that the number of Japanese resident in foreign countries is barely a million, whereas the population of Japan is increasing at the rate of about a million a year. Emigration, numerically considered, is thus a failure, and the recognition of this has for some time past produced a sort of apathy on the part of public opinion. In spite of all the efforts exerted and the degree of efficiency reached by the emigration institutions, a large number of difficulties still await solution, notably the problem of persuading the Japanese to emigrate. It may however be said that a large proportion of the non-success, numerically considered, of Japanese emigration is also to be attributed to the restrictions placed on immigration by a great many countries. And it is permissible to think that when the other States feel reassured as to Japan's readiness and ability to send them only the kind of workers they need, they will lose their fear of opening their frontiers to a labour force whose ways and customs differ too widely from their own. When that time comes, not only will economic problems find their solution, but it may also be hoped that the shadow of doubt and distrust will vanish in the immigration countries as well as in Japan itself, and that the value of organized emigration as a factor of adjustment on the international employment market will be duly recognized.

Education of the Deaf in India

Jatindra Mohan Datta writes in *The Volta Review*, official organ of the American Association to Promote the Teaching of Speech to the Deaf :

According to the census of 1931, the total number of deaf-mutes in India is 230,895. This number is likely to be the lower limit, as there is a natural hesitation among parents to record children, especially girls up to five or ten years old, as deaf and dumb, since there is always present the hope that they may merely prove to be backward and will later develop normally. There is reason to suppose that deaf-mutism is on the increase. The numbers of deaf-mutes during the last four censuses were : 1901—153,163; 1911—199,891; 1921—189,644; 1931—230,895. As the total population is also increasing, it may be well to compare the proportion of deaf-mutes to the total population. For the same years, the number of deaf-mutes per 100,000 of population were : 1901—52; 1911—64; 1921—60; 1931—66.

It will be seen that, broadly speaking, the proportion of deaf-mutes is on the increase.

If we take the years from 5 to 20 to be the school-going age of the deaf, instead of the 5 to 15 usually accepted in the case of normal boys, the number of such deaf children in 1931 was 86,840, and of these not more than 1,000 are in school. From the tenth quinquennial review of Progress of Education in British India, 1927—1932 by Sir George Anderson, we obtain the following facts and figures :

	Schools for the Deaf	Number of pupils
Madras	4	258
Bombay	4	151
Bengal	6	268
United Provinces	—	
Punjab	—	
Burma	1	27
Bihar & Orissa	—	
Central Provinces	1	20
Total	16	724
To the above figures, we add those for Native States :		
Baroda	2	90
Mysore	2	100
Grand Total	20	914

Since these figures were gathered, a few more institutions for the deaf have been established in different parts of India, bringing the total to 25, and the total number of scholars to 892; 306 girls and 586 boys. Even now there are no institutions in the United Provinces, the Punjab, Bihar and Orissa.

The following figures tell their own tale. Those for the deaf were compiled during the census of 1931. The others are as of 1932 :

Province	Percentage of deaf-mutes receiving Instruction	Percentage of total population receiving instruction in all kinds of Institutions
Bengal	.. 1.4	5.55
Bombay	.. 2.6	6.11
Burma	.. 0.4	4.28
C. P.	.. 0.5	2.95
Madras	.. 0.7	6.25

Broadly speaking, 5 per cent of the general population are receiving instruction, while among the deaf, who require more educational care, the percentage is only .57, or one-tenth the proportion of those with normal hearing.

The writer then deals with the province of Bengal :

So far as the incidence of deaf-mutism is concerned, Bengal occupies a middle position, having 70 deaf-mutes per 100,000 as compared with 26 per 100,000 in Hyderabad and 116 per 100,000 in Burma. In 1931, there were 35,437 deaf-mutes in Bengal, 81 males per 100,000 and 58 females. There is observable during the past thirty years the same tendency to increase.

Throughout India, as in other countries, the incidence of the disease is greater among males than among females. In children from one to five years of age, the preponderance of deafness in males is greater than that in older children.

At present in Bengal there are 7 institutions for the education of the deaf, as against 5 at the time of the census of 1931. In these institutions, 186 males and 49 females are receiving instruction.

Though Bengal has a larger number of schools for the deaf than any other province, the percentage of the deaf under instruction is not the highest. In this respect, Bombay leads.

Diving Spiders

Gopal Chandra Bhattacharya of Bose Research Institute, Calcutta, makes some interesting observations in the *Natural History* on certain spiders of India which have attained considerable mastery in the realm of water:

To see them leap here and there on the surface of a river or lake is in itself a surprising sight, but most fascinating of all, perhaps, is their habit of submerging and remaining under water for considerable periods. Some are able even to prey upon small fishes.

A spider of this sort is *Lycosa annandalei,* whose activities it has been my fortune to observe in the neighborhood of Calcutta. I came across the specimens I am about to describe quite unexpectedly.

I was strolling through the suburbs of Calcutta in the month of March, when I came upon a stagnant pool. Though the center was quite clear of weeds, its shores were completely overgrown with aquatic plants and grasses of various kinds. Around the edges the big green leaves of the Colocasia drooped over the surface of the water. These plants were the abode of another variety of spiders, the red-brown and spotted black stick-spiders of the genus *Tetragnatha.*

These spiders, with the purpose of preying upon various minute insects that hover or walk upon the surface of the water, attach themselves to the leaves, stems, or stalks of the Colocasia, where they may easily be mistaken for dead sticks.

I was trying, in vain, to capture some of these interesting creatures when my attention was drawn to a well-developed stick-spider, which was passing from one plant to another. As the water was only knee-deep, I tried to catch it, but as I reached out, the spider, detecting danger, leaped with great alacrity upon the surface of the water. Immediately a big gray spider, with spotted back, came running from an adjacent leaf of Nymphoides (*Limnanthemum nymphoides*) and jumped upon the poor creature in the twinkling of an eye. The victim struggled, only to expire within a minute and a half. The aggressor then dragged the dead animal to a blade of grass and began feeding on it.

I resolved to capture the creature that had made the attack. But as I approached, it jumped and ran away; and I eventually lost sight of it entirely among the grasses that stood out of the water. I splashed the water and disturbed the vegetation sufficiently to cause several others of different sizes and shapes to come out on the surface of the water. Greatly alarmed, they began to run hither and thither.

I singled out another specimen and pursued it relentlessly. Soon the creature became tired and ran no more, but folded all its legs and crumpled itself into a mere mass, resembling something dead. This black mass was floating in an inverted position on the water by the side of some Nymphoid leaves. The instant I placed my fingers on it to pick it up, to my utter surprise it disappeared suddenly and completely, where, I could not follow. I had been quite close upon the creature, but I could not detect the secret of its escape.

For perhaps a quarter of an hour I searched in vain. Thoroughly disappointed, I was about to give up the chase when suddenly just to my right, I saw a big spider emerge from beneath the water. The mystery of their hiding themselves so quickly was then solved. This large specimen with grayish-black back and bluish-white lines around the cephalothorax, had been lurking below the surface. I had had no idea that these spiders could dive under water, like otters and beavers. Since discoverng this, I have scarcely ever failed in capturing them.

When frightened, they suddenly submerge and remain clinging to the aquatic plants; and I have often seen them stay below for more than twenty minutes. Because of an air film surrounding their bodies, they look silvery white under water. The coating of air prevents the water from moistening them. The mother spider, carrying a cocoon from which young will eventually emerge, dives under water in a similar manner and under similar circumstances.

The depth to which the spider dives is usually several inches, and if pursued, it creeps for a considerable distance under water along the aquatic plants and tries to hide itself in a place of safety. When exhausted and unsuccessful at concealing itself, it feigns death, folding all its legs and floating on the surface of the water in an inverted position.

A Poem

Fill your eyes with the colours that ripple
on beauty's stream,
vain is your struggle to clutch them.
That which you chase with your desire is a shadow,
that which thrills your life-chords is music.
The wine they drink at the assembly of gods
has no body, no measure;
It is in rushing brooks,
" in flowering trees,
in the smile that dances at the corner of dark eyes:
enjoy it in freedom.

RABINDRANATH TAGORE
in the Visva-Bharati News

Sugar Industry Justifies Policy of Protection

The phenomenal development of the Sugar Industry in this country within the period of a few years is due to the policy of protection adopted by the Government, which justifies its continuance. Writes M. P. Gandhi in the *Journal of The Indian Merchants' Chamber* :

With the imminent appointment of the Tariff Board to make recommendations to the Government in regard to the extent to which protection should be conferred on the Sugar Industry after the first period of protection expires on the 31st day of March, 1938, for a further period ending with the 31st day of March, 1946, the question of continuation of protection to the Sugar Industry has again come to the forefront and begun to exercise public attention. It is likely that the Tariff Board will be appointed early next year to make its recommendations. Judged by the phenomenal progress made by the Sugar Industry during a brief period of 5 years, by the reduction in price of Sugar which has been brought about during this period, by the almost complete independence the country has achieved in the matter of supply of an important article of diet of daily consumption, by the improvement in the condition of the millions of Cultivators as a result of realisation of a better return from the cultivation of the cane crop, by the relief it has given in reducing to some extent the problem of unemployment amongst trained and technical men, by the scope for profitable investment it has afforded to indigenous capital lying dormant, etc., it can safely be said that the Indian Sugar Industry constitutes the most brilliant example of the success of a protected industry in this country, and completely vindicates the policy of protection adopted by the State during the last decade or so. It is a matter of pride to the country that within a brief period of 5 years this industry has made such remarkable progress that instead of having to depend upon foreign countries for the supply of sugar for its requirements, valued at about Rs. 15 crores per year, it has very nearly reached a stage when it is no longer necessary for her to import any sugar from abroad, and what is more, it is almost ready to export sugar outside, after meeting the internal demand of the country estimated at about 10½ million tons per year, if a little encouragement and help is given in that direction.

It is sometimes stated by the photagonists of the theory of Free Trade, which however is now completely *exploded* judging from the action being taken by the various countries of the world, that the protection of Sugar Industry constitutes a burden on consumers and therefore should be done away with. The writer replies :

A dispassionate study of the statistics of production of Sugar, (valued in 1936 at over 18 crores of Rupees), of the progressive fall in the price of Sugar, of the consistent increase in the area under cane cultivation, of the advantages flowing from the retention of this huge amount of money in the country, of the increase in the purchasing power of the people, etc., would reveal clearly, however, that the country as a whole has definitely benefited by this protection to Sugar. It is not sufficiently realised that a sum which went up to as much as Rs. 15 crores representing the prices we paid to foreign countries for the Sugar we imported, now remains in India to fructify the pockets not only of the capitalists, factory owners, but also of the employees of the factories, of the cultivators who produced cane in increasing quantities to meet the increasing demands of the factories, of the agencies employed in transporting cane which include not only the lordly Railway companies but also the owner of the humble country cart, the motor bus, etc. A concrete instance of the benefit derived by the cultivator from the policy of protection which has enabled him to receive better prices for the cane than from other crops, can be seen from the statistics of acreage of the cultivation of cane during the last 5 years.

Acreage under cane cultivation in India :

Year	Acres
1931-32	30,76,000
1932-33	34,35,000
1933-34	34,33,000
1934-35	36,02,000
1935-36	36,81,000
1936-37	42,32,000

A comparison of the prices of Sugar in the year 1935-36 with the pre-war period and with 1932-33 will also show that the consumer pays no more for the sugar now than he did in the 5 years preceding the war and in 1932-33. The price has been progressively falling.

Having nursed the industry, under the impetus of a well planned scheme of protection, we feel that it is the bounden duty of the Government to create conditions in which the industry would continue to thrive and to ensure that it is stabilised at an early date. To this end, it is absolutely necessary for the Government to maintain adequate protection during the remainder of the period and to take such constructive measures of research etc., for implementing this policy of protection, as are calculated

to enable the Industry to stand on its own legs within a measurable period of time, by achieving an all-in efficiency, which would compare well with other Sugar producing countries like Java, Philippines, Hawaii, etc.

It is the duty of the Government and the industry to make joint concerted efforts for increasing the efficiency of the industry.

The time has also arrived when the industry should make strong efforts to set its house in order, by improving its selling organization, in a scientific manner, eliminating internal wasteful and unrestrained competition, minimising freight charges by planning a system of distribution of Sugar from producing areas to adjacent consuming markets, etc., by improving the quality of sugar, and making it equal in whiteness, purity and crystals to the imported sugar. In order to enable the industry to find an outlet for its surplus production, it would be helpful if encouragement were given for export of Sugar by a rebate of the excise duty, and by obtaining a preferential duty in the United Kingdom which furnishes a large potential market for the supply of sugar from India. The following table will show the progress made by the country in the matter of production of sugar during the last 5 years, the estimated production from all sources, including factories, Khandsaries and refined from Gur, and the necessity of finding an outlet for the surplus production of sugar in the near future.

Total production of Sugar from all sources in India :

Year	Tons
1931-32	4,78,119
1932-33	6,45,283
1933-34	7,15,059
1934-35	7,57,218
1935-36	10,50,000
1936-37 (our Estimate)	11,25,000

It is the primary need at the moment to undertake comprehensive and well planned measures for research in the cultivation of cane, whereby the quality and quantity of cane per acre may be appreciably improved, and its cost of production reduced.

Foreign Trade of Ancient India

From very ancient times the rest of the civilized world looked up to India for the supply of material resources of various kinds to supplement their amenities of life. A. K. Sur in the course of an article on the subject in the *Financial Times* observes :

The momentous archæological discoveries of the last decade at Mohenjodaro in Sind and at Harappa in the Punjab have furnished us with indubitable evidence of the commercial relations that the people of the Indus Valley had had at that epoch with the people of the Euphrates-Tigris and the Nile Valleys. From the close link that subsisted at that time between India and the Near East we may infer that the commerce between the two regions must have been wide and extensive. However, how that trade was carried on we do not know. But from the fairly well-advanced economy of the time, we can well guess that the exchange of commodities between the two regions did not quite took the form of primitive barter system. Indeed, we would not be far wrong, if we say that to facilitate the trade between the two countries there was clearing arrangemens of some sort or other.

Available evidence show that while India bought from Mesopotamia bitumen and other things, the latter country in its turn imported from India wood, ebony, teak, indigo, spices, and precious stones of various kinds. Indian's foreign trade at that early epoch was not apparently confined to the valley of the Euphrates and the Tigris. Indian commodities penetrated far afield into Africa. Professor Perry in his *Children of the Sun* observes that the Egyptians were trading on the shores of India as early as 2600 B.C. Articles of Indian origin and fabrication have been discovered in Tutankhamen's tomb as well. On the authority of Ktesias we learn that in the Mosaic Period of Babylonian history (1500-1400 B.C.) onyxes, sardines and other precious stones from India, and Indian dogs were in large demand in Babylon. There are various passages in Ktesias to suggest that these Indian commodities were mostly bought from the western coast of South India particularly the regions of the Western Ghats. Somewhat slightly later in date the Jews of Palestine figure prominently as buyers of Indian commodities such as sandalwoods, ivory, apes and peacocks. The names of most of these commodities in the Hebrew tongue were derived from South Indian dialects. Thus the sandalwood is *almug* or *algum* in Hebrew, while it is *valgum* in Malayalam. . . . Similarly, peacocks and apes were respectively *tuki* and *kof* in Hebrew, while they were *tokai* and *kavi* in the Tamil-Malayalam. If these linguistic affinities indicate anything they indicate the role that South India played in India's foreign trade in ancient times. As a matter of fact in the prosperous times of King Hiram and King Solomon bulk of the Indian commodities was exported from South India.

It would however be wrong to assume that it was South India alone which exclusively traded with the West. The Panis of the Indus Valley were no mean traders. They traversed the seven seas and were the compeers of the Phœnicians of the West. The Aryans of the Punjab too might possibly have accompanied them.

It appears however that in very early times among the countries of Northern India, Kathiawar had the predominant role to play in the overseas trade of India. According to some scholars Kathiawar in ancient times was the country of the Audumbaras. Audumbara country, we further know from literature, was in former times the seat of rule of the Datta of the Atri family, who had helped Kartavirya Arjuna in having a powerful armada. We also know that the sage Atri, the progenitor of the family had charted the western seas.

While we learn from the literature of the North the great maritime activities of the Panis and the Asuras, from that of the South we know a lot about the seafaring life of the Dravidians. In the Manimekhalai the oldest Tamil work, the waves of the sea are called *ola*, and it is significant that the trading Naga tribes of the South India are referred to in the Tamil literature as the *Oliyar*. One of the industries that thrived most in South India in ancient times was the pearl-fishing industry, and it was in quest of the pearl that the people of South India sailed in fishing boats all round the coastal seas.

Women's Franchise and the New Constitution

Women are no longer regarded as unwanted quantities in the socio-economic and political life of the country. Lakshmi N. Menon in her criticism of Women's Franchise in the new constitution deplores the reservation of seats according to communities and pleads for universal

adult suffrage. She observes in *The Twentieth Century* :

The question of women's franchise has never been a subject of controversy in India. Even the most bitter opponents of women's emancipation have let it pass by without even a word of comment.

When we remember the acrimony with which the right to vote was wrested from an unwilling Government by the militant agitators in England and the U. S. A., the enfranchisement of Indian women seems almost like a windfall.

It is interesting that Sir Walter Lawrence writing about the attitude of the Government in the nineties should say that "there are two great influences in India; the women's influence and the influence of those who live apart from the world and we perforce ignore them both."

Thirty years later the Statutory Commission writing on the necessity for improving the status and extending the influence of women of India said, "The women's movement in India holds the key of progress and the results that it may achieve are incalculably great. It is not too much to say that India cannot reach the position to which it aspires in the world until its women play their due part as educated citizens."

The change in attitude is significant and it augurs well for the future. Even if it is only a platitude, it is a fact that a nation aspiring to freedom can ill afford to let one-half be a drag on its progress.

As a result of this increasing realisation of women's importance in political life we find that some provisions are made in the Constitution Act to widen the franchise so as to include a large proportion of women. Women are enfranchised not only on the same terms as men; but, curiously enough, with additional and preferential qualifications as well. The goal was fixed first and the path to attain it explored afterwards. The present ratio of women to men electors for the Provincial Legislatures is 1 : 20; under the Act the ratio must and will be increased to 1 :4 :5.

The basis of electoral franchise in India is property; the idea being that a man's stake in the country is equivalent to the property he owns. In India, among a large majority of people, women are governed by antediluvian laws which deprive them of the right to own and have absolute estate over inherited property. Therefore the number of women that would be enfranchised under this qualification would be small : 2,000,000 of the electorate of 6,000,000. Hence the strange phenomenon known as the "wifehood" qualification. The qualified voter under this section need not be literate, need not even have any direct interest in property. For the "wifehood" qualification is extended even to the wives of men with the military service qualification and to pensioned widows. The mothers of army officers also come under what might be called the "dependency' qualification. If indeed political consciousness is awakened as a result of direct interest in the affairs of one's country, I am afraid neither of these qualifications as they are meant in India, is apt to encourage such a thing. Moreover the fact that "wifehood" qualification is there in its statutory form is likely to give the idea that no serious attempt will be made to enable women to inherit property or have absolute estate over it. The fact that a wrong is legally recognised is sufficient warning that no immediate steps will be taken to remove it. The literacy qualification is bound to be equally unprogressive inasmuch as there is nothing anywhere in the Act to say that attempts would be made to make education widespread and thus rescue girls' education from the Slough of Despond where it has always been. For women's education is sadly and badly neglected in the primary stages and therefore at all stages. Hence, while literacy qualification is recognized the amazingly large percentage of female illiteracy will continue unabated.

Though the attitude of the Government towards the women's movement in general and franchise question in particular has undergone a great change, the electorate is pressed out and narrowed down till the vitalising forces of national life are squeezed out bit by bit.

The ratio of voters is approximately fixed at 1 :4 :5; but if by chance the proportion increased, bureaucracy becomes unduly frightened of what is called "administrative difficulty."

The majority of voters are employers, landholders or income-tax paying units or women existing in the pervading shadow of the property owner. Of course there is the literacy qualification which should enfranchise, 255,000 but for the application requirement; even this out of 6 million women voters is not much. Moreover most of them are already qualified under the wifehood qualification. For instance, I am supposed to come under the literacy qualification, but I am enrolled under the wifehood qualification. This reduces the number of women that will actually be qualified under the literacy test.

To go into the ethics of "reservation" will be out of place here. But it is an undoubted fact that it has made women into a class along with the scheduled castes, a class with the stamp of inferiority fixed on it. Our religious teachers used to class "women and sudras" together as the two classes of people that are unfit to receive revealed knowledge. The Constitution goes a step further and, in the new nomenclature adopted, they occupy the lowest rung of the ladder. Women get 6 seats in the Council of State, the same number as the scheduled castes; that is, out of a total of 150, and 9 out of 250 in the Federal Assembly. Yet they represent roughly half the population of India.

And even these reserved seats are divided according to communities so that women are prevented from uniting for a common cause. For, unfortunately, parties are run mostly on communal lines and the communal virus will continue with greater force in our assemblies and councils. Further, the small minority of women that get into the legislatures will be ineffective quantities as they have neither the training nor the necessary backing of any party or programme to go by.

A woman's party as such is an unimaginable thing; even a legislature bristling with feminine charm or their colourful vivacity is beyond the dreams of sane people. A large number of women is not interested in politics as such; they have other problems, other worries; hardly any with even parliamentary ambitions will become a deciding influence in constitutional reform, or in any of the 59 subjects that form the Federal, 54 that form the provincial or the 36 that form the concurrent legislative lists. And so even as an influence their presence is valueless.

Universal adult suffrage might have been a new idea at the time of the French Revolution. Since 1789 almost all the Anglo-Saxon countries and the post-War republics of Europe have adopted it as a matter of course; unless universal adult suffrage is given the talk about wider franchise, representative institutions and responsible government seems a fairy tale.

Birds of Darjeeling

In an informative article in *Science and Culture* Dr. Satya Churn Law deals with some general aspects of the altitudinal distribution of the birds of Darjeeling within the confines of the district :

The avifauna of Darjeeling—a fascinating study no doubt—obviously conjures up a vision of so many gay birds quite dissimilar to what we see in the plains, of gorgeous colour and sweet notes, so that we feel interested and inquisitive not only to know about their habits and life-history, their curious displays, their haunts and habitats, and many other problems of biology connected with their distribution, which necessarily involve discursion into the fields of geology, botany, and zoo-geography; take, for instance, the case of remarkable affinity and parallel distribution noticeable in forms in such widely separated areas as the Himalaya, the hills of Ceylon and Malabar; and again the question of colonization of the afforested area of the Himalaya from below Kashmir to Bhutan which Col. Meinertzhagen's researches bring to the fore.

The nature and character of a country, the extent of diversity in its physical features and its climatic conditions generally determine its characteristic flora and fauna, and this consideration leads us at the very outset to an examination of the physical peculiarities of Darjeeling.

Immense variations, however, in rainfall, temperature, and humidity are inevitable in the peculiar circumstances of the divergent physical features of Darjeeling relative to accidents of protection, exposure, and slope of the ridges, thus conducing not a little to the emergence of such diverse climatic conditions. The latter react on vegetation, giving rise in suitable environments to distinctive zones or plant-associations which harbour certain types of birds. Such zones are classified as follows :—

I.	Tropical	Submotane or *tarai* Hilly	300-2000
II.	Sub-tropical	.. .. ..	2000-5000
III.	Temperate	.. .. ..	5000-9000
IV.	Sub-alpine	.. . ..	9000-13000

In the *tarai* vegetation ranges from giant grass and matted cane-brakes to *sal (Shorea robusta)* forest of the higher land alternating with tangled jungle much of it now cleared for cultivation. Amidst semitropical vegetation at about 4,500 ft. appear the oaks which gradually becoming more numerous at 5,000 ft. give rise to what is known as the oak forest region, really a sub-temperate zone where the under-growth is perceptibly less rank and bamboos, palms, plantains, the screw pines and tree ferns are seen. Above 5,000 ft. is the temperate zone in which maples, oaks, chest-nuts, and magnolias abound. The trees are mantled with ferns, mosses, and epiphytic orchids. The sub-alpine zone is practically the region of the rhododendron and pine forests. *Abies Webbiana*, commonly known as silver fir, appears above Tanglu, forming in some places open forests and usually putting on a blasted appearance evidently as the effect of lighting and violent storms to which they are exposed. The alpine zone lies beyond the sphere of Darjeeling where the limit of trees is reached and the line of perpetual snow appears.

I need in concluding simply stress the fact of the amazing wealth of the bird fauna of Darjeeling by pointing out that of the 569 species and subspecies (excluding the innumerable waders and ducks migrating over the country) recorded for the Sikkim-Himalaya 90% are found within the limits of the district.

The Study of Sanskrit and Its Beneficent Influence

No one who has any real knowledge of Sanskrit literature and Indian history can doubt that the Hindus have been highly civilized for millennia, and that their intellectual products compare on the whole very favourably with those of Europe, even judged by European standards. In an article in the *Prabuddha Bharata* on the study of Sanskrit, Swami Maithilyananda, the editor, writes :

The vastness, variety, and richness of Sanskrit literature justify its greatness for all time to come. Referring to its vastness, Sir William Jones remarked, "Wherever we direct our attention to Hindu literature, the notion of infinity presents itself." The richness of Sanskrit literature can hardly be over-estimated. No scholar can afford to pass by the inestimable materials which the *Upanishads*, the epics, the systems of philosophy, and theoligical treatises supply with their wealth of beauty, art, imagination, and inspiration. The memorable passage written by Max Muller regarding the richness of Sanskrit literature runs as follows : "If I were asked under what sky the human mind has most fully developed some of its choicest gifts, has most deeply pondered on the greatest problems of life, and has found solutions of some of them which well deserve the attention even of those who have studied Plato and Kant I should point to India. And if I were to ask myself from what literature we, here in Europe, we who have been nurtured almost exclusively at the thoughts of Greeks and Romans, and of one Semitic race, the Jewish, may draw that corrective which is most wanted in order to make our inner life more perfect, more comprehensive, more universal, in fact more truly human, a life, not for this life only, but a transfigured and eternal life, again I should point to India."

Apart from the humanizing influence, the study of Sanskrit affords a striking combination of art and religion in the poetical literature of the ancient Indians. That fine sentiments of unworldliness can combine the loftiest production of literary art can be profusely found in Sanskrit poetry—a fact which is very rarely found in the modern literatures of the world. Human love portrayed in the epics of India transcends the last vestige of worldliness and sensuous attachment which forms the constant theme of European poetry. In this connection we may quote Sir Monier-Williams : "It must be admitted, however, that in exhibiting pictures of domestic life and manners, the Sanskrit epics are even more true and real than the Greek and Roman. In the delineation of women the Hindu poet throws aside all exaggerated colouring and draws from nature—Kaikeyi, Kausalya, Mandodari (the favourite wife of Ravana), and even he humpbacked Manthara are all drawn to the very life. Sita, Draupadi and Damayanti engage our affections and our interest far more than Helen or even Penelope. Indeed, Hindu wives are generally perfect patterns of conjugal fidelity; can it be doubted that in these delightful portraits of the *Pativrata* or devoted wife, we have true representations of the purity and simplicity of Hindu domestic manners in early times ? "

To a question put to him during his return from the West for the first time Swami Vivekananda replied : "Many times have I been told that looking into the past only degenerates and leads to nothing, and that we should look to the future. That is true. But out of the past is built the future. Look back, therefore, as far as

you can, drink deep of the eternal fountains that are behind, and after that, look forward, march forward and make India brighter, greater, much higher than she ever was. Our ancestors were great. We must first recall that. We must learn the elements of our being, the blood that courses in our veins; we must have faith in that blood, and what it did in the past; and out of that faith, and consciousness of past greatness, we must build an India yet greater than she has been. There have been periods of decay and degradation. I do not attach much importance to them; we all know that. Such periods have been necessary. A mighty tree produces a beautiful ripe fruit. That fruit falls on the ground, it decays and rots, and out of that decay springs the root and the future tree, perhaps mighter than the the first one. This period of decay through which we have passed was all the more necessary. Out of this decay is coming the India of the future; it is sprouting, its first leaves are already out, and a mighty gigantic tree, the *Urdhwamulam* is here, already begining to appear, and it is about that that I am going to speak to you."

The cultural revival of the Hindus is no source of danger to other cultures and to the traditions of the races of small minorities in India. The cultural history of India can justify such a unique claim of the Hindus and it can be best expressed in the words of a great Indologist like the late lamented Dr. Sylvain Levi :

"The multiplicity of the manifestations of the Indian genius as well as their fundamental unity gives India the right to figure on the first rank in the history of civilized nations. Her civilization, spontaneous and original, unrolls itself in a continuous time across at least thirty centuries, without interruption, without deviation. Ceaselessly in contact with foreign elements which threatened to strangle her, she preserved victoriously in absorbing them, assimilating them and enriching herself with them. Thus she has seen the Greeks, the Scythians, the Afghans, the Mongols to pass before her eyes in succession and is regarding with indifference the Englishmen—confident to pursue under the accidence of the surface the normal course of her high destiny."

To and From South America

In his academic notes in *The Calcutta Review* Dr. Kalidas Nag, who has recently returned from Latin America, observes :

Invited to the 14th International PEN Congress by PEN club of Buenos Aires we found that the Argentine authors keep in close touch with the academic groups of their country. Thus not only we had the pleasure of meeting the writers of prose and poetry but had also the happy chance of knowing several learned societies of Buenos Aires. The President of the last organization, the Argentine Academy of Letters, Dr. Carlos Ibarguren, was President of the Buenos Aires Pen club as well. In his opening discourse he said : "This Congress which we are going to inaugurate today seems to be the symbolic manifestation of the spirit of Humanism soaring above the roars of the mechanical civilization, political and economic materialism and the surging passions which threaten to overwhelm Humanity in this critical hour of history."

The Rector of the Buenos Aires University, the eminent philosopher Dr. C. Alberini, was presiding over my lecture at the crowded hall of the University on the "Art and Archaeology of India." The students were most responsive and they took me down to their common room to show me how they cherish the portrait of our national poet Rabindranath Tagore placed by the side of another world-poet, Goethe. Through Dr. Alberini, I came to be introduced not only to the learned professors of the Buenos Aires University but also to the scholars of the University and the museum of La Plata.

Before leaving Buenos Aires I had the privilege of participating in the public meeting of the Ramkrishna Centenary where I was invited to deliver an address on "India Yesterday and Today." Swami Vijayananda discussed in Spanish the universal significance of the life and teaching of the Saint of Dakshineswar and Madam Sophia Wadia of the Indian PEN Bombay and Mrs. Adelina Guiraldes, wife of the great writer of Argentine Ricardo Guiraldes, also addressed the meeting which breathed an atmosphere of peace and fellowship, for over 1,000 persons stayed in perfect silence for nearly a couple of hours.

Addressing the PEN Congress I had also the pleasure of announcing and inviting the co-operation of the assembly of international writers in the forthcoming birth centenary of Bankim Chandra Chatterjee, the pioneer of modern literature in Bengal and for that matter in all India. As the composer of our national hymn *Bande Mataram*, he is entitled to the permanent gratitude of the Indian nation : but no less does he deserve the homage of the writers of today for the great work he did in the 19th century, in developing a cultural rapprochement between the East and the West through his novels and essays. My proposition was warmly seconded by several writers of note and I hope that many of them will send their original contributions and messages if we from our Indian Celebration Committee offer to publish them in a Bankim Commemoration Volume.

Between Argentine and Brazil comes the tiny republic of Uruguay with its capital and university town of Montevido which Garibaldi in his youthful days made famous. It is a clean beautiful city with a richly decorated Parliament house all in mosaic of the many-coloured marbles of Uruguay.

The United States of Brazil is, like India, more a continent than a country and in area it is 1 1|3 of Europe. Almost half the country has not yet been explored, especially the area to the north of river Amazon. Brazil alone forms almost half of South America and stands sharply differentiated by two things : (1) the official recognition of the Portuguese language although politically she is independent of Portugal for over a century; (2) the total absence of race prejudice of any kind, European folk marrying freely the indigenous Indians as well as imported African Negroes and the mixed races betraying no signs of inferiority complex of the Eurasian groups elsewhere. Thus a very bold ethnological experiment is going on in Brazil which offers an ample field for the study of race relations and for anthropological research. The medical faculty was the first to develop and it recently celebrated its centenary. The conquest of Yellow Fever, the researches on snake venom in the famous Butantan Institute of Sao Paulo, among others, testify to the achievements of the Brazilian scientists. The Rockefeller foundation has generously supplied funds to the University of Sao Paulo and built a big hospital in Santos, the biggest port of Brazil exporting 80% of the world consumption of coffee.

Rio de Janeiro, the capital, is one of the finest harbour towns of the world and its inimitable beach promenade Botofagio, the green hills, the rich vegetation, all combined to give it an air of supreme beauty. People love literature, and fine arts. The Municipal University is a model institution which deserves to be imitated by every municipality of India.

Music and Fine arts, psychology and physiology,

elementary science and hygiene, ethnology and sociology form the integral parts of the syllabus of Education. The teachers are devoted and alert and the students passing out of the Institute are recruited into the primary and secondary education services of the country for which there are infinite possibilities. Negro students work side by side with white boys and girls and a rare spirit of camaraderie prevails all over.

Scientific Curiosity

The following is an extract from the last chapter of *A Diary of the Five Elements* by Rabindranath Tagore. It is reproduced from the *Visva-Bharati Quarterly* :

A great discussion had been going on between Vyom and Khiti about the origin and end of Science. Turning to me, in order to draw us in, Vyom said :

"Though science cannot but have arisen out of the faculty of curiosity which is natural to men, yet I doubt whether his curiosity was ever exactly out in quest of it : the nature of its hankering was rather thoroughly unscientific. It started to hunt for the Touchstone, but unearthed what turned out to be the decayed great-toe of some extinct monster. It wanted to find Alladin's Lamp, but got a box of matches. Alchemy it really pursued, Chemistry was an unlooked-for achievement. It cast its net into the skies for Astrology, but drew out Astronomy. This curiosity of ours, I am sure, does not pine to discover more and more instances of the order of nature; it does not rejoice in counting up further and further links in the chain of natural law. What it is after is a break in that chain. Its hope is, some day, somewhere, to light upon a heaven where the interminable repetition of cause and effect does not hold undisputed sway. It is anxious to behold the New,—something that never happened before. But old man Science dogs its steps, making out the fresh to be stale, showing that the rainbow is but an enlarged edition of the colours seen through the prism, proving that the way of the world belongs to the same class as the fall of the apple.

"We have now-a-days cultivated the habit of expressing wonder and delight at the discovery that the self-same laws that apply to the dust at our feet prevail everywhere throughout infinite space and time; but this delight does not come naturally to us. When man sent out the Sprite of Inquiry, as his messenger into the boundless starry spaces, he was inspired by the fond hope that there at least, in those regions of immense light and immense darkness, the rules binding on dust do not hold, that some marvellous festival of divine anarchy would there be revealed. But now he has come to see that sun, moon and stars,—the constellations of the Seven Rishis, the Divine Twins, and fateful Orion with his flaming sword,—all of them are but elder brothers and sisters of our familiar heaps of dust. The enjoyment of such a conclusion is an acquired taste, not in our original composition."

"You are not far wrong," agreed Samir. "The natural man has an unconquerable yearning for the Touchstone and the Wonderful Lamp. Take the fable we were told in our childhood of how the farmer, on his death-bed, bequeathed to his sons the treasure buried in his fields; and how, for all their digging, the poor fellows found no hidden treasure, but were rewarded instead with an increase of crops : What child, who is really a child, can help feeling aggrieved at this denouement ? Crops are raised by hard-working rustics all over the world, but the hidden treasure none of them find, just because it is hidden. This treasure is something that has escaped all-pervading cause and effect; it is an exception from the inevitable; that is why it is so poignantly desired by man. Whatever old Aesop may insinuate, there can be no doubt that those farmer's sons did not feel properly grateful to their father.

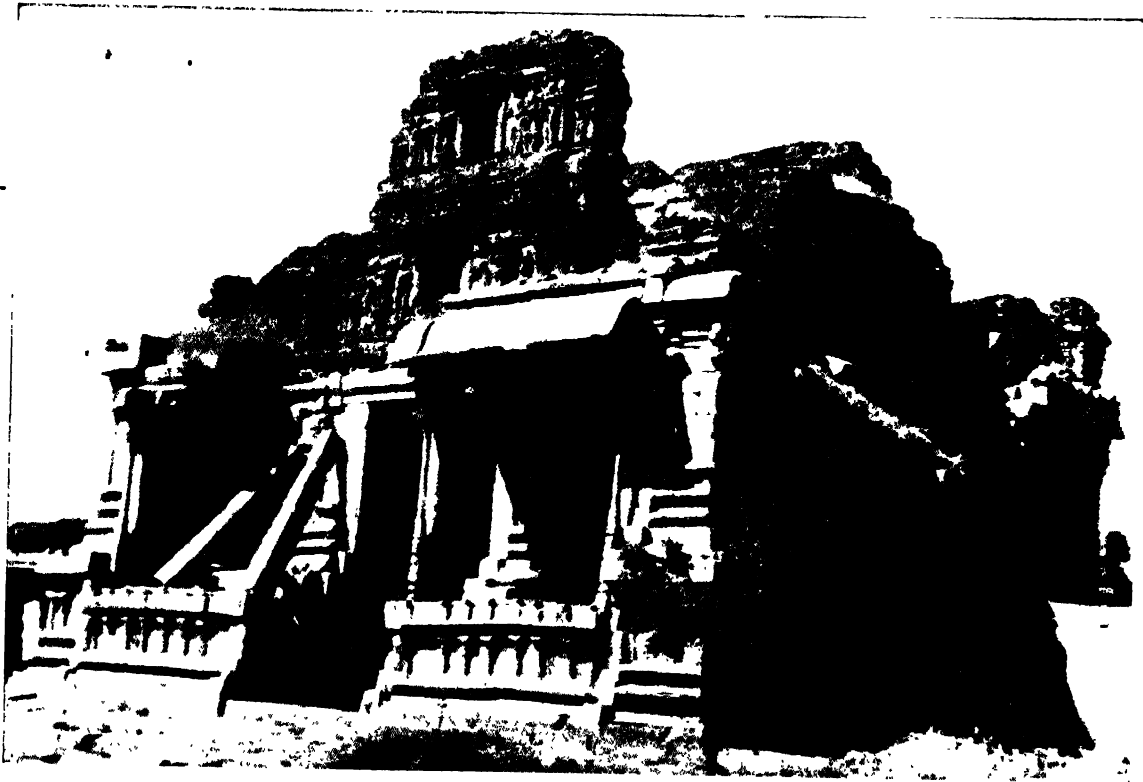
"Do we not see every day how lightly the ordinary man holds the pretensions of science ? If a doctor is conspicuously successful in curing his patients, we say he has a *gift* that way; we cannot accept the thought, that his cures are wrought by application of scientific method, as enough of an explanation; we find it necessary to import the idea of a mysterious knack, surpassing medical science, before our mind can be satisfied."

"The reason is," I added, "that though natural law pervades all space and time, it is nevertheless limited, because it cannot swerve by a hair's breadth from its assigned course,—that is, in fact, why it is called a law, and that is why it offends man's inborn sensibilities. We do not expect extraordinary cures from mere medical science,—there are so many maladies admittedly beyond its powers. But the scope of the *gift* of healing has not yet been so definitely determined as to drive a hard and fast line beyond which our hope and imagination may not range. For the same reason, the drugs of the pharmacopoeia are less alluring than the simples offered by our wandering ascetics, for these set no rigorous limits to our expectations of their efficacy.

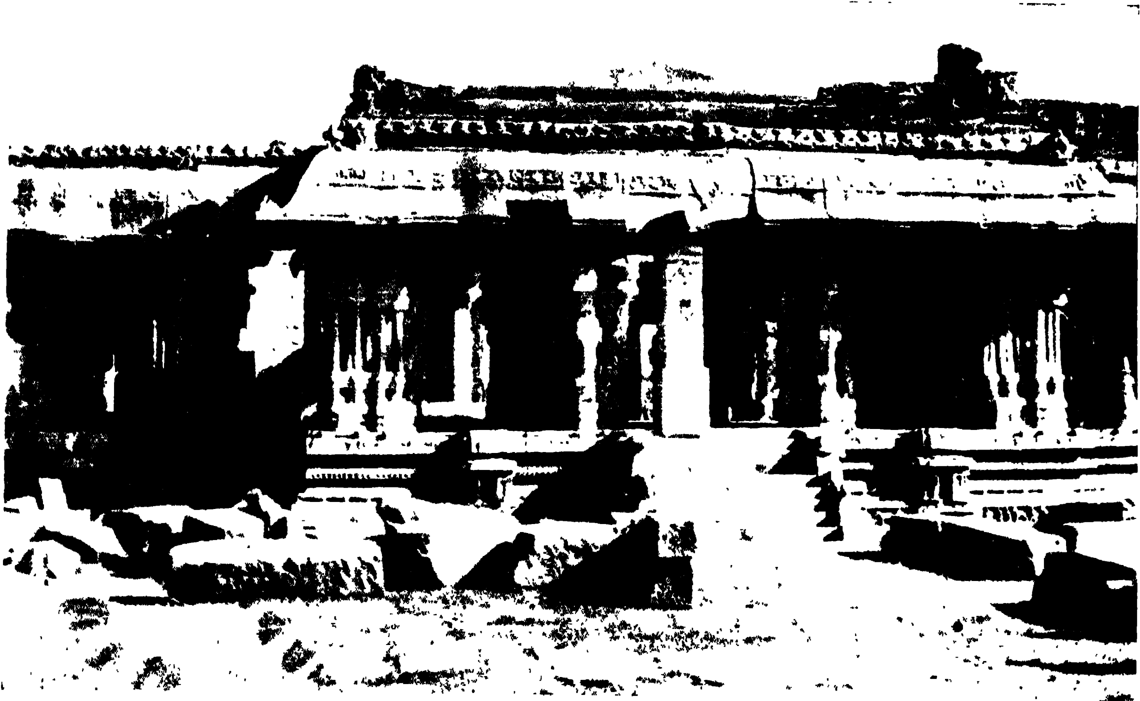
"As man's knowledge of facts increases, the oftner does he knock up against the rigid barrier of natural law around him, the narrower becomes the free expanse which was originally open to his spirit, the more strictly have the flights of his original curiosity to be curtailed. Thereupon he is led to put the dictator, Nature, with its law and order, on the throne, and at first reluctantly, but afterwards, by force of habit, loyally to accord it his full submission."

"That," interrupted Vyom, "is not genuine, but faked loyalty,—wanting its reward. Once convinced that the business of the world is hopelessly bound by inviolable rules, we have to humbly comply with them for dear life; we cannot but lose the courage to put our reliance on the uncertain possibilities that lie beyond science. And, even if we still occasionally resort to charms, or amulets, or holy water, we ticket them with some spurious scientific label, such as magnetism or hypnotism, to keep up appearances."

"All the same, there is a fundamental reason underlying our greater attraction for what is outside, than what is within the rules. For, at least one part of our being is not subject to any law of nature—and that is our Will. Our Will is free,—anyway, we feel it to be free. Will has a desire for Will. So it warms our heart to find its counterpart in the outside world. To be provided with comforts is not enough for us : we are not truly comforted unless we are assured that they are the outcome of a will to comfort us. When we used to believe that India was showering rain, Marut causing the breezes to blow, Agni vouchsafing light, these favours were, for us, a matter of high gratification. Now we believe that sunshine and storm have nothing to do with favour or frown of divinity, nor are they dependent on the deserts of the recipient, but occur simply according to certain unalterable laws; that when the water-drops in the sky encounter a chilling blast, they come down regardless of consequences, whether it be on the shaven pate of a saint, to afflict him with a cold, or on the cucumber patch of a scoundrel, to give him undeserved abundance. By dint of our devotion to science, we have accustomed ourselves to this idea, but do we really relish it ? "



Sexcentenary of the Vijayanagara Empire : Krishna Temple



Vithoba Temple



Offering 'Id' prayers: Azad Maidan, Bombay

Dr. Kashibai Nourange, Leader of the Indian Delegation to the International Council of Women, relating her experience a ladies' meeting in Bombay. (Inset) Dr. Kashibai Nourange speaking

APPRECIATIONS

Dr. Nicholas Roerich, the **world-famous Artist, Explorer and Orientalist, says**

DEAR MR. RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE,

Having returned after an almost two years' expedition in Central Asia, I was again glad to see in my library the excellent magazine under your enlightened editorship. Please accept my heartiest greetings and best wishes.

November 8, 1935. (Sd) N. ROERICH.

The opinion of the late **Lala Lajpat Rai,** as expressed in an address to the Hindusthanee Students' of U. S. A. in March, 1916 :

I would advise every Indian student to reserve three hours a week at least to the study of Indian literature or literature relating to India. This does not include newspapers. Every Indian student in this country should read the Modern Review (Calcutta), and it should be the business of the different chapters of the Hindusthanee Students' Association to supply it to the members.

Sir Michael Sadler, *Vice-Chancellor, Leeds University,* wrote to the Editor :

If it is not unbecoming, I should like to congratulate you on the Modern Review and not least on the Editorial Notes. The Review is one of the "live" periodicals of the world.

The Amrita Bazar Patrika says

The "Modern Review" as a monthly periodical has established an unrivalled reputation in India and has already taken a foremost place as a vehicle of the Indian cultural renaissance. The fact that it is classed as one of the world's best eight journals in the English language entitles it to be recognized as a cultural asset of immense value.

The Leader of Allahabad says

Of all Indian periodicals The "Modern Review" easily holds pride of place.

Commerce, Feb 29, '36, says

Like good wine, this foremost monthly Journal of India, edited by the Veteran Journalist, Mr. Ramananda Chatterjee, needs no bush. The February [1936] issue maintains the high standard hitherto associated with the publication.

The Sind Observer says

With the January, 1936, number of The "Modern Review" (Calcutta) opens the 59th volume (half-yearly) of that splendid magazine which mirrors the culture of India, specially of Bengal, and gives a bird's-eye view of the progress of the world from month to month. The magazine under the able editorship of Mr. Ramananda Chatterjee has come to the forefront in the journalistic world on account of the wide scope it covers in the field of art, literature and politics.

Dr. J. T. Sunderland of New York, than whom there is no greater friend of India in the West, says :

I have long had in mind sending you [the Editor] some brief words expressing my high appreciation of the monthly magazine which for so many years you have edited and published. It is a constant wonder to me on account of the breadth and wealth of its contents, covering as it does, and with such intelligence, the wide fields of politics, history, literature, art, education, economics, industries, social reform and religious reform. I speak with care when I say, that we do not have in America, nor is there in England any monthly review that covers so wide a field, and does it with such accuracy of scholarship and at the same time so interestingly.

I regard *The Modern Review* as not only an invaluable asset to India; but as a messenger to the outside world, the importance of which increases with every year of its publication.

The Manager, **THE MODERN REVIEW**

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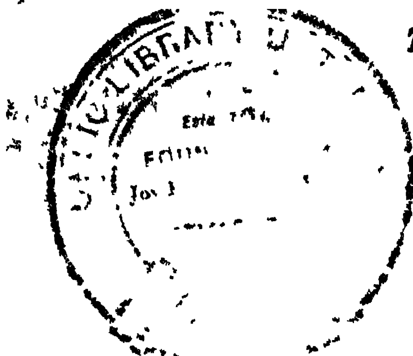
Dear Reader

WE WISH YOU A HAPPY & PROSPEROUS NEW YEAR

Last year we made considerable improvements in The Modern Review. This year our programme contains further plans for improvements, specially with regards the treatment of the world situation.

We thank you, dear reader, for your past and present patronage. May we expect further help from you in the enlisting of your friends amongst our subscribers?

The Editor and the Staff of The Modern Review.



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"In a word," I continued, "where formerly we inferred the intervention of certain external Wills, we now assume the operation of blind laws. That is why the view from a merely scientific standpoint discloses a universe utterly devoid of all desire and joy. But, so long as desire and joy reign within our own selves, we cannot help feeling their existence within the outside world as well,—if not located where we once thought them to be, but nevertheless established within its its inmost recesses. If we are not convinced of this, we are traitors to our own innermost consciousness. That there is no absolute standard, anywhere, of the freedom we feel within us, is what our soul refuses to believe. Our spirit cannot live unless our Will can find its support in the universal Will, our love get its response from the universal Love."

AN APPEAL OF ROMAIN ROLLAND

Romain Rolland, President of the World Committee against War and Fascism, has issued this appeal to the conscience of the world.

To all the Peoples

Come to the help of the victims of Spain !

A cry of horror rises from the smoking stones of Madrid. The proud city, once queen of half the Old World and the New and one of the radiant centres of Western civilization has been put to fire and sword by an army of African Moors and legionaries, whose rebel leaders dare to claim for themselves the cause of the Spain which they are plundering, and of the civilization which they are trampling underfoot.

Thousands of women and children have been massacred, mutilated, burnt alive. The crowded quarters of the city are the chief targets. Hospitals have not been spared. Glorious palaces are in flames: today the Palace of the Duke of Alba, tomorrow the Prado. Centuries of art crumble under the bombs. Velasquez dies with his people....

And it is this hour of agony of the heroic town whose former kings saved Europe from Arab invasion that Mussolini and Hitler have chosen for recognizing the Government of the African Franco, who is murdering Spain with the arms provided by Italian and German fascism. Franco is paying them by handing over the wealth and the strategic points of Spain.... The mad men, who do not see that one day the blood of their criminal bargain will fall back on the heads of their own people, and that barbarism, unleashed by them, will set its torches to their own cities! After Madrid and Barcelona (for tomorrow Barcelona also will be bombarded), it will be the turn of Rome, Berlin, London, Paris....The great nations of Europe, the great mothers of civilization are, like wolves, savagely devouring one of their number, the noblest of them, before flying at each other's throats. Woe for the hour that is in store, the hour that is at hand—that is already here!

Humanity! Humanity! The appeal is to you. The appeal is to you, men of Europe and America. Come to the help of Spain! Come to our help! Come to your own help! For it is you, it is all of us who are menaced. Do not allow these women, children and world treasures to perish. If you remain silent now, tomorrow it will be your children, your wives, all that you hold dear, everything which makes life beautiful and sacred, that will perish in its turn. If you do not oppose the bombardment of hospitals and museums, of thickly populated areas, of children at play, you too, peoples of the world, will suffer sooner or later the same fate. Who will be able to check the havoc of the conflagration, if you do not extinguish it at its beginning? The whole world will be affected.

Quick! Quicker still! Rise, speak, cry out, act! If we are not able to stop the war, let us compel respect for the rules which international conventions impose. Let us save the helpless and innocent! May a common impulse, above all divisions of race, party or religion, unite the peoples and rouse them to hasten to the aid of the victims. It is in the very midst of the fury of war that the brotherhood of all the sufferers, of all the living, must be affirmed.

Romain Rolland

20th November, 1936.

"THOU SHALT NOT KILL"

By E. A. LOUGHLIN

ENCOURAGED by the appearance recently of a similar article in one of the local magazines, I venture to offer my own small experiences of Jail Life in India, to you for publication. I will not pretend to be a litterateur but, except for slight changes here and there, I give you my experiences faithfully as I recorded them in my Diary at that time.

At the time of these entries, I was just over eighteen years of age and working in a temporary capacity in one of the large central jails in a certain lonely district in India. I had been at work only a fortnight when I was called upon to attend at the execution of five brothers.

I was on my first 'Visiting Rounds' last night, and at about twelve o'clock, walking down the dark road leading to the Jail, I worked myself into a fine state of nerves, mistaking starved jackals for crouching 'Escapees,' expecting a ghost to step out from behind each tree trunk and tensing at every unusual sound. It is surprising how, on a dark night, a not too courageous person will see an innocent tree trunk move stealthily and interpret the very silence of night as an omen of danger. Twice I swung round at the sound of a tamarind falling from a tree, expecting to find that someone was following me with evil intentions; though who would wish to harm a humble Government servant, I did not stop to question. As I approached the Main Gate, a guard who was standing in the darkness under a big Pipul tree, roared out:

"Hält! ! Who goes there?"

I was so startled that I dropped my baton. I must have looked funny because I heard a giggle, immediately stifled by a cough.

"Friend" said I.

"Pass friend, oily-swell."

I picked up my baton and walked on majestically.

Going round the Jail at midnight is like stalking through some dead city. One cannot see anyone or hear anything, although one can feel the presence of three thousand convicts. My footsteps echoed hollowly between the blocks and I felt like a Lilliputian beside the giant shadow cast up on the white wall by my lantern. I often feel that these silent white walls have a sort of life of their own. In their quietness they seem to be looking down seriously on all that happens within the Jail. Just like the Negroes' "Ole Man River" they "must know somethin' but they don't say nothin'." During the day they watch sweating dark bodies in labour, and at night, the lonely warder tramping around the blocks with his gas lantern. Year after year they silently watch the convicts come and go. Some stay for a long, long time; some are there only for a few months and some never go out again,—their tired bodies are quietly laid to rest under a few white-washed stones. What is it that gives me this feeling of being watched by someone or something unseen? Perhaps it is the spirits of those who have died within these white walls and now wander about restlessly, unable to leave the place that has been their home for so many years.

I visited the condemned cells and looked at the five brothers who were hanged today. I have heard it said that when people meet a murderer, they know it instinctively by a peculiar revolting feeling they experience. I have actually heard of a case where a woman became violently sick when she unknowingly came in contact with a murderer. Either that is a groundless belief in some psychical penetration, or I am too unsensitive to be affected by this strange influence, for, I experienced no such revulsion when I saw these condemned men for the first time. All appeared to be normal human beings and I would not have known them for murderers had it not been for the fact that they were in the condemned cells.

The condemned cells are each about eight feet by ten feet. A raised stone-platform serves as a bed and each prisoner is allowed one blanket. There is a little barred window about seven feet off the floor and one heavily barred iron door opening out on to a verandah. In front of each cell stands a lantern and one guard paces the verandah all night.

Two of the prisoners were asleep but the other three were crouched on the floor, close to the bars, hollow-eyed and nervous, looking for aught like some trapped beasts. I felt a great

pity for them. Twelve hours ago, they had been told that they were to be executed at dawn the next day. After all those long months of hope and suspense, the utter hopelessness of their fates must have been something awful Remorse is a punishment more terrible than any Chinese torture and these poor fools had inflicted it upon themselves. Ten thousand wretched pieces of silver; a few minutes of passion and then these awful days of sleepless fear and worry. They have died a thousand deaths and have atoned to God for their crime. But they sinned against man and the law must take its course.

I read through the summary of their case the other day and after wading through chapters of wherebys and therebys and the mathematics of I.P.C. and C.P.C., I managed to work out that the whole thing is something like this :

A certain farmer, wishing to get his daughter married, had decided to make a settlement of Rs. 10,000 on her so as to give her and her husband a comfortable start in life. In a district where 1,000 is a fortune, Rs. 10,000 was inducement enough for any bachelor to risk a wife. Very shortly, therefore, five stalwart brothers made their appearance and commenced to take an interest in things. But they were impatient and as it seemed that their chances were about equal, they decided amongst themselves that whoever won the girl, should keep Rs. 5,000 and give the other half to his four brothers. The girl's father heard about this and in the quarrel that ensued, he, his wife and a little baby girl were murdered. The girl was hacked to pieces and the baby had eighteen knife wounds all over her body. A truly horrible crime.

I wonder, is this an illustration of the old French saying; "Cherchez la femme," "Find out the woman." Scarcely.

My 'visiting rounds' over, I made the necessary entry in the report book and then went out to see if the sentry under the Pipul tree still wanted to giggle. I inspected him carefully with my lantern but he stood as stiff as a lamp post and looked straight ahead. So somewhat disappointed that I could not pick a quarrel, I toddled off to my lonely bungalow very tired and sleepy; too sleepy to think of ghosts or of escaped convicts.

I was awakened by the reveille this morning at a half-past three. It was still night and in the confusion of semi-wakefulness I wondered why the bugle had sounded one-and-a-half hours before the usual time. At that moment I remembered the execution and suddenly felt weak in the pit of my stomach. I dressed quickly and hurried on my way to the Jail. Everything is so beautiful and fresh before dawn in India. This morning, the sky was like dark blue velvet studded all over with twinkling diamonds. A light fresh breeze was blowing and, in the distance I could see "Bear's" Hill with the little temple on its summit and the light burning inside. I thought, 'How wonderful is our India' and then again I remembered the execution and felt how strange it was that the same peaceful sky with its brilliant stars would in a little while look down on a horrible execution. Then dawn would come, the sky would brighten and feel as if it had waked up from a bad dream, the birds would begin to sing and everything would be normal, just as if nothing had happened.

When I arrived at the gates, the others were there already, lanterns were moving about in confusion and I could see that the convicts from the cells of adjoining blocks were awake and trying to get a look at the condemned men, two of whom had been herded out and were having their last bath surrounded by a group of warders. They bathed with feverish movements and pathetically, with all the care they would have taken had they been free men. After that they were given a cup each of hot milk, to stimulate them, I suppose, but it struck me as mockery, for in a few minutes, food would be of no use to them at all. One of them must have thought as I did, for he suddenly burst out : "Why should I drink this milk? You will kill me now, and I can just as easily leave this world on an empty stomach." They were now allowed a few minutes for prayers and it seemed to me that they delayed these operations as much as they could, as if in hope that at the last moment something would happen to save them. The younger man tried to sing out his prayers, but his voice failed and he gulped and swallowed, tried again and at last stammered out, "Hai! Hai!! The devil is already choking me."

Their prayers over, the prisoners were handcuffed and their elbows were strapped firmly behind their backs. Then we marched them to the gates, where we had to wait for about ten minutes for the District Magistrate and the District Medical Officer. The ten minutes seemed like hours and I thought that these officials might have shown more consideration on such an occasion. At last they came, sleepy-eyed and cross at having been pulled out of their beds so early. The prisoners were immediately examined for identification marks;

and then the final step. No time now for delay; gone all hope; no shirking this punishment. They were roughly hustled along a dark narrow passage at the end of which was a small but heavily bolted door. This was opened after some fumbling and the first sight that met the eye in the walled-in yard beyond, was the double steel gallows with two stout and well-greased hempen ropes waiting greedily for their victims. It sounds theatrical and sinister, but they did look greedy. The yard was lit up by gas lanterns which threw magnified shadows of the nooses on the wall. At the other end of the enclosure was a squad of warders guarding the exit with fixed bayonets at the 'ready' and looking on at the proceedings with signs of the liveliest appreciation.

The smaller of the two men was again making a noise. He was calling on his God for strength: "Rama Rama Rama...." in endless monotony. His brother was quiet and self-possessed but I think that his mental torture was the greater. They were shoved on to the chalk-marked circles on the iron traps and immediately the feet of each were tied, nooses were placed and tightened around their necks and the black caps already on their heads were jerked down over their eyes. The Superintendent nodded, someone pulled a lever, the iron doors disappeared with a clang that reverbrated through the Jail and simultaneously the two men dropped into the pit below the ground level as lifelessly as two sacks of rice. Finish. I shut my eyes but I heard two necks snap with a loud crack like the breaking of fire-wood. Everything was hushed as two spirits sped on their eternal journey. It was all done so quickly that I could hardly realise what had happened. I looked down into the pit at the dangling things that were once life and I felt sick. I rehearsed the whole ghastly thing in my mind again. The smaller man had given a last terrified shout as he had heard the lever grating and felt the platform falling away under him "Rama Ra...." and the last syllable was choked in his throat. I remembered hearing his brother take in a sharp breath at the same time, just as one does when one suddenly dives into a cold bath. I saw the Deputy Jailor grin callously at the whole scene. I suppose one gets accustomed to this sort of thing, but a quick anger arose in me at his indelicacy and I felt I would like to knock the smile off his face. I breathed a prayer for the fleeing spirits and walked away into the darkness—my mind going round and round on what had happened.

All this has affected me more than I can explain and there seems to be a conflict going on within me. I have helped to kill two men practically in cold blood and my hands are red. I know that this has to be but it looks to me like legalised murder, butchery. If we could only live without vice, avarice, hatred, cruelty; how different everything would be. Unselfishness, understanding, and harmony would take the place of all this discord. Nineteen hundred years ago, a humble Nazarene taught: "Thou shalt not kill" but we have not learned his lesson.

At six o'clock when the sky was turning grey, two more prisoners were brought out One of them was terrified out of his wits, but the other was laughing at us with the greatest of aplomb. He asked if he might have a few words with his brother who was in the last cell and was to be hanged alone. I heard:

"I wish I could come along with you."

"There is nothing to fear, my brother, we will wait for you on the other side."

Brave fellow, and what a splendid sentiment! Once again there was a short delay while the D.M. and the D.M.O. had their chota hazri at the Superintendent's house. They came at last, refreshed and in better humour.

As the prisoners stood on the platform I noticed that the brave man stood erect and was smiling, as if determined not to let us score over him. But his brother had turned a muddy-grey colour, his lips were blue and he was trembling violently. Half a second before the lever was pulled, his knees gave under him and I think he must have died before he was killed, so to speak. I did not shut my eyes this time, so I saw exactly what happened. These went quicker than the first two. From the time they stepped on to the scaffold to the time when they dropped, no more than five seconds elapsed. I am told that this is the average timing for an execution. As they fell below the level, their necks were jerked upwards with great force and squeezed to perhaps two inches in diameter. Their heads rolled stupidly on to their chests and I wondered how they did not come right off. As I watched them, I saw one man's head twitch a few times up and down. It must have been his nerves but it looked as if he were not quite dead.

The last man was perhaps the bravest of them all. I thought that he would break down because he had asked so earnestly to be executed with the others. Perhaps his brother's words had strengthened him, for he went to his death without weakness. Just before we took him for identification, he asked the worried old

Jailor for a pinch of snuff, but he, being afraid to make a mistake in front of his superiors, refused sternly. At this the prisoner laughed and said :

"All right, Jailor Sahib, I'll come and haunt you to-night."

The Jailor hesitated no longer.

"Oh goodness, give him as much as he wants." I saw the District Magistrate hide a smile behind his handkerchief.

At the gallows, the Deputy Jailor pulled the noose too tight and the prisoner in the confusion of trying to conceal his terror, cried out :

"Oh! wait, you're choking me."

Good Lord, did he think we were playing a game? Another second and it was all over.

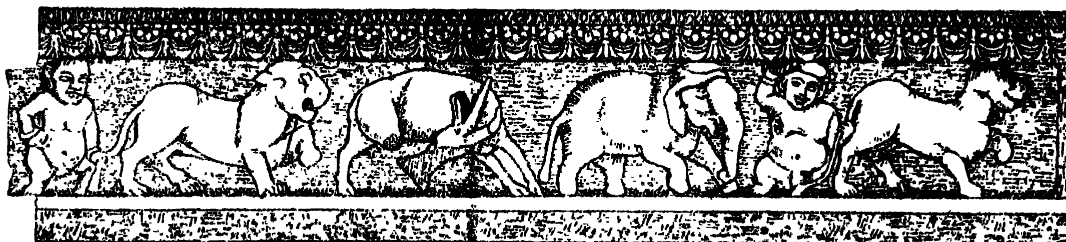
This is the first execution I have witnessed, and it has left me shaken and with half a mind to resign my post. In a debate in school, I once said that capital punishment is justifiable, but it seems that I have changed my mind and so, I think, would any one who could witness such an execution as I have just described. I feel like a murderer myself and I cannot forget the sight of those five mis-shapen corpses lying stretched out side by side; nor those sobbing women and children waiting timidly near the gates. Outside the Jail when I was returning to my bungalow, one of the women looked at me with great sad eyes in a way I shall never forget, as if to say : "What have you done to them?"

I know that all this has to be because, otherwise, society would collapse, but it does seem so primitive and, in the course of evolution, our more advanced descendants will look back upon us with horror, just as we look back upon the days when torture was a regular institution.

Before closing for the day, I must record a happening of gruesome humour :—A new Sub-Asssistant Surgeon, a little nervous man, was being put through his paces. He was taken after the execution to examine the bodies which were lying on stretchers near the gallows. While talking to the Surgeon, he happened to rest an elbow on one of the bodies. I suppose it was the imprisoned air escaping through the squeezed throat that made a loud groaning sound, but the little Doctor did not know that. He leapt into the air like a frightened cat with a ridiculous look of horror in his eyes :

"For God's sake hang him up again, he's still alive."

I am writing by the light of an oil table lamp on my verandah. Everything is still and there is no sound except the 'tuck-too" of the lizard on the railing and the endless singing of the crickets. The noisy crows have gone to bed, the stars are twinkling again in their velvet setting and far away on "Bear's" Hill, I see the little temple with its yellow light burning faithfully. It has been a confused day, but tonight all is quite and peaceful.



THE WORLD AND THE NEW YEAR

THERE is a Japanese proverb that says that the foeman should be defeated by the sight of the gleaming sword in the scabbard, once the sword is drawn half the battle is lost. The year 1936 will be known in history as the year of the gleaming swords and flashing bayonets.

In the Far-East, we have an enigma, of which the ultimate solution seems ever nearer and yet a little distance off. There is China, shorn of territory, bereft of means and torn by factions. There is Japan whose dreams are taking shape in the form of an Empire—nebulous as yet in outward form, but an empire nevertheless. There is Russia of the Soviets, no longer dreaming of world revolution, but a Russia that is straining every nerve—diplomatic as well as military—to prevent disruption of her own domains and that of her friends. Throughout 1936, there were rumours of impending war, minor clashes were of everyday occurence and there were open declarations by great personages in Russia and Japan. China is being pushed to wall, gradually but inexorably, ever new demands being put forward as old ones are being complied with. But things point to the fact that a limit is being approached, when China will fight. The position now—according to the most well-informed foreign opinion—is that China now has * "nothing more to lose by war than by abstention from war." If Japan goes further the point will be reached at which "whatever their chance of success may be, they must take it, however slight." It is true that China is not fully prepared, but still the Chinese armies under different generals are likely to unite against a common foe, and China is a land of long distances—always a serious handicap to invading forces—and vast numbers. Further the people are inured to war-conditions and some accumulation of war material has been done by now.

Russia is going on with the arming of her Far-Eastern frontier forces. Chains of fortresses are being built along the marches of Manchukuo and Outer Mongolia. Virgin lands behind the fortress lines are being turned up by the ploughs of the Russian settlers and a chain of settlements are being formed near the frontiers to act as the replenishing depots for the armed forces. Russia is thus attempting to solve the problem of extreme long hauls of war-materials, including food and fuel, from the sources of supply to the battle-front.

But is Japan going to wait till Russia has completed her defence preparations and is ready to start on a programme of aggression? Is Japan willing to wait till Chiang-Kai-Shek has united all fronts in China and is ready to launch on a desperate throw against the invader? This is the enigma, and the first move towards the solution seems to be the recent agreement between Japan and Germany. Between these two, Russia is powerless to take any action on her own initiative, and as such, unless those Powers that are now sitting on the fence decide to take definite sides, Japan is free to work her will on China. We have read a lot about the immense military strength of Russia, the countless numbers of her planes and the formidable nature of her armament, but authoritative figures show that these are not so overwhelmingly superior to that of Japan in actual numbers, and where efficiency is concerned they are in all probability a long, long way behind. Then if Russia is to withstand a simultaneous attack in West as well as in the East—as foreshadowed by the German-Japanese treaty—where does she stand? Her transport system is very poor, and she still does have to import many essentials for armament—such as aeroplane engines, heavy calibre aritllery, large quantities of chemicals, etc.—from countries to which access will be denied her in the event of such a war. Indeed as things stand, Russia can offer prolonged resistance only if two other major Powers come to her aid. No single power can venture to join issue because a third sword—that has already gleamed before the eyes of the older Powers—is probably already under covenant to the anti-communist alliance. It has been said that the present situation is a contest between the "Haves" and the "Have-nots." Two of the "Have-nots" have already gathered some fruits of their preparedness, what of the third?

* * * * * * *

In the Far-East, the situation is of an increased tension. Coming nearer India we find Siam being peacefully penetrated by the Japanese. Sometime ago we had news, under scare-headlines, of Japanese plans in Siam by which the British preparations at Singapore were to be nullified. Later on, we had a motherly

* Nathani l Peffer. *Asia*, Nov. 1936.

lecture in one of the leading English dailies of India, dispelling all fear of the bogey-man. No doubt the lecture was given in good part and the lecturer had facts on which to base his arguments. But unfortunately facts—like statistics—have a bad habit, these days, of degenerating into half-truths, and judging from the strenuous attempts at preparedness of the Dutch East Indies authorities and from the stories of long holidays taken in Siam by Japanese officers, we somehow fail to find much comfort in the wise old saw "Rumour is a lying Jade," the said article in the daily press notwithstanding. Shipping canals are not the only means to further the plans of an Empire! Next comes Singapore, on which are centred all the plans of British Imperial defence—as well as those of the Dutch Colonials. If Singapore fails, the next line of defence (naval) is in the English Channel. There is nothing else this side of Suez—or rather, this side of the Bay of Biscay.

Turning to the Near-East, which is Near-West to us, we find a very disquieting state of affairs. The Arab States, including the newly freed territory of Syria, are in a fluid condition after the unfortunate disturbances in Palestine. Never stable at the best of times, they are now totally uncertain quantities in the case of war. Added to this the Italian grip on the Red Sea Coast, which they are reported to be attempting to consolidate by arrangements with the Arabian Chiefs, renders the short sea-route to England extremely precarious.

In the Mediterranean Sea, all now depends on the exceedingly problematic issue of the Spanish Civil War. For Britain the result will be disadvantageous whichever side wins. The position eastwards from Malta is already precarious due to Italian preparations, and if Spain turns Fascist, it cannot be doubted for a moment that her relations with Italy will be of the closest. Under these circumstances, the Balearic islands, the ports on the east coast of Spain as well as those on the coast of Spanish Morocco will be at the disposal of Italy. The hills across the Bay of Algeciras and the port of Ceuta in Spanish Morocco being in the hands of Italy would render Gibraltar useless and would convert the Mediterranean into an Italian Lake. Thus the short sea-route to India would cease to function. If on the other hand the communist or Leftist party wins in Spain, it will have a negative effect on the European situation, further complicating the tangle brought about by the alliance of France with Soviet Russia. Still, that would be far less a danger to the Empire interests, and as such it is not likely that the Fascist Powers will leave any stone unturned in attempting to help the Fascist party in Spain.

About the position in Europe, it is beyond the powers of the most astute observer on the spot to foretell the portents of the present implications. But only a simpleton would believe that the tremendous preparations regarding armaments, in which whole nations have been obliged to face the extreme privations of a war-time blockade and in which the entire financial resources of Europe in general are being gambled with, would result merely in a flash in the pan.

In India the situation remains unaltered. We have the same speeches, the same plans for ruling the country, the same distribution of "specifics to cure all ills" from the Congress and Officialdom alike—the product varying of course with the source of origin—and the same confidence in Providence aided by the British Navy. So far as India is concerned, the outside world exists merely for the purpose of passports being denied or granted thereunto, and for being the object of Jeremiads delivered by the more thoughtful of Indians. We are prepared for the best, let us hope the worst will never come.

K. N. C.



Mrs. Simpson photographed for the first time, since the constitutional crisis



A group photograph of Lahore college girls who take keen interest in music
Sitting left to right: Miss Leila Bhandari, Miss Pritam Dhawan and Miss Lajjyavati Dhawan
Standing: Miss Jamna, Miss Kamla Mohan, Miss Kaumudi and Miss S. C. Chatterjee



Admiral Horthy, Regent of Hungary, visits Vatican

Notes

Conviviality and Politically-mindedness and Sainthood

The saints of India have been noted more for fasting than for feasting and conviviality. Whether Saint Andrew, the patron saint of Scotland, was famous for joviality, or whether he had a partiality for the discussion of politico-economic problems, we do not know. But as we Hindus do not associate carousals and carnivals or the discussion of worldly questions with sainthood, the appropriateness of the doings on St. Andrew's day every year has never appealed to us. Nevertheless one must face facts. And one such fact is the speech made at the annual dinner that day by some personage or other.

Autocracies and Prosperity

Speaking at the last St. Andrew's Day dinner in Calcutta the Governor of Bengal said :

> Men sometimes speak as if the urge for political self-expression and the urge for economic improvement of the masses were one and the same thing—as if the one were the necessary accompaniment of the other. It is forgotten that autocracies can give prosperity and that political freedom has often had to be bought at the cost of hardship and national poverty. The makers of the American constitution gave to the United States political unity and free institutions. It was left to the initiative of their people and the richness of their natural resources to give them prosperity. The makers of modern Russia have striven for economic prosperity under a stern dictatorship, and it remains to be seen whether political liberty will follow.

It is quite unnecessary to discuss the academic question whether "the urge for political self-expression and the urge for economic improvement of the masses were one and the same thing," nor "whether the one were the necessary accompaniment of the other." The people of India want both political self-expression and economic improvement of the masses.

It is undoubtedly true that the makers of the American constitution gave to the United States political unity and free institutions. It is also true that the prosperity of the United States is the result of the initiative of their people and the richness of their natural resources. But the makers of the American constitution were the leaders of their people themselves, not some foreigners living at a distance of 6000 miles from America. And that constitution has not provided for the deadening or discouragement of the initiative of the people but rather for evoking, encouraging and guiding the initiative of the people. Nor has that constitution provided for the exploitation of the natural resources of the United States by foreigners. On the contrary, it has helped the people to utilize those rich resources themselves for their own advantage. The people and State have identity of interests there. Hence it is that the constitution of the United States has given their people political unity instead of recognizing and giving the approval of the state to the factors that make for disunion. The United States of America are inhabited by people of numerous nationalities speaking numerous different languages and following various faiths. Their diversity in these respects is perhaps greater than in India. Had the makers of the American constitution been foreigners bent on exploiting this diversity for their own advantage, the political unity of the country would never have been brought about and recognized simultaneously with the birth of the constitution.

The stern dictatorship of the makers of modern Russia has striven not only for the economic prosperity of the Soviet Union but has only recently given that vast region the world's latest and most democratic constitution, making for "political liberty." In any case, the stern dictators were men of the people who wanted the good of the people, however despotic, cruel and mistaken their policy, measures and methods might be, as we think they in great part were : they were not foreigners ruling with an iron hand for the benefit of a distant foreign country.

As an abstract proposition we agree that "autocracies can give prosperity." But we do not admit that any foreign imperialist autocrats or bureaucrats have ever given prosperity to a country held in subjection to their native land. His Excellency will have to give exampies from past or contemporary history to convince us that an autocracy foreign to a country can give or has given prosperity to that country.

It is a commonplace of history that "political freedom has often had to be bought at the cost of hardship and national poverty." The people of India want political freedom. They are quite prepared to buy it at the cost of hardship and national poverty. In fact, those who are working for political freedom--both leaders and the rank and file—have been enduring hardship and poverty.

What British Autocracy Has Done For India's Unity and Prosperity

It may be presumed that the British rulers of India will admit that the people of India have not fought tooth and nail against the efforts of the people of Great Britain to give India political unity and free institutions. Perhaps it will also be admitted that the vast majority of politically-minded Indians have mainfested an eager desire for political unity and free institutions.

The result is, the people of Great Britain have given the people of India a constitution, based on the Communal Decision, which recognises the people of India to be, not a people, but a conglomeration of different religious communities, castes, races, sexes and occupational or economic groups. That is the degree of political unity which British autocracy has given to India in the course of well-nigh two centuries' rule. As regards free institutions, the new constitution makes the Governor-General and the Governors greater autocrats than they were ever before.

Regarding the prosperity of the country produced by British autocracy, let non-Indians speak. It may be said here incidentally that India is rich in natural resources and its people are not averse to utilizing them, nor are they lacking in initiative. And perhaps they desire prosperity. Sir William Joynson Hicks, Home Secretary in a former cabinet of Mr. Baldwin's, said in 1927 :

"We did not conquer India for the benefit of the Indians. I know it is said at missionary meetings that we conquered India to raise the level of the Indians. That is cant. We conquered India as an outlet for the goods of Great Britain. . . We hold it as the finest outlet for British goods in general and for Lancashire goods in particular."

That belief having regulated the efforts of the British autocracy to make India prosperous, the authors of the Montagu-Chelmsford Report were able to state some two decades ago in that publication that "the immense masses of the people (of India) are poor, ignorant, and helpless far beyond the standard of Europe." (Section 132). And some three years ago it was stated in the Report of the Joint Parliamentary Committee on Indian Constitutional Reform, Vol. I part 1, page 2, section 2, that in India "the average standard of living is low and can scarcely be compared even with that of the more backward countries of Europe."

India's present-day poverty strikes even those foreign visitors who spend only a few days in India. For instance, in the statement issued by Dr. N. I. van der Merwe, leader of the Free Nationalists in South Africa, after his return home from India, the following passages are to be found :

"What I saw in India made me a greater enemy than ever of British Imperialism . . . It has aped the great Moguls of the past, building a New Delhi and spending millions on it, while 70 per cent of the population are famished and over 300,000,000 are absolutely illiterate.

"Our natives in South Africa are undoubtedly much better off than 90 per cent of the population of India. In the great cities of Bombay and Calcutta thousands sleep on the streets at night because they have no accommodation. I sometimes found it difficult to walk between the sleepers without treading on one here and there.

"In the country, where 90 per cent of the population is domiciled, shocking poverty prevails. The people live mainly in mud huts, in which the most elementary health rules are unknown.

"The average income per person is estimated by the Indian Congress at less than 2*d*. per day. There is not the least hope for us to persuade many Indians to leave South Africa for India under our repatriation scheme. Those who have gone back to India have already regretted it deeply. Several implored us to allow them to return to the Union. We shall have to tackle our Indian question without giving any further thought to repatriation. . . . Together with the poverty of India, we also saw its luxury. We beheld the jewels of the Nizam of Hyderabad and ate in his palaces. In Simla we were the guests of the Viceroy. We inspected the glorious architectural works of the past, such as the Taj Mahal in Agra and the Kutub Minar in Delhi, and we often stood dumbfounded in old palaces, temples, mosques and sepulchres at the brilliance and glory of man's achievements.

"Yet India is still an unhappy country and over its vast population hangs the menacing cloud of poverty misery and ignorance."

President Jawaharlal Nehru

No one has questioned Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's ability. That he is possessed of energy

and enthusiasm in ample measure does not also admit of any doubt. He knows the history of the world from ancient times and is aware of the causes of the rise and downfall of nations. Contemporary history and current world politics have no keener student among our leaders. He can afford to and does devote all his time and energy to the service of the country. Hence it can be safely predicted that he will be able to discharge satisfactorily the duties of the high office to which his countrymen have called him for the third time.

He believes in winning independence for India. He does not believe in any halfway-house like Dominion Status—we would not ourselves, however, reject Dominion Status as a stage in the country's political progress. We do not know of any politically-minded Indian who would not have independence if it could be had. The objections which can be urged against a non-violent struggle for independence, for that is what Congress has in view, are mainly five. One is that independence cannot be won. If a man believes that it can be won, why should he not be allowed to try to win it? He does not ask and cannot compel doubters to take part in the struggle. The second objection is that it is risky. If a man is able to take the risk and does not request doubters to run any similar risk, why not let him have his way? The third is that a struggle for independence is likely to plunge the country into misery. But is the country now enjoying heavenly bliss? The fourth is that India will not be able to maintain her independence even if she becomes independent. But Congress is not asking for the boon of independence. It wants to win it. Surely people who are equal to winning independence, would be equal also to keeping it. The fifth and last is, that both the struggle for independence and independence itself, when won, will result in the loss of the friendship and help of Great Britain, which are needed in the interest of India. The reply is, neither the hostility nor the friendship of any nation is a constant factor. A nation—say the British nation—may be and is at one time friendly and at some other time inimical to another nation according to its own interests. Surely, it may be presumed that Britain will find it advantageous to herself to conclude an alliance with an India strong enough to win independence. Moreover, if Britain be not wise enough to do so, there are other strong nations with whom treaties of alliance can be concluded.

All these are problems of the future.

It has been objected that Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru is a socialist. We are not socialists ourselves. But just as he wants to remove the poverty of the masses of India, so do we. And we do not think the opinion of any objector is worth considering who does not desire a radical remedy for the galling poverty of our masses. Different men have suggested different remedies. The socialists' remedy is socialism. Those who are not socialists are welcome to apply theirs. But why denounce socialists for cherishing their opinions—particularly if the objectors cannot produce a practicable substitute?

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's Presidential Address

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's presidential address at the Faizpur session of the Indian National Congress is shorter and less comprehensive than his Lucknow presidential address. Evidently having dealt more elaborately with many of the most important international and national problems as president of the Lucknow session, he did not feel called upon to deal with them in detail again. Moreover, he has in his numerous speeches delivered since then and in the course of interviews also said much on most current topics, and the time at his disposal was also short. These facts account for the brevity of his present address. It bears a family resemblance, however, to his Lucknow address.

After expressing gratitude for his re-election and his consciousness of the onerous character of the responsibility of his high office, he said :

> Before we consider the problems that face us, we must give thought to our comrades—those who have left us during these past few months and those who languish year after year, often with no end in prospect, in prison and detention camp. . . . Two well-beloved colleagues have gone—Mukhtar Ahmad Ansari and Abbas Tyabji, the bearers of names honoured in Congress history, dear to all of us as friends and comrades, brave and wise counsellors in times of difficulty.
>
> To our comrades in prison or in detention we send greeting. Their travail continues and it grows, and only recently we have heard with horror of the suicide of three detenus who found life intolerable for them in the fair province of Bengal, whose young men and women in such large numbers live in internment without end. We have an analogy elsewhere, in Nazi Germany where concentration camps flourish and suicides are not uncommon.

After referring to the internment of Subhas Chandra Bose, he observed :

> Helplessly we watch this crushing of our men and women, but this helplessness in the present steels our resolve to end this intolerable condition of our people.

Appropriate reference was then made to the release of Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan and

M. N. Roy. References to famine, flooods and droughts and to the recent cyclone in Guntur district in a regretful vein followed, with the observations:

We may not complain of this because the elements are still largely beyond human control. But the wit of man can find a remedy for recurring floods due to known causes, and make provision for the consequences of droughts and the like, and organize adequate relief for the victims of natural catastrophes. But that wit is lacking among those who control our destinies, and our people, always living on the verge of utter destitution, can face no additional shock without going under.

In spite of the people's pre-occupation with the provincial elections, the President asked them to take heed of the terrible and fascinating drama of the world.

Our destinies are linked up with it, and our fate, like the fate of every country, will depend on the outcome of the conflicts of rival forces and ideas that are taking place everywhere. Again I would remind you that our problem of national freedom as well as social freedom is but a part of this great world problem, and to understand ourselves we must understand others also.

Even during these last eight months vast changes have come over the international situation, the crisis deepens, the rival forces of progress and reaction come to closer grips with each other, and we go at a terrific pace towards the abyss of war. In Europe fascism has been pursuing its triumphant course, speaking ever in a more strident voice, introducing an open gangsterism in international affairs. Based as it is on hatred and violence and dreams of war, it leads inevitably, unless it is checked in time, to world war. We have seen Abyssinia succumb to it; we see today the horror and tragedy of Spain.

In his opinion to understand the rapid growth of fascism in Europe one must seek a clue in British foreign policy.

This policy, in spite of its outward variations and frequent hesitations, has been one of consistent support of Nazi Germany. The Anglo-German Naval Treaty threw France into the arms of Italy and led to the rape of Abyssinia. Behind all the talk of sanctions against Italy later on, there was the refusal by the British Government to impose any effective sanction. Even when the United States of America offered to co-operate in imposing the oil sanction, Britain refused, and was content to see the bombing of Ethiopians and the breaking up of the League of Nations system of collective security. True, the British Government always talked in terms of the League and in defence of collective security, but its actions belied its words and were meant to leave the field open o fascist aggression. Nazi Germany took step after step to humiliate the League and upset the European order, and ever the British 'National' Government followed meekly in its trail and gave it its whispered blessing.

Spain came then as an obvious and final test, a democratic government assailed by a fascist-military rebellion aided by mercenary foreign troops.

Here again while fascist Powers helped the rebels the League Powers proclaimed a futile policy of non-intervention, apparently designed to prevent the Spanish democratic government from combating effectively the rebel menace.

This leads him to observe:

So we find British imperialism inclining more and more towards the fascist Powers, though the language it uses, as is its old habit, is democratic in texture and pious in tone. And because of this contradiction between words and deeds, British prestige has sunk in Europe and the world, and is lower today than it has ever been for many generations.

So in the world today these two great forces strive for mastery—those who labour for democratic and social freedom and those who wish to crush this freedom under imperialism and fascism. In this struggle Britain, though certainly not the mass of the British people, inevitably joins the ranks of reaction. And the struggle today is fiercest and clearest in Spain, and on the outcome of that depends war or peace in the world in the near future, fascist domination or the scorching of fascism and imperialism.

After saying that that struggle has many lessons for us, he points out that

most important of these is the failure of the democratic process in resolving basic conflicts and introducing vital changes to bring social and economic conditions in line with world conditions. That failure is not caused by those who desire or work for these changes. They accept the democratic method, but when this method threatens to affect great vested interests and privileged classes, these classes refuse to accept the democratic process and rebel against it. For them democracy means their own domination and the protection of their special interest. When it fails to do this, they have no further use for it and try to break it up.

He reverts to the tragedy in Spain.

In Spain today our battles are being fought and we watch this struggle not merely with the sympathy of friendly outsiders, but with the painful anxiety of those who are themselves involved in it. We have seen our hopes wither and a blank despair has sometimes seized us at this tragic destruction of Spain's manhood and womanhood. But in the darkest moments the flame that symbolizes the hope of Spanish freedom has burnt brightly and proclaimed to the world its eventual triumph. So many have died, men and women, boys and girls, that the Spanish Republic may live and freedom might endure. We see in Spain, as so often elsewhere, the tragic destruction of the walls of the citadel of freedom. How often they have been lost and then retaken, how often destroyed and rebuilt.

I wish, and many of you will wish with me, that we could give some effective assistance to our comrades in Spain, something more than sympathy, however deeply felt. The call for help has come to us from those sorely stricken people and we cannot remain silent to that appeal. And yet I do not know what we can do in our helplessness . . .

So, in order to understand a little the complicated picture of the world today, he has stressed the organic connection between world events.

In Europe, as in the Far East, there is continuous trouble, and everywhere there is ferment. The Arab struggle against British imperialism in Palestine is as much part of this great world conflict as India's struggle for freedom. Democracy and fascism, nationalism and

imperialism, socialism and a decaying capitalism, combat each other in the world of ideas, and this conflict develops on the material plane and bayonets and bombs take the place of votes in the struggle for power. Changing conditions in the world demand a new political and economic orientation and if this does not come soon, there is friction and conflict. Gradually this leads to a revolution in the minds of men and this seeks to materialise, and every delay in this change-over leads to further conflict. The existing equilibrium having gone, giving place to no other, there is deterioration, reaction, and disaster. It is this disaster that faces us in the world today and war on a terrible scale is an ever present possibility. Except for the fascist Powers every country and people dreads this war and yet they all prepare for it feverishly, and in doing so they line up on this side or that. The middle groups fade out or, ghost-like, they flit about, unreal, disillusioned, self-tortured, ever-doubting. That has been the fate of the old liberalism everywhere, though in India perhaps those who call themselves Liberals, and others who think in their way, have yet to come out of the fog of complacency that envelops them. But we

"Move with new desires.
For where we used to build and love
Is no man's land, and only ghosts can live
Between two fires."

What are these new desires?

The wish to put an end to this mad world system which breeds war and conflict and which crushes millions; to abolish proverty and unemployment and release the energies of vast numbers of people and utilise them for the progress and betterment of humanity; to build where today we destroy. During the past eight months I have wandered a great deal in this vast land of ours and I have seen again the throbbing agony of India's masses, the call of their eyes for relief from the terrible burdens they carry. That is our problem; all others are secondary and merely lead up to it. To solve that problem we shall have to end the imperialistic control and exploitation of India. But what is this imperialism of today? It is not merely the physical possession of one country by another; its roots lie deeper. Modern imperialism is an outgrowth of capitalism and cannot be separated from it.

It is because of this that we cannot understand our problems without understanding the implications of imperialism and socialism. The disease is deep-seated and requires a radical and revolutionary remedy and that remedy is the socialist structure of society.

The President then observed that the immediate struggle before India was not for the introduction of socialism but for full democracy —the establishment of a democratic state.

And because of this, the Congress must line up with all the progressive forces of the world and must stand for world peace. Recently there has taken place in Europe a significant development in the peace movement. The World Peace Congress, held at Brussels in September last, brought together numerous mass organizations on a common platform and gave an effective lead for peace.... I trust that the Congress will associate itself fully with the permanent peace organization that is being built up and assist with all its strength in this great task....For us, and we think for the world, the problem of peace cannot be separated from imperialism, and in order to remove the root causes of war, imperialism must go. The problem of maintaining peace cannot be isolated by us, in our present condition, from war resistance. The Congress has already declared that we can be no parties to an imperialist war, and we will not allow the exploitation of India's man power and resources for such a war. Any such attempt will be resisted by us.

We are also against India's participation in any imperialist war. But is the Indian National Congress against all fighting? It has never been clear to us what would be the attitude of that body if a foreign power attacked India, (1) under her present subject condition, and (2) when independent.

Pandit Jawaharlal has no enthusiasm for the League of Nations, nor have we. But as we have to pay for it, we should try to derive as much advantage from it as possible,—in non-political matters, for example.

With this international background in view, the Pandit has considered our national problems India's new constitution, the Congress election manifesto, the object of congressmen going to the legislatures—not to co-operate with imperialism but to combat the new Government of India Act and to end it, are some of the topics dealt with in his address.

He is against seeking a majority at any cost.

The elections must be used to rally the masses to the Congress standard, to carry the message of the Congress to the millions of voters and non-voters alike, to press forward the mass struggle. The biggest majority in a legislature will be of little use to us if we have not got this mass movement behind us, and a majority built on compromises with reactionary groups or individuals will defeat the very purpose of the Congress.

The other object of going to the legislatures is to stress the positive demand for a Constituent Assembly elected under adult suffrage.

This assembly must not be conceived as something emanating from the British Government or as a compromise with British imperialism. If it is to have any reality, it must have the will of the people behind it and the organized strength of the masses to support it, and the powers to draw up the constitution of a free India. We have to create that mass support for it through these elections and later through our other activities.

With respect to the Convention of all Congress members of all the legislatures and the members of the All-India Congress Committee which has been proposed to be called soon after the elections, the President says:

It will prevent the Congress members of the legislatures from developing provincialism and getting entangled in minor provincial matters. It will give them the right perspective and a sense of all India discipline, and it should help greatly in developing mass activities on a large scale.

We, too, dislike provincialism. We, too, like the development of mass activities on a large scale. "A sense of all India discipline"

is good. But who is to decide what are major and what are minor provincial matters? We are not Congressmen. But we know a little of how Bengal has been faring under all India discipline, and we dread it.

We hope no Congressman considers the Communal Decision, Crimes Against Women, and Detention without Trial, and the like minor provincial matters. In Bengal at any rate he who will not fight against the Communal Decision will be considered a traitor to democracy and Indian nationalism, he who will not fight crimes against women will be execrated as an enemy of humanity, and he who is not a sworn enemy of detention without trial is an enemy of civic and political liberty.

Next to this demand for the Constituent Assembly, "our most important task will be to oppose the Federal structure of the Act."

Utterly bad as the Act is, there is nothing so bad in it as this Federation and so we must exert ourselves to the utmost to break this, and thus end the Act as a whole. To live not only under British imperialist exploitation but also under Indian feudal control, is something that we are not going to tolerate whatever the consequences. It is an interesting and instructive result of the long period of British rule in India that when, as we are told, it is trying to fade off, it should gather to itself all the reactionary and obscurantist groups in India, and endeavour to hand partial control to the feudal elements.

The development of this federal scheme is worthy of consideration. We are not against the conception of a federation. It is likely that a free India may be a federal India, though in any event there must be a great deal of unitary control. But the present federation that is being thrust upon us is a federation in bondage and under the control, politically and socially, of the most backward elements in the country.

Among the most backward elements in the country are the feudal elements—the Indian States.

The Indian States will have to fit into the scheme of a free India and their peoples must have, as the Congress has declared, the same personal, civil and democratic liberties as those of the rest of India.

Till recent years little was heard of the treaties of the States or of paramountcy. The rulers knew their proper places in the imperial scheme of things and the heavy hand of the British Government was always in evidence. But the growth of the national movement in India gave them a fictitious importance, for the British Government began to rely upon them more and more to help it in combating this nationalism. The rulers and their ministers were quick to notice the change in the angle of vision and to profit by it. They tried to play, not without success, the British Government and the Indian people against each other and to gain advantages from both. They have succeeded to a remarkable degree and have gained extraordinary power under the federal scheme. Having preserved themselves as autocratic units, which are wholly outside the control of the rest of India, they have gained power over other parts of India. Today we find them talking as if they were independent and laying down conditions for their adherence to the Federation. There is talk even of the abolition of the viceregal paramountcy, so that these States may remain, alone in the whole world, naked and unchecked autocracies, which cannot be tampered with by any constitutional means. A sinister development is the building up of the armies of some of the bigger States on an efficient basis.

Thus our opposition to the federal part of the Constitution Act is not merely a theoretical one, but a vital matter which affects our freedom struggle and our future destiny. We have got to make it a central pivot of our struggle against the Act. We have got to break this Federation.

The policy of the Congress is to put an end to the Act and have a clean slate to write afresh. The Pandit says he knows that

The Constitution cannot be wrecked by action inside the legislatures only. For that, mass action outside is necessary, and that is why we must always remember that the essence of our freedom struggle lies in mass organization and mass action.

He observes that the policy of the Congress in regard to the legislatures is perfectly clear except in the matter of acceptance or not of office. And, as in his Lucknow presidential address, so in this, he makes it quite clear that he is against acceptance of office, as in his opinion it would mean a reversal of Congress policy. He gives convincing reasons for his opinion.

Whether we are in a majority or in a minority, the real thing will always be the organized mass backing behind us. A majority without that backing can do little in the legislatures, even a militant minority with conscious and organized mass support can make the functioning of the Act very difficult.

There is a tendency among some Congressmen to belittle the work and worth of Congress workers before the days of Non-co-operation. But in his Lahore presidential address he paid a well-merited tribute to these workers. In the present address, too, he says of the Congress that

It started in a small way with a gallant band of pioneers, but even then it represented a historic force and it drew to itself the goodwill of the Indian people.

A brief general survey of the growth of the Congress in its representative character follows the above statement.

Two years ago radical changes were made in the constitution again at Gandhiji's instance. One of these was the fixation of the number of delegates according to membership, a change which has given a greater reality to our elections and strengthened us organizationally. But still our organizational side lags far behind the great prestige of the Congress, and there is a tendency for our committees to function in the air, cut off from the rank and file.

It was partly to remedy this that the Mass Contacts resolution was passed by the Lucknow Congress. . . . We have to democratise the Congress still further.

Several means and methods have been discussed in the address for making the Congress

fully representative of the masses without the swamping of the Congress by the politically backward elements.

We desire very much that the Congress should be in contact with the mass of the people and be also representative of them. With a view to the attainment of this object we urge again the essential importance of mass literacy, though we are afraid Congress leaders will brush it aside as a reformist's suggestion. They have practically neglected this problem of mass literacy for well-nigh two decades.

The President says:

The real object before us is to build up a powerful joint front of all the anti-imperialist forces in the country. The Congress has indeed been in the past, and is today, such a united popular front, and inevitably the Congress must be the basis and pivot of united action. The active participation of the organized workers and peasants in such a front would add to its strength and must be welcomed. Co-operation between them and the Congress organization has been growing and has been a marked feature of the past year. This tendency must be encouraged. The most urgent and vital need of India today is this united national front of all forces and elements that are ranged against imperialism. Within the Congress itself most of these forces are represented, and in spite of their diversity and difference in outlook, they have co-operated and worked together for he common good. That is a healthy sign both of the vitality of our great movement and the unity that binds it together.

The President has spoken of co-operation with those within the Congress. But should not and cannot there be co-operation with those members of the middle-class intelligentsia also who are not within the Congress but are anti-imperialists and seek freedom?

We come now to some of the concluding paragraphs of the address:

These are the objectives before us, but we cannot ignore the present day realities and the day to day problems of our people. These ever-present realities are the poverty and unemployment of our millions, appalling poverty and an unemployment which has even the middle classes in its grip and grows like a creeping paralysis.

As I write, a great railway strike is in progress. For long the world of railway workers has been in ferment because of retrenchment and reduction in wages and against them is the whole power of the State. The workers in our country have yet to gain elementary rights; they have yet to have an eight hour day and unemployment insurance and a guaranteed living wage.

But a vaster and more pressing problem is that of the peasantry, for India is essentially a land of the peasants.

In recognition of this fact, and to bring the Congress nearer to the peasant masses, we are meeting here today at the village of Faizpur and not, as of old, in some great city. The Lucknow Congress laid stress on this land problem and called on the Provincial Committees to frame agrarian programmes. The crushing burden of debt on the agricultural classes has led to a widespread cry for a moratorium and a substantial liquidation of debt. Yet it is highly doubtful if this problem can be solved piecemeal and without changing completely the land system.

The development of industry, both large-scale and cottage, is needed in order to give work to our scores of millions of unemployed and raise the pitiful standards of our people.

That again is connected with so many other things - education, housing, roads and transport, sanitation, medical relief, social services, etc. Industry cannot expand properly because of the economic and financial policy of the Government which, in the name of Imperial Preference, encourages British manufactures in India, and works for the profit of Big Finance in the City of London. The currency ratio continues in spite of persistent Indian protest; gold has been pouring out of India continuously now for five years at a prodigious rate, though all India vehemently opposes this outflow. And the new Act tells us that we may do nothing which the Viceroy or the Governor might consider as an unfair discrimination against British trade or commercial interests. The old order may yield place to the new but British interests are safe and secure.

Of the problems with which the President has dealt in his address he says:

And so one problem runs into another and all together form that vast complex that is India today. Are we going to solve this by petty tinkering and patchwork with all manner of vested interests obstructing us and preventing advance? Only a great planned system for the whole land and dealing with all these various national activities, coordinating them, making each serve the larger whole and the interests of the mass of our people, only such a planned system with vision and courage to back it, can find a solution. But planned systems do not flourish under the shadow of monopolies and vested interests and imperialist exploitation. They require the air and soil of political and social freedom.

These are distant goals for us today though the rapid march of events may bring us face to face with them sooner than we imagine. The immediate goal—independence—is nearer and more definite. . . . . .

He thinks,

We are apparently weak, not really so. We grow in strength, the Empire of Britain fades away. Because we are politically and economically crushed, our civil liberties taken away, hundreds of our organizations made illegal, thousands of our young men and women always kept in prison or in detention camp, our movements continually watched by hordes of secret servicemen and informers, our spoken word taken down, lest it offend the law of sedition, because of all this and more we are not weaker but stronger, for all this intense repression is the measure of our growing national strength. If war comes or other great crisis, India's attitude will make a difference. We hold the keys of success in our hands if we but turn them rightly. And it is the increasing realization of this that has swept away the defeatist mentality of our people.

He concludes with the heartening words:

We shall march on, with danger and distress as companions. We have long had these for our fellow travellers and we have grown used to them. And when we have learnt how to dominate them, we shall also know how to dominate success.

Speeches of India's Political Leaders

The material aspect of the deplorable condition of India looms large in this presidential address. We do not say or in the least suggest that it looms too large. But we cannot but feel that too little has been said in it—too little is said in other similar addresses—of India's intellectual and moral poverty, not to speak of her spiritual benightedness. Material advancement is not possible without intellectual progress, and material advancement and intellectual progress are beneficial only in combination with moral uplift and spiritual awakening.

Europe has made great intellectual progress. Not all people in that continent are immoral or non-moral and spiritually poor. But its progress in science and mechanical invention have outstripped its moral and spiritual growth. That is why, though it is materially prosperous and in great part politically free, collapse of its civilization is apprehended. India should beware of making material prosperity its sole chief aim.

The Agrarian Problem in India

The vast majority of the people of India depend on agriculture for their livelihood. So the land problem is the most important and vital economic problem in India. Whether separately for some province or other, or for India as a whole, it has engaged the attention of India's public workers off and on. But it has not yet been solved in the country as a whole or in any province. Further delay in its solution will mean prolongation of the misery of our peasantry, who are the backbone of the nation. It is not that no cultivators of the soil in India are well-off. Some are. But most are not, whereas all should be and must be. The attention which the Indian National Congress has been bestowing on the problem is good news.

The problem should be clearly and thoroughly understood in order that it may be properly solved. The series of articles which we are publishing in this number of *The Modern Review* and the next will, it is hoped, help the reader to grasp it.

" An Appeal of Romain Rolland "

Elsewhere the reader will find " An Appeal of Romain Rolland " which M. Francis Jourdain of the World Committee Against War and Fascism has sent to the editor of *The Modern Review* with the covering letter printed below.

1st *December*, 1936.

Ramananda Chatterji Esq.,
" Modern Review,"
Calcutta.

DEAR FRIEND,

We are enclosing herewith an eloquent appeal addressed to the conscience of the world by Romain Rolland.

We feel sure that you will associate yourself with this appeal and therefore we make so bold as to ask you to send us a few lines expressing your opinion on the terrible bombardment which the civilian population in Madrid has endured already for so many days.

We attach particularly great value to such a personal declaration from you. Its publication in the press and particularly in Spain will be an important testimony to world opinion and a mark of solidarity with the Spanish people.

Thanking you in anticipation,

Yours sincerely,
FOR THE WORLD COMMITTEE AGAINST
WAR AND FASCISM
P. P. FRANCIS JOURDAIN.

We have sent M. Jourdain our personal declaration.

Personally we feel and all those sons of the soil in India who can understand the news from Spain feel that the Spanish Government and its troops have been fighting the battle of the people and of democracy all over the world. It is with horror we read Spanish news. Every success won by the Government troops we hail as our success. News of their failure or repulse anywhere we read with a feeling of depression. Our sympathies are entirely with the defenders of Spain. We grieve that we are helpless and can do nothing more for Spain than express sympathy.

Ex-King Edward VIII

One of the handicaps of a monthly reviewer is that he has sometimes to comment on stale news. But it cannot be entirely avoided.

One such stale item of news is the abdication of King Edward VIII and all that led up to it.

That a man who happens to be King of England cannot entirely have his own way in such a supremely personal matter as marriage cannot make one an admirer of monarchy in general or of monarchy in England.

It is unnecessary for us to discuss the constitutional question whether the British King can contract a morganatic marriage. But in the abstract we feel that a morganatic marriage

is derogatory and unjust to the woman with whom a man contracts such a marriage.

We do not take it for granted that, merely because Mrs. Simpson has divorced two former husbands, she is a very inferior specimen of womanhood. But neither can it be assumed that she is the sort of woman fit to be made an ideal heroine of. What one feels is that Edward VIII should have avoided cultivating such familiarity with a married woman whose husband was alive as gave rise to all the stories, wholly or partly true or false, originally published in American newspapers.

Perhaps Edward VIII could have married Mrs. Simpson against the opinion and advice of Mr. Baldwin and his Cabinet and all the "Old Guards" and the Anglican Church, instead of abdicating or being obliged to abdicate: for what news from British sources and extracts from British newspapers we have read have led us to conclude that he was popular with the commonalty and that the common people were by no means against his marrying Mrs. Simpson. But perhaps he wanted to avoid civil commotion—something like a civil war—and that particularly at a time when war might or may break out at any time, and so thought it best to abdicate.

When he had to choose between continuing to occupy the throne of the largest empire in the world and marrying the woman of his choice whom he had given his word of honour to marry, that he chose the latter course, shows that he is a gentleman and a man of honour—not a cad. We respect him for this choice of his, though we do not admire his choice of a bride. Those British newspapers which have accused him of "obstinacy" or of not being of the right kingly stuff, *after his abdication,* only show of what poor stuff their conductors are made.

Though King Edward abdicated on the sole published ground that he wanted to be free to marry the woman of his choice, probably there were other considerations which weighed with him. Others knew and perhaps he too felt that he was too democratic and unconventional a person to be fit to be the King of a toryism-ridden and snobbish Britain. And also perhaps he was conscious of the fact that he had too much individuality and a will of his own to be a *constitutional monarch,* which in England means a monarch who is a rubber stamp of the Cabinet. Both these characteristics of Edward VIII became manifest during his visit to the depressed area in Wales, when he appears to have mixed with the people as one of them and wanted things to be done for them which were a sort of censure on the ministry.

Much has appeared in the papers about Mrs. Simpson, which we have had no time and perhaps not sufficient inclination either, to read. But one thing we have read and that is that she offered to retire from the situation, which means that she was ready to release Edward VIII from his promise to marry her, if that would enable him to remain on the throne and help Britain to tide over the constitutional crisis. That was a noble thing for her to do, for which she is entitled to praise. That Edward VIII did not take advantage of this declaration of Mrs. Simpson put his sense of honour to the test. And it stood the test.

Whether Mrs. Simpson would prove worthy of so great a sacrifice on the part of Edward VIII, it would not be possible now to foretell. She had spent years of conjugal life with two former husbands and then got separated from them. Whether these two husbands alone were to blame for the divorce, we do not know. Whether the glamour of sharing the throne of the greatest empire in the world was solely, mainly or partly that which drew her to Edward VIII while she was still another man's wife, we do not know. Nor do we know the details of her second divorce to judge whether the ex-King was to any extent directly or indirectly responsible for it. For Edward VIII and for her one can only hope that after her third marriage she would prove constant, faithful and dutiful, so that the ex-King of Britain may be able to play in peace of mind that part in the world which he is fit to play.

The Archbishop of Canterbury and Edward VIII

After the abdication of Edward VIII, the Archbishop of Canterbury has come out with a statement which has the form of a lamentation but is in reality a condemnation and denunciation of Edward VIII. This has struck us as not only unseemly but, if we may be pardoned the use of the expression, somewhat cowardly too. It is not only the Archbishop of Canterbury who has betrayed this unlovely trait but some other Britishers also—who are journalists or publicists of some other kind. When the eldest son of the late King George V ascended the throne and became known as Edward VIII, the vocal portion of the British public had nothing but praise for him—and fulsome praise, too. We are not in a position to say whether he was or was not worthy of such

praise. But it is certain that some at least of those who praised him were insincere in their praise. And some of those who were then afraid of saying anything against him have now come out with words of dispraise.

In the opinion of the Archbishop of Canterbury the ex-King's marriage with Mrs. Simpson would be against "Christian principles." But various branches of the Christian Church reform and reclaim even prostitutes and get them married. Evidently that is not against Christian principles. Surely divorcees are not worse than prostitutes.

In abdicating the throne Edward VIII omitted one of his titles, namely, "Defender of the Faith," and it is said he had previously expressed his opinion that he was King not only of Christians of the Anglican Church but of the members of other denominations in England also. And he did not conform, too, to the practices of Church-goers.

All this must have given offence to the Archbishop and other clergymen of his way of thinking.

Aden Salt

Aden salt enjoys the privilege of preferential tariff. This has not been of advantage to the salt industry of India as a whole. But so long as Aden technically formed part of the Bombay Presidency and therefore of India a specious plea could be advanced in favour of such preferential tariff. As the Government of India Act of 1935 has separated Aden from India, it has become technically as well as in reality foreign territory. Why then continue the preferential tariff ?

Poidih Colliery Disaster

The unparalleled Poidih colliery disaster which has caused the death of more than 200 persons is the fifth of these terrible accidents. It may not be possible to entirely prevent all such accidents. But surely some at least of these disasters could have been prevented by due forethought and care. Britishers claim to be very much more efficient than Indians. Why then do so many calamitous accidents happen in collieries under British management ?

De Jure and De Facto Recognition of Italian Conquest of Abyssinia

It is not yet ancient history that Mr. Anthony Eden told the British House of Commons that Britain would not accord *de jure* recognition to Italy's conquest of Abyssinia. But Britain is going to convert her legation in the Abyssinian capital into a consulate. That is *de facto* recognition. And there is also the understanding between Britain and Italy as regards the maintenance of the maritime status quo in the Mediterranean. So the present *de facto* recognition may be expected to be followed early by *de jure* recognition also. Which kind of recognition is better and which matters most, need not be discussed.

"Shabby and Stupid Treatment Accorded to" Edward VIII

LONDON, DEC. 24.

"Reuter" understands that Mr. Lloyd George, who is now in Jamaica, has sent the following message to the Duke of Windsor :--

"Best Christmas greetings from old minister of crown, who holds you in as high esteem as ever and regards you with deep loyal affection, deplores the shabby and stupid treatment accorded to you, resents the mean and unchivalrous attack upon you and regrets the loss sustained by the British Empire of a monarch, who sympathised with the lowest of his subjects."—*Reuter.*

Congress Socialist Conference Resolutions

On the 24th December last the Congress Socialist Conference at Faizpur passed several resolutions, three of which are printed below.

The third resolution assured the Bengal Nagpur Railway strikers full sympathy of the Conference and assured them that the All-India Socialist Conference was at one with them in their legitimate attempt to get their longstanding grievances redressed.

The fourth resolution protested against the search without warrant of the delegates to the Conference from Bengal and condemned the action of the police.

Another resolution passed by the Conference regarding general strike on the 1st of April is worded as follows: "In order to demonstrate effectively the will of the Indian people to resist the imposition of an unwanted constitution as an earnest of their determination to launch a powerful mass movement for its destruction, the Conference issues a call for a nation-wide hartal or general strike on April 1, the day on which the constitution is to be inaugurated and urges upon the Congress to take the lead in the matter and make the hartal effective."

The Police at Faizpur

When there is such a vast concourse of people at Faizpur and of politically-minded people, too, the police must, of course, make their presence felt there—though in spite of their existence and their powers dacoities and crimes against women continue to be committed in shameful numbers. And how did they make their presence felt at Faizpur? By harassing, for instance, five delegates from Bengal, though neither the Congress nor the Socialist Conference has been declared unlawful by the Government. The delegates were detained for about two hours, their belongings were

searched and some literature was seized which proved unincriminating on examination. When they protested, they were impudently told by the police that they could take legal proceedings if they liked.

Task of Future Provincial Ministers to Prove Their Capacity

Recently the Governor of Sind said that if the coming constitution proved a failure, the people, the legislatures and the ministers would be to blame—not, of course, the constitution itself or its framers !

Similarly, when in welcoming the Viceroy to Calcutta the Bengal National Chamber observed with reference to the problems of agriculture and rural economy that these had acquired their present dimensions and complexity "partly because in the past, when better times prevailed and offered better opportunities for solution, adequate measures were not instituted." In reply to the Chamber's address of welcome the Viceroy said: "Heavy as the task (of solving these problems) is, its very burden will be the test of the capacity of those to whom it has been transferred," namely, the ministers! Verily the Governor-General and the Governors think and speak alike—as, of course, they must!

Viceroy Speaks on Matters Economic

His Excellency the Viceroy's speech, in reply to an address from the Indian Chamber of Commerce, Calcutta, summarises his opinions on certain important economic issues. Apart from Cattle Improvement, he referred to Cottage Industries, Unemployment, Protection and the Rupee-Sterling Ratio. About the vital importance of the development of cottage industries, the Viceroy said,

> I am in entire agreement with you in holding that the development of cottage industries is a direction in which further and valuable progress can be made. But such study as I have been able to make of the experience in this field of other countries as well as of our own, convinces me that the rapid expansion of cottage industries can never be easy of achievement, for the problems to be solved in connection therewith—particularly that of securing a profitable outlet for the products of such industries—are notoriously difficult of solution. Happily, however, there already exists in India a solid foundation on which to build; and I am glad to observe in many quarters a determination to promote wherever practicable the establishment of cottage industries.

In a land in which cottages preponderate over big buildings and small groups of men and women live in scattered communities, any question of utilising the industrial potentiality of the nation to the fullest must of necessity depend upon the development of the small productive unit. Large scale marketing, transport and finance, naturally look for centralised production and supply. In other lands these factors have taken their modern shape in answer to the development of supplies. In India these have been presupposed by an order of things which clings to a bias for centralization for its survival. The result has been, that, in order to suit the production to the mechanism of distribution, local sources have always been overlooked, and centralized supplies from far away industrial centres or overseas given the preference. Until we agree to rebuild our notions of commerce, trade, transport and commercial finance, we are afraid, India will go on exchanging raw materials produced by one section of the community for goods produced far away, thus keeping the other section unemployed for want of a market for what they could produce. If every District Board could prohibit or put a duty upon the importation of a good number of articles which could be easily produced by the inhabitants of the district, cottage industries would rapidly grow and prosper. Such articles as common textiles, foodstuff, butter, ghee, oil, furniture, locks, umbrellas, boots and shoes, cooking utensils, plates, dishes, matches, coarser implements, toys, etc. etc. are good examples. Large scale industries and their financial and other organizational counterparts have their own useful place in the economy of a nation. But where the strong arm of giant enterprise attempts to snatch at everything, one may legitimately call it a grievance.

Regarding unemployment, which in the villages is almost entirely due to the piracy of commerce, the Viceroy said,

> The problem of unemployment is, as you are as well aware as I am, one the solution of which calls for the united endeavour of us all. The difficulties are great; but I am glad to think that already some advance has been made, and no one can fail to be impressed by the readiness—indeed the anxiety, of all classes of the community to assist. The Presidency of Bengal has particularly distinguished itself by the initiative and the energy which it has displayed in dealing with this most important question. The development of small size industries is one valuable way by which we can assist in dealing with this problem, and I am glad to think that that method of approach has been tried, and as I understand it, with marked success in this Presidency.

The compliment paid to Bengal is certainly well meant; but we are not at all sure that Bengal has tackled the problem of unemployment very successfully. In no other province, perhaps, are there so many unemployed people. The problem is particularly distressing in this province on account of the large percentage of

educated persons who are without any means of earning a living. A large percentage of persons in employment in Bengal are recruited from outside Bengal. Where such people obtain a foothold in the economic life of Bengal by their own efforts or by rendering some service which the people of the province are incapable of rendering, one has not much to say. But where they are brought in by agencies with a purpose contrary to the well-being of the people of the province, one may condemn such a policy. His Excellency the Viceroy may well scrutinize the affairs of Bengal, with particular reference to this aspect of the problem.

Indiscriminate protection is not good. The Viceroy said,

> On the question of protection I would say only that I am, I think, right in holding the view that there is a growing recognition among Indian industrialists of the fact that protection, if sufficient discrimination is not exercised, may produce unfortunate effects, and that it is unwise to over-estimate the potentialities which it offers for the reduction of unemployment.

Protection must be based on sound economic planning. It must be for the benefit of the nation, and not for increasing the dividends of particular groups of concerns. There must also be direct encouragement from the State and public bodies to put the infant industries on their legs. This encouragement should be given where the new industries absorb and utilise any national surplus of labour and resources.

The idea of key industries has not yet taken proper shape in India. Such supplies as are of vital importance for the safety and well-being of the nation, should be obtainable from within the country. Mere raising of the price of foreign products by protective duties alone may not always help in the case of vital industries. Training of workers, experimental factories, research etc., should be arranged by the State on a suitable scale.

The Rupee-Sterling Ratio is a settled question, as is evident from His Excellency's words.

> Currency policy is a matter on which different views may be held by different people, and with honest conviction on both sides. But it is also a question as to which it is well that the public in this country and the business community in particular should be fully seized of the policy and intentions of Government. As I recently indicated in reply to the Madras Currency League, the position is that in our considered view there is no case for reopening the question of the rupee ratio; and furthermore it is my duty to tell you with the utmost plainness that there is not the least likelihood of that view being modified.

If the Rupee is made cheaper it will help Indians to sell more goods to foreigners and hamper the foreigner in his sales to Indians. It will not be an unmixed blessing to all Indians; for some must purchase some foreign goods, *e.g.*, machinery, chemicals, dyes etc. But for the general mass of Indians a cheaper Rupee should not be a curse.

Of course a steady and fixed ratio is always better than a changing one.

A. C.

Japan Buying Indian Iron

The following press report which appeared recently would interest the Indian public.

> TOKIO, DEC. 20.
>
> Abandoning their dependence upon supplies of Soviet pig iron, Japanese iron manufacturing companies are planning to import Indian pig iron to replace Soviet iron, of which 800,000 tons was imported into Japan during the current year.
>
> Leading members of Commerce Ministry have held a conference in regard to the steps to cope with the dearth of pig iron. The ministry estimates Japanese demands for pig iron in 1937 at 3,600,000 metric tons and for steel at 4,650,000 metric tons, being increases of 300,000 and 500,000 metric tons, respectively, compared with the current year.—*Reuter.*

Those who look to the bright side of things would find in the above news hopes of better wages and increased employment for Indian labour. Perhaps also higher dividends for the shareholders of Indian Companies producing pig iron. Those who are by nature pessimistic of good luck coming from foreign sources, would say that this will increase the dividends, but would not improve the condition of the workers. Moreover, what is obtained at the cost of Russian trade, may again be lost owing to a similar change of mind at Tokio at some future date. If the organisation of the Indian pig iron industry follows a policy of expansion in the expectation of a steady demand from Japan; if and when the demand fell the resulting losses would perhaps fully counterbalance the present profits. Large scale international trade is healthy and profitable only when engendered by a natural demand. Where diplomatic policy interferes with the natural flow of commerce, the usual outcome is large scale unemployment, financial crises or war sooner or later.

A. C.

Dr. Van der Merwe on India

Dr. Van der Merwe who toured India for a short period as a member of the Hofmeyr delegation from South Africa has earned the displeasure of his white neighbours for uttering a condemnation of British Imperialism in India. He said that British Imperialism in this country has caused impoverishment as far as the masses were concerned and has done good

to only "an army of officials and soldiers." Whether his opinion is based on truth or not is a question which demands no answer from us. For we have discussed the different aspects of the question in these columns during long years, and our readers are fully capable of forming their own opinions on this subject. The fact, however, that a member of a race, which is not famous for its love of brown or black skins, has found cause to criticise British Imperialism, is worthy of note. Some may say that he has been unfair and that British Imperialism has been an unmixed blessing to the peoples of India. To them we may suggest that the question is one which can be answered by facts and not by passionate assertions or denials. Should not such supporters of Imperialism appoint a committee of impartial experts to study the question in all details and submit their findings in the form of a report? There are many persons, famed as historians and economists in the different Universities of the world. Some of them could be induced to undertake the work. But the point is, supposing they condemned Imperialism on grounds of sound economic principles. What then? Should one expect that Imperialism would be conscience striken and go into "voluntary liquidation?"

A. C.

Poidih Colliery Disaster

The daily press has reported the terrible disaster at Poidih Colliery in all detail. 208 persons have been buried alive out of whom about 68 were women. Where even superior officers run the risk of death along with their humble subordinates, one may perhaps rule out the suspicion of any flagrant negligence on the part of the superiors. But there are such things as faulty methods of work and insufficient expenditure of money for setting up a machinery for maximum safety. Very often such matters are controlled and guided by men in power who sit at a safe distance. The increasing number of mining tragedies demand a proper enquiry by competent men. The colliery concerned is a highly prosperous one and one may legitimately claim that at least for such concerns the provisions for maximum safety are not impossible to make. It is no use entering into idle controversies. Unless a proper enquiry is instituted, all criticism and exoneration are futile.

A. C.

All India Muslim Students' Federation

We congratulate the Muslim Students of the Lucknow University on their open declaration regarding the proposed All India Muslim Students' Federation. Communalism is reprehensible on account of its evil influence upon the growth of healthy nationalism. That some persons of advanced age calculate all national values after discounting the same in the light of communal greed and ambition is bad enough. But as all emotions arising out of calculation are by nature weak, the communalism of the middle aged and the old, seldom reflect genuine passions. It would, however be a very bad thing if the poison of disunion were absorbed by younger minds. Ever since the dawn of Indian Nationalism we have been hoping for a new generation of men and women, who would be free from our time honoured jealousies, conflict of interests, consciousness of imaginary differences, and similar mental traits which have worked our national degradation during the last few centúries. Unfortunately, that psychological purification has not yet been revealed in us. But we go on hoping. That is why when we hear of young men thinking in terms of what we want buried, we feel particularly disappointed. Once we were informed of certain Brahmin undergraduates who refused to occupy the same benches with their non-Brahmin fellow students. Another time there was a case of two "low caste" students who could not find accommodation in a college hostel on account of the refusal of the other "caste" inmates to live under the same roof with these two perfectly good and qualified undergraduates. Such instances are now getting to be scarce. The thought of a Students' Federation with a sectarian or communal purpose, is always painful. Youth should be uncontaminated with the decadence of past generations; for then alone could one hope for a new order of things.

A. C.

"Untouchables" Win a Case

The "untouchables" in Baroda have won a legal battle and it is now established by Law that they have the right to enter all temples. Whether it is worth anybody's while to take all this trouble to assure entrance into temples where man is not considered man, is a question which is easily answered. Of course the verdict of the Law Courts which decided the case does credit to the legal system of Baroda. We have never believed in untouchability, nor in the utility of entering temples. In our opinion the so-called "untouchables" would be wasting their energies and funds by attempting to enter temples. Their efforts should be more profitably directed towards entering high

schools, colleges, universities, the different professions and the various departments of trade, industry and commerce.

A. C.

Ex-King Edward VIII

Perhaps it is rather late in the day to comment upon the abdication of Edward VIII; but one cannot help the feeling that there was something fundamentally wrong in it somewhere. Apparently Edward VIII was loved and respected by his subjects. Apparently also he abdicated of his free will and choice. But it appears that the attack on the ex-king was mainly directed from the Church and from a certain group of men, many of whom, were not exactly aristocrats, but men of substance claiming distinction by virtue of their possessions or position. These men are not habitually puritanical in their outlook on life, which includes marriage and divorce. Divorcees usually thrive in their company and the Church has never been known, during recent times to pronounce a ban on their social delinquencies which sometimes included items worse than mere divorce.

Why did these men combine to force abdication upon Edward VIII? Some say, because the ex-king was unconventional and democratic. Some suggest that the ex-king loved his people a great deal too much and that the "aristocrats" who loved themselves more than the people of Great Britain, disliked this queer trait in the ex-king's psychological make up.

Who knows what was really at the bottom?

A. C.

Abolition of Slavery

The League of Nations devotes a lot of time and energy to slavery and the slave trade. Slavery as an accepted economic institution is no doubt, highly objectionable and should be abolished as soon as possible. It is only in Africa, however, that there are any slaves in the legal sense of the term. The League is slowly getting round all states to make it illegal for any one to possess or deal in slaves. This is laudable as far as it goes. But what is slavery? If we accept the legal meaning of the word slaves are men who belong by right of property to their masters. Such slavery has been condemned by wise men of all ages. Plato said, "Slavery is a system of the most complete injustice." Socrates called slavery "a system of outrage and robbery." So that the League's condemnation of legal or Technical Slavery is merely a repetition and continuation of the criticism of reformers throughout the ages. It began in pre-Christian days and received the endorsement of the great in following centuries. Grotius, Montesquieu, Humboldt, Burke, Franklin, Washington, Hamilton, William Pitt and numerous other great men have condemned slavery in unambiguous language. So that this legal abolition of slavery is not a phenomenon originating in the Post War Brave New World. When Bernard Shaw said, "Englishmen will never be slaves; they are free to do whatever the Government and public opinion allow them to do," he was, no doubt giving out one of his inimitable bits of satirical *Sutras*. In his opinion even Englishmen were slaves. Henry George referred to the employees as slaves for they *must* have employment or suffer. Another sage pronounced that true liberty alone abolished slavery in fact.

So that there can be a second meaning of the hateful word, slavery. Paradoxical statements such as, "Italy abolished slavery in Ethiopia by enslaving the Ethiopians," may well illustrate these shades of meaning.

We are of opinion that technical slavery is not always the worst form of slavery. It can often remain in disguise assuming political or economic shapes to the utter disgrace and degradation of those who have to submit to it.

A. C.

Detenus, Agriculture and Unemployment

The following excerpt from a press report of His Excellency the Governor of Bengal's speech at the St. Andrews Dinner will be found promising by many. The idea seems to be that an effort is being made by the Government of Bengal to train up young men for scientific agriculture as well as for small industries with a view to eradicate unemployment. His Excellency said,

> About 9 months ago I visited the first Training Camps set up to provide industrial instruction for selected detenus, 58 of those men are now in process of starting their own businesses financed, supervised and helped in their buying and selling by the State. The output of these new factories has already been sold forward for the next year.
>
> When I spoke to you last year the training farm for detenus at Maslandpur existed as a project only. It is now a thriving and modern organization where men are taught to grow good things and to sell them. The first batch of those who have undergone this training will shortly have passed out. Our plans for setting them up as practical farmers are already maturing and we shall carry them through.
>
> When I announced this scheme in the legislature I made it clear that we regarded it not merely as a scheme for detenus but as a means of striking a hammer-blow at unemployment as a whole, and it is our intention to redeem that promise. If we can succeed with these men we can succeed with others provided the necessary organi-

zation is set up and the necessary non-official co-operation is forthcoming. It is with this object in view that we have decided to auhorise the establishment of an Industrial Credit Corporation and to guarantee it to a substantial extent against losses that may unavoidably be incurred in taking justifiable risks for the encouragement of small industries. I am happy to say that the necessary financial support from private sources is now assured, and the legislature has today set the seal of its approval upon our proposals.

We mean to extend similar facilities to progressive agriculture, and with the support of a public spirited body of men we have planned to establish at Daulatpur in the district of Khulna an Institute of practical agriculture where qualified young men will be taught to combine outdoor labour with scientific knowledge, and will be equipped to form the advance guard of a great movement for enlightened agriculture in the province.

I have mentioned these things not by way of propaganda. They are not window-dressing schemes, hastily conceived or hurriedly put into execution in the last year of our existence as a Government.

We sincerely hope so. A. C.

Slaughter of Milch Cattle

The whole of India should feel grateful to His Excellency the Viceroy for the interest he has been taking in the improvement and preservation of our cattle wealth. In a recent speech at Delhi he pointed out how enormous is our annual loss of milch cattle, a very large number of which are slaughtered every year in the big cities of India. The reason being that their owners cannot afford to maintain them during the period that their milk yield fails owing to perfectly natural causes. Nearly 70000 she-buffaloes were formerly killed every year in Calcutta, Bombay and Madras alone. Due to certain measures introduced by the Government *e.g.*, reduction of railway freight to and from grazing tracts, the number is somewhat less now. Another measure suggested was that the cities would hereafter obtain their milk supplies from the rural area and avoid the practice of maintaining cattle within their boundaries. This, of course, would be bad from the point of view of health; for Indian villages would yet take some time to provide milk to the cities, hygienically. It is believed that if milch cattle could be removed to their place of origin during the dry period and, later, returned to the cities when again in milk, the costs of transit would be more than made good. Only the owners of cattle often lack the ready cash to defray these expenses. So that if such cattle could be taken away by some intermediate agency which would keep a lien on the animals until they are again productive and profitable, the owners might readily agree to square up the accounts by instalments commencing after the return of the cattle.

A. C.

The Governor of Bengal on Terrorism

In his St. Andrews Dinner Speech, His Excellency the Governor of Bengal referred to the problem of terrorism at length and in a spirit which may be called reasonable and sympathetic. He did not, for instance, glorify the use of the big stick as an aspect of the Divine Right of Governments or attempt to paint the Bengalee race as a kind of Criminal Tribe on a large scale. We are grateful to His Excellency for his rational attitude towards this "problem of youth." He pictured the problem and the attempts at its solution in terms which cannot be criticised when one remembers that he is the head of a particular system of government.

"The youth of the province is a problem that has been prominently before us in recent years, and it is no source of pleasure to me or to any of my colleagues that in so many respects our attentions to youth, of necessity, have been of a repressive variety. We owe a duty to society as a whole, and if youth has gone wrong we cannot shirk that duty from motives of misplaced sentiments. I for one so long as I retain any responsibility for the well-being and safety of this province will not shirk it."

And he has not shirked it in anyway, at least in so far as the policy of his government is concerned. But we find a new note in what he said after this.

"We have made it clear, that we are not impelled by motives of vidictiveness and we have given a practical demonstration of our anxieties to reclaim those who have been misled and are prepared to return to a saner and I hope happier life. At the same time, this did not absolve the Government from their responsibility for those who had been misled and for generations yet to come. It must be the Government's endeavour to provide healthy sports and recreation, and with this object in view the Government proposed to set up a small body of men, both in the service of the Crown and in various walks of life, to study this problem and to consider by what stages the objective could be reached."

According to his own diagnosis of the disease of terrorism, it is a perverted form of genuine patriotism. Love of the motherland when strongly felt by youthful minds sometimes expresses itself through terroristic activity. The question is, why does this pure and beautiful emotion get twisted and assume this ugly shape Modern psychology teaches us that emotions must find a normal and proper outlet in order that they may not, through excessive inhibition suffer from perversion.

In free countries people obtain the fullest scope for expressing their patriotism in word and action. That keeps their minds free from repressed emotionalism and the urge to act in an abnormal way. People who can join the army, defend their own motherland even by

making the supreme sacrifice, people who can express their feelings freely regarding anything concerning the well-being and glory of their motherland, usually do not take to anarchism or form assassination clubs. Sports may improve the health of the race and, as far as terrorism is due to faulty functioning of the muscular, glandular and nervous systems, sports may serve as a cure for this regrettable malady. But though Waterloo was won on the playgrounds of Eton, these playgrounds were not that particular field of battle. One cannot relieve a congestion by pushing the obstruction a few inches further up. There must be a free passage as far as the passage extends. His Excellency should arrange for the recruitment of Bengalees into the Army, Navy and Air Force in large numbers. His Excellency should also remove the restrictions on printed and spoken words. These, we believe, would relieve the psychological state of repression and youthful minds would commence to function normally and in a spirit of true citizenship.

A. C.

Mineral Production in India

The annual account for 1935 showing the mineral production of India during the year as worked out by the Geological Survey of India, gives one an impression that in this branch of industry India is slowly getting back to normal. A press summary of the report gives a rough idea of the subject. The salient features of this summary are as reproduced below :

> The total value of the minerals produced in India showed an increase from £ 17,666,511 in 1934 to £ 19,518,273 in 1935—manganese-ore increased a further 144.9 per cent, mica 33.9 per cent, lead 28.2 per cent, silver 36.7 per cent, zinc 41.9 per cent, nickel 21.8 per cent, iron-ore 19.4 per cent, chromite 54.8 per cent, ilmenite 49.8 per cent, monazite 230.4 per cent, zircon 576.4 per cent. Decreases occurred only with felspar 21.5 per cent, asbestos 69.5 per cent, and various precious stones.

Indirect evidences of the growing trade in minerals are afforded by figures of prospecting leases granted during the year and of employment. We find

> During the year, 450 prospecting leases (including 287 in Burma), 86 mining leases and 31 quarry leases were taken out, as against 376, 57 and 49 for 1934. However there is a long way to go before the peak year of 1927 (714 mineral concessions) is again reached.

The average number of persons employed daily was

> 371,522 in 1935 as against 334,848 in 1934. Most of the employment is provided, in order of importance by the coal, salt, mica, gold, tin—and tungsten-ore, petroleum, iron-ore and manganese-ore industries. These numbers are exclusive of those employed by the concomitant transport, smelting and refining industries, for example, the metallurgical industries of Jamshedpur support a town of nearly 100,000 people.

It would appear however that the change for the better has not occurred as a result of any large scale development of those industries which utilize these minerals as raw material. For instance, we find that during the year under review India consumed 38,769 tons of brass of which only 10,721 tons were produced within the country. The recent optimistic gestures of Indian iron and steel interests are also based to all appearances upon hopes of a growing foreign trade in pig iron. India was at one time famous for her metal ware. These included the finest steel as well as the cheaper goods made out of the different metals and their alloys. To-day, the manufacture of metal articles has dwindled to a dangerously low level, considering the fact that the population of India has increased enormously. Poverty and the invasion effected by bright-looking inferior objects of foreign make, are perhaps the main causes of this fall. Enamel ware, earthenware, aluminium goods, etc. have damaged the Indian brass and bell-metal industries very greatly, stamped goods manufactured out of foreign sheet metal have also played their part.

There ought to be a sort of *Khaddar* movement in the field of metal ware with a view to recover for India her lost position in the metal industry. The demands of economics, aesthetics and hygiene would surely induce patriotic Indians to use more *Swadeshi* metal articles. In this movement there should be a keen consciousness of the inner meaning of *Made in India*. There are many articles which are made in India only in the sense that the finishing touches alone have been given in India. One must be careful enough to ascertain whether during the *entire* process of production the raw materials have been handled much or at all by foreign manufacturers.

An increase, therefore, in the mineral trade of India may not be an unmixed good. For the more we send out our raw materials to foreign countries, the more is there the chance of these returing to their homeland in the shape of cheap manufactured articles which stand in the way of Indian labour and enterprise in the supply of our national requirements. We should try and develop our manufactures, so that a growth in the mineral trade would reflect a growth which is all round.

A. C.

Indianization of the Army

A good many months ago Sir Philip Chetwode observed that, although Indianization

of the civil services could be contemplated without rejecting all sanity; the idea of Indianizing the Army would be lunacy *par excellence.* His exact words, however, were not as above. We have merely attempted a reconstruction of the spirit of the statement. Sir Philip thought that the Russian menace was something which only an army of the highest efficiency could be depended upon to stave off. Indian officers could never maintain a state of such efficiency. Therefore, an Indianized army was out of the question. Such efficiency was only possible in officers with a public school education which in its turn is largely a process of infusing "tradition" in boys. India has neither any public schools, nor any "tradition." Therefore an efficient officer could never be bred on the soil of India.

During recent times we have found several armies of the highest efficiency growing up without a foundation of public school education or tradition. The Russian Army itself, which is alleged to constitute a menace, not only to the mighty British Empire but also to the powerful German Reich and the thundering Imperialism of Italy, is after all officered by common garden men. The Germans are building up a mightier army than that of the Hohenzollerns' with somewhat less of the tradition of Prussia in it than before. The Italians, looked down upon at one time by the education and tradition-*wallahs* of Vienna, have managed to bawl and brawl with amazing efficiency within a remarkably short period. So that this public school and tradition idea cannot hold water these days, especially with the Russian, and who knows what other, menace in the offing. India should look to the task of building up a national army, which in any case will be less expensive and more numerous. Expenses and number are vital factors in the construction of armies. We have learned from books written by public school men that in future wars entire nations will have to be mobilised. The next war may be very near. Should we now devote our energies to building up public schools and tradition or to Armies, Navies and Air Forces?

A. C.

The German Menace

Among those who have a particular knowledge of menaces, Mr. Winston Churchill is one of the best. In his opinion the growing military strength of Germany (and why not Italy?) is a source of great danger to the peace of the world. There may not be any definite plan in the Reich's military preparations for an attack on England or France; but in the tortuous progress of wars nothing can be declared beyond danger from beforehand. Mr. Churchill thinks that by 1937 Germany will enter that phase of her new militarism which will require a demonstration of the utility of her large military expenditure. Unless the answer is forthcoming in the shape of a grand offensive, which will no doubt be called a defensive action, the safety of Hitlerism will be jeopardised. So that, in 1937, Germany will be obliged to make use of mighty armies, preferably for the aquirement of a place in the sun, which will also compensate the impoverished Reich for all its martial extravagance. The Spanish revolution is already providing an arena for European clash of ideals. Britain of course is neither Fascist nor Communist, but her widespread Imperial interests may easily involve her in a general conflagration. And Britain is, says Mr. Churchill, hopelessly unprepared!

In such times Britain will no doubt need the services of all her public school boys to expand her forces. India may therefore have to fight her own battles as best as she can with local talent.

We are, for this reason, more keenly alive to the urgency of giving military training to our University, College, High School, other school and illiterate boys. During the last war Britain fought mighty Germany with soldiers and officers recruited from every class and profession. These men gave a good account of themselves irrespective of school and family tradition. The hidebound ideas prevailing in India about military and non-military races and the need for a prolonged novitiate in making soldiers, are perhaps out of date by several decades. Any man of average health and general ability ought to make a soldier of average capacity. And it is the average soldier in large enough numbers that one should aim at for national defence.

It is not our intention to be flagrantly militaristic. But we should be failing in our citizenship if we did not point out the urgency of some soldierly instruction for all who are of fighting age.

A. C.

Lesser Statistics

Mr. J. W. Houlton, I.C.S., said at a meeting of the Patna College Chanakya Society held in November last.

"Every day the administrator is confronted with problems, for the solution of which facts would be of more value to him than opinions. There are always plenty

of people ready to give carefully reasoned opinions on any subject under the sun, but very often a few facts collected on the spot by a trained investigator would be worth all those opinions put together. As examples of what I mean, it would often be useful to know to what extent the population of a particular part of the province is supported by money brought in from outside. In parts of North Bihar there is a constant influx of money in remittances from persons employed in various capacities in Calcutta, and so on. The aboriginals of the Ranchi district have been able to tide over a period of unexampled agricultural depression accompanied by extremely low prices of lac, on which they ordinarily depend to a great extent, by the steady flow of remittances from emigrants to the tea gardens. The Controller of Emigrant labour has in fact reported that he has had complaints from the managers of tea gardens that the Ranchi labourers, though excellent workers, render themselves inefficient by starving themselves in order to send larger remittances to their relations left behind in Ranchi. It is often useful to know to what extent the agricultural population of any part of the province is dependent on a particular crop for its livelihood.".

Such "lesser" statistics would clear up many doubts. One would be glad to learn, for instance, how much employment each province gives to inhabitants of other provinces. A lot of malicious provincialism would come to a standstill if such figures could be made available.

A. C.

Congress Resolution on Detenus

The following Resolutions passed by the Congress Working Committee speak for themselves.

"The Congress records its emphatic condemnation of the policy of the British Government in India in keeping thousands of Indians in detention for an indefinite period without charge or trial.

The Congress voices the demand of the Indian people that persons now in detention without charge or trial be released forthwith

The Congress has learnt with alarm and concern that three detenus in Bengal have committed suicide within the last four weeks.

The Congress considers that the fact that such acts of suicides have taken place is a significant indication that conditions in which they are kept are intolerable.

The Congress demands a public enquiry into the causes which led to the said acts of suicide as well as into conditions which detenus are being kept.

The Congress sends its condolences to the bereaved families of the three detenus."

When a Government is faced with a sudden danger and caught unprepared, extraordinary and even extra-legal measures may be adopted for the safety of the State *for some time*. The Indian police are famous for their efficiency and capacity for rising to occasions. Then why cannot they detect exactly certain criminals and get them punished in ordinary Courts of Law after proper trial? They might not have been able to do so towards the beginning of the trouble. But, how long should a truly efficient Force require the help of extraordinary powers to perform a normal duty?

Not all men who are accused by the police in open Court are found guilty. From this absolutely established fact comes the public belief that not all the detenus who are being detained on suspicion are guilty. It is a logical belief.

A. C.

Education in Britain

A report of the Board of Education gives an account of the educational progress of Great Britain during the 25 years, 1910-1935. It is found in the report that during the 25 years Britain provided for her young nearly 5,000 new schools (including instances of remodelling existing schools). In 1910 23 p.c. of schools for children over eleven had arrangements for teaching handicrafts. In 25 years, the percentage has gone up to 65. The percentages for domestic subjects and gardening show similar improvements. The former improved from 42 to 68 per cent, and the latter 9 to 32. The expenses on education rose from £27,900,000 to £85,100,000, working out at 15s. 6d. per head to £2-2s. per head.

Regarding arrangements for improving the health of school children meals and milk are nowadays provided to 4,00,000 school children. Besides, 2,250,000 children get milk at a concession price. During the 25 years the number of school doctors has gone up from 995 to 1412, dentists 27 to 852 and school nurses 436 to 3,429. These are exclusive features of the system of School Health. Besides, in Great Britain, the health of children is looked after by numerous other agencies.

Any comparison in point of facts between conditions in Great Britain and India, is naturally futile. India cannot expect to provide for her children anything approaching the facilities for sound education and healthy life available to British children. But the presence of even a *desire to provide* such amenities would take the sting out of the vile state of affairs in India to some extent. We ask ourselves, are the Government of India at least wishing that India should grow into a modern prosperous State, with all the aids of civilization and science at the service of her millions?

We hope that the answer is in the affirmative

A. C.

American Scholarship for Indian Women

The following press news would interest the women of India.

BOMBAY, Dec. 14.

The University of Michigan offers Levi Barbour Scholarship for Indian women at the Michigan University for the year 1937-38. Those desiring to apply should send all particulars of their educational career, references and credentials before the 31st of December, 1936 to Miss Kapila Khandwalla, 12B, Willingdon Colony, Santa Cruz, Bombay, who will gladly furnish detailed information. A stamped and addressed envelope should be enclosed for a reply. Only unmarried girls are eligible for this scholarship.

A. C.

An Indian State Criticised

We reproduce the following comments from *The Bombay Sentinel*:

If British India is lagging behind in education, most of the Indian States think it is not their business to educate their subjects. A large number of them are quite content to allow matters to drift.

Many of the Indian Princes believed that education is a luxury which their subjects cannot afford. They would rather spend that money themselves on costly tours abroad, motor cars, race horses or palaces.

Except in Baroda and one or two States literacy has not advanced and the Princes themselves show not the slightest anxiety in the matter.

At the Hyderabad People's Educational Conference, Mr. Kashinath Rao Vaidya, the President, gave a doleful picture of the educational progress made during the last decade or two. Hyderabad is exceptionally backward from the educational point of view.

Only 48.5 persons are literate per thousand of population, which comes to about 4.8 per cent. Yet, Sir Akbar Hydari is never tired of impressing on the world that Hyderabad's finances are flourishing, and that everything is for the best in the best of States.

Is this a state of things of which he or anyone in Hyderabad can be proud? Even in British India the literacy figure is about 8 per cent, considerably over the wretched 4.8 per cent in Hyderabad.

In Hyderabad while 85 males are literate in 1,000 only 12 women are found so in the same number. This means that women in Hyderabad are perpetually in a state of mental darkness, thanks to the absence of efforts or enthusiasm on the part of their rulers.

Public opinion is either wholly absent or deliberately suppressed, as can be seen from the number of newspapers conducted in the State. Telugus with a population of 70 lakhs have only one bi-weekly paper, Marathas with a population of 38 lakhs have one weekly paper, and the Kanarese speaking people whose number is 16 lakhs have none at all.

This is a deplorable state of things. Yet, every year there is a splendid surplus in the State Budget.

The coming sessions of the Indian Science Congress will be held at Hyderabad. We hope that if conditions are as bad as is painted by the writer of the above, His Exalted Highness the Nizam will take steps to inaugurate a period of educational progress at a time when his State will be visited by so many distinguished scholars of the world.

A. C.

"Carrying the Congress Fire"

BOMBAY, DEC. 17.

The impressive ceremony of "carrying the Congress fire" (torch relay) from the historic Goculdas Tejpal Pathsala, where the first session of the Indian National Congress was held, fifty years ago, was performed this morning, when Mr. Goculbhai Doulatram Bhatt, an ex-President of the Maharastra Provincial Youth League, carried the torch for the first mile from the Tejpal Pathsala towards Faizpur. The ceremony was preceded by flag salutation.

After the flag salutation Mr. K. F. Nariman lit the torch and said that it was customary to start national work after flag salutation. "The Congress that started as a small babe here has in the course of fifty years grown to a mighty giant.



Carrying the Congress fire

"In the earlier days the Congress organization was composed of aristocrats and intellectuals who met once a year, and dispersed. Today the Congress means a temple of service and patriotism, wherein are only those who are prepared to suffer and sacrifice.

"The holding of the Congress session in Faizpur village is a unique idea. The soul of India lives in

Goculdas Bhatt, the Congress torch-holder, honoured at Bombay

villages and in order to prove the bona fides of the Congress the Congress session is being held at Faizpur. The flames lit at present will be carried to Faizpur. I hope it will kindle enthusiasm and spirit to serve the country and make sacrifices for freedom."

Mr. Bhulabhai Desai said that along with the torch the message of the Congress would be carried to every home and every village.

The torch was garlanded and carried from the Pathsala, where the local Congress Committee garlanded it and then the regular march commenced.

Each volunteer will carry the flag for one mile and hand it over to the next man. Thus in ten days the volunteers will cover a distance of about three hundred miles. The Congress fire will reach Tilak Nagar just a few hours before the commencement of the open session on December 27. All along the route Congress Committees have arranged reception to the torch. The idea underlying the torch march is the same as that of the carrying of the Olympic fire by relays of runners from Greece to Berlin.—*A. P. I.*

This torch relay may be taken as symbolizing the process of transmission of the fire of patriotism from the city to the village, from the urban middle-class intelligentsia to the rural mass of the people. The symbol is good, provided it does not lead to idolatry.

The Abdication, and India Discriminated Against!

We do not profess to understand why so intelligent a man as Professor Sir S. Radhakrishnan has complained that India was not consulted as the Diminions were in the matter of the constitutional crisis which culminated in King Edward VIII's abdication. In the face of the greatest and most humiliating of discriminations, namely, that India has not been allowed to become free, why complain of petty so-called "discriminations"? And how could India have been consulted? Suppose the Government of India were consulted as the Dominion Governments were. But our Government is not the same as the people of India. Its voice is not the people's voice. And the Indian Legislature also is not representative of the people. And to cap all, even when the elected members of the legislature unanimously give expression to opinions not liked by Britain, they are not heeded. Why then invite insult and humiliation by praying to be consulted?

Ramachandra and Bharat

When in ancient times Ramachandra went into voluntary exile leaving the throne to his younger brother Bharat, the latter placed his elder brother's sandals on the throne and ruled as regent. The two brothers were not sons of the same mother.

We were reminded of this ancient legend by the abdication of Edward VIII and the accession of George VI.

Discovery of Indian Manuscripts

Mahapandita Rahul Sankrityana has attained fame as a collector of rare MSS. His work may throw considerable new light on the history of ancient India. It may also help to clear up some of the mysteries surrounding particular periods of Indian schools of thought and literature. Interviewed by a representative of the *Leader* of Allahabad the Mahapandita described his recent visit to Nepal and Tibet in quest of unknown and rare texts, as quoted below :

"The success attained during my visit to Tibet was much more than I expected. In Tibet I discovered more than 80 bundles of palm-leaf manuscripts of 10 to 12 centuries A.D. which were originally taken from India to Tibet. They are kept in the monasteries of Sakya, Ngor and Shalu and most of my time was spent in these monasteries copying and taking photographs of these manuscripts. My resources being limited, I could not take the photograph of all these manuscripts. I copied four or five of them which were very important containing more than 14 lakhs of letters. I took photographs of about 50 lakhs of letters. The discovery of some of these manuscripts is regarded as of the greatest importance in the field of indological research. Most of the materials and print copies have already been sent to the Bihar and Orissa Research Society and the remaining ones I have brought with myself. I have received letters of congratulations from many European and Japanese savants. Some of them are anxious to see these materials personally and take part by helping in editing them. Among these works are the many important works of philosophers like Nagarjuna, Asanga, Vasubandhu, Bhavya, Dharmakirti, Prajnakargupta, Manorath Nandi, Karnakgomi, Jnansri, Ratnakar Shanti, Durvek Misra and others.

'There are many learned societies in India and outside eager to publish these works but it is my desire that they should be published from Bihar to which most of the authors and manuscripts originally belong. The importance of the discovery can be realized when we see the world's greatest indologist, Dr. Tscherbatski of Leningrad, with his co-worker, Dr. Vostrikova communicating their desire to come to India and see the materials.

'Apart from these manuscripts and photographs, I discovered some of the old Indian paintings closely connected with Ajanta art and about a hundred Indian bronze images ranging from the fifth to the twelfth century A.D. I took many photographs of these statues. I found four models of the Bodh Gaya temple, three of whom are in Gaya stone taken from Gaya to Tibet by Tibetan pilgrims before 1200 A.D. I took only the photographs of these things since these precious things are the most sacred treasures for Tibetan devotees and the present custodian cannot part with them. Even to take photographs or to see them is not an easy thing but they were kind enough to give me free access to see, copy or take photographs of them".

A. C.

European Hindus in the Union of South Africa

It is said that recent conversions to Hinduism have a political motive behind them. The Hindus were a non-proselytizing people; and what could be their motive in converting others to Hinduism now, if it is not political.

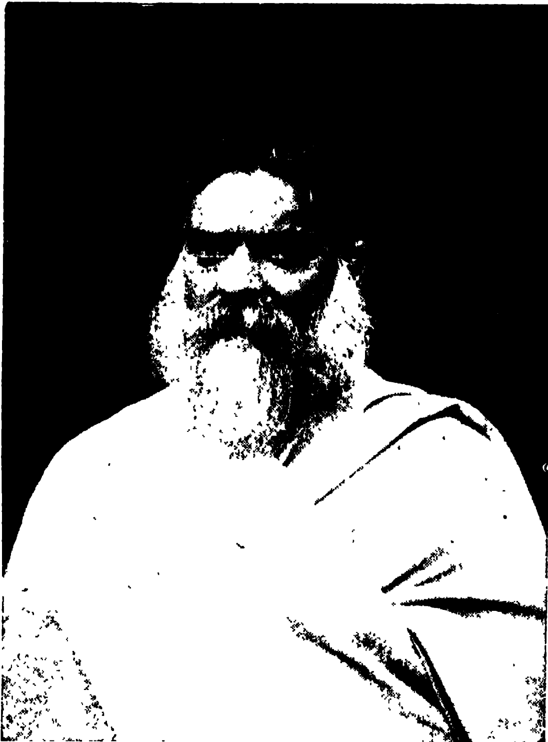
We were going through some census statistics of the Union of South Africa for the year 1921. We find that in 1921 as many as 22 Europeans gave Hinduism as their religion. No political motive can be ascribed to the conversion of South Africanders to Hinduism; and that as early as 1921.

Hinduism has always been a proselytizing religion; though both the volume and the method have been different through ages.

J. M. DATTA

Krishna Kumar Mitra

Krishna Kumar Mitra, a man among men, passed away last month at the age of 85. He was active till the last morning of his life. So



Krishna Kumar Mitra

active, firm, and erect in mind and body was he throughout his long life till its sudden close due to a heart attack, that seemed untimely. He was man. Not only his sermons, but his politics, his social activities, his work in furtherance of the cult of Swadeshi, his labours in the cause



Sir P. C. Roy and Krishna Kumar Mitra

of education, his fearless advocacy of the cause of indentured coolies, his unparalleled services to the oppressed womanhood of Bengal—all were the outcome of his deep religious faith. For the last 54 years he had edited the *Sanjibani* with consistency of principles.

He was one of the principal leaders of the Bengal anti-Partition and Swadeshi agitation and was one of the men deported in connection with that patriotic movement. His wife refused to accept the help for maintenance offered by Government, during his incarceration without charge or trial. It was Rs. 200 per mensem. Her rejection of the offer had nothing to do with the smallness or largeness of the amount. She scorned to accept money from persons who had wronged her husband.

The work for which Babu Krishna Kumar Mitra was most noted during the closing years



Krishna Kumar Mitra in his last sleep

There is no one left in Bengal or India to take his place. Elderly women in Bengal have lost an elder brother, younger women a father, and all a stout and affectionate defender and protector.

Afghanistan and Modernisation

Ex-king Amanulla Khan lost his throne for the sake of modern institutions. One would expect that his dethronement was a victory for reactionaries and that Afghans would continue their old ways after the departure of that troublesome king. But, no. We are informed by the *Mussalman* :

> Afghanistan is again drifting towards western civilization. According to the *United Press* a businessman, on his return to India after attending the Independence Day Exhibition at Kabul, said, "The Independence Day Celebration began on the 14th August, when early in the morning His Majesty King Zahir Shah inspected 25,000 Afghan forces at Chaman. All the soldiers were armed and were in decent uniforms. A unique feature of the uniform was that the entire army had discarded the turban as their headgear, substituting for it German steel caps made in Afghanistan. The officers' dress was after the French fashion. In Kabul proper, 95 per cent of the population are dressed in the latest suits including a major portion who are using English hats. Only 5 per cent still use turban. An appreciable number of ladies also wear English dress."

We of course do not believe that English hats or steel helmets make any change in a man or a nation. If the Afghans can rebuild their civilization with the idea of providing the fullest liberty of thought and scope for the fullest cultural development of every man, woman and child then alone that state could claim a high place among the different states of the world.

A. C.

Nari Shiksha Samiti Exhibition

A very successful and interesting exhibition of ladies' handicrafts organized by the Nari Shiksha Samity was opened by the Sheriff of Calcutta, Dr. Satya Charan Law, on the 13th of December. The Nari Shiksha Samity has been one of the foremost women's educational and industrial organizations of India during the last several years. Lady Abala Bose who has been an ardent and indefatigable worker in the Women's Cause, deserves to be congratulated on her successful management of the Samity. The following excerpts from the report of Lady Bose would explain the aims and objects of the Samity and the Exhibition as well as give one an idea of the work done by the Samity :

> "I should like to refer here to the aims and objects of the Nari Siksha Samiti which organizes this exhibition

annually. The objects of this institution mainly are to import through vernacular, such education to girls and women as may make them good and helpful wives and mothers and useful members of the society, and enable them to earn an honourable living in case of need. In order to realize this ideal, the Samiti, besides its other activities has, for the last six years, been organizing the Ladies' Handiwork Exhibition.

"The exhibition in a small way represents the efforts of the women of Bengal to become self-supporting by organizing small centres of cottage industry where women can go and work freely and with self-respect. These centres offer scope for creative self-expression by our women through various types of handicraft. The exhibition indirectly shows how everyday-life in our homes may be made more beautiful and our leisure more productive.

* * *

"I have already stated what the Nari Siksha Samity stands for. I may now briefly describe our programme of work, a fourfold programme for educating the womanhood of the country.

1. "The Samiti maintains a number of Girls' Schools in rural areas.
2. "It has a free Widows' Home in Calcutta for training up widows for teachership and nursing.
3. "It has a free Industrial School for women for the teaching of arts and crafts suitable for women anxious to make a living.
4. "It organizes useful lectures and occasional social gatherings for women for bringing about a change in outlook, and also arranges at least one Ladies' Handiwork Exhibition every year for encouraging the spirit of self-help and the desire to keep alive the various fine arts special to Bengal.

"There is much to be done in this direction. We must strive through such exhibitions to come into closer touch with our forlorn and forgotten sisters in the villages, and with their co-operation to give every encouragement to our women for the cultivation of our neglected and dying arts.

"The Samiti has been trying in its humble way to work for the regeneration of the womanhood of this country. This is a great task requiring strength and large funds. Our work has always been hampered for want of funds. Friends and benefactors have no doubt come forward and generously helped us.

"In view of the work which we have been doing for the last seventeen years we may hope that the people will come forward and help us generously to overcome this difficulty. We appeal for funds, funds to meet the current expenses and also to create a capital fund. Those present here can all help us by becoming members, by inducing their friends to become members and by giving us donations which however small will be thankfully acknowledged by us."

The Sheriff of Calcutta said in the course of his Presidential speech :

"To provide the right type of education suitable to the temperament and capabilities of our Bengali ladies, and in a special measure well-adapted to the conditions of our Bengali widows has long been a crying need of our Province. This need has no doubt been met to some extent by this Institution of the Nari Siksha Samity, but while it has taken up its task in right earnest I am afraid it is confronted with the stern fact of its handicap at every step which threatens to stunt its evergrowing sphere of useful activities due to several causes, the chief amongst which is, I presume, the lukewarmness of public support and proper financial aid. The redeeming feature, however, is Lady Bose's robust optimism, indomitable zeal and energy and her great sacrifice for furtherance of the cause she cherishes so dear to her heart. This is as it should be, and the ideal she has set up for her cause well becomes a large-hearted lady who is the consort of the greatest savant India has produced.

THE EXHIBITION

"The exhibition, which I have the honour to open, focuses our attention to the visible manifestations of the productive activities of the Samity and you will have presently an opportunity to view them and judge for yourselves how far the results achieved are commensurate with the ideal set up for the Institution and the labour and attention bestowed upon carrying it through. If I am not prejudging these results, they seem to me, and I think you will also agree, to open up an avenue for our ladies' showing their worth and usefulness in various kinds and thus creating an opportunity for themselves for eking out an honourable means of livelihood. It has been an eternal bane of our society to look down upon widowhood and to deny it all opportunities of honourable and self-respecting existence.

"The Nari Siksha Samity might well congratulate themselves upon finding a remedy for this state of affairs and striving their level best for ameliorating the condition of Bengali widows. Their scheme devised for this end is well thought out and practical. The education they have hit upon to impart and the vocations they have decided upon teaching are no doubt bearing fruits, such as are reflected in the assemblage of exhibits that will be on view. I can hardly lay too much stress on the value and utility of this exhibition. It surely provides an opportunity of comparing the relative merits of the products of the different exhibitors who are largely wards of this Institution and thus stimulating their further efforts to excell and better achievements in future. I might also say that it provides facilities for sellers and prospective buyers to meet together and thus serves to find a market for the commodities—all for the material welfare of our woman-folk. The latter may now take a just pride in their achievements and comfort themselves with the thought that they can claim to take their rightful place in our society being no longer mere objects of pity as do-nothings and hangers-on on an already too much hard-pressed middle class 'bhadralog' family."

We hope the appeal made by Lady Bose will be effective in rousing the sympathy of our countrymen. The Nari Shiksha Samity deserves and needs the support of every good citizen of India.

A. C.

The B. N. Ry. Strike

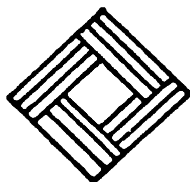
This industrial dispute is continuing to the great suffering of the strikers as well as of the public.

It may be safely assumed that such a large number of men could not unite to suffer unless they had a just grievance. We would request the authorities of the B. N. Ry., to come to a speedy agreement with the workers; for a public utility service cannot be suspended over a long period without causing great inconvenience and suffering to the general public. A. C.

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THE GERMAN-JAPANESE ALLIANCE

Will it Precipitate a World War ?

BY DR. TARAKNATH DAS

THE trend of world politics is just like the swinging pendulum of a clock; it is constantly changing within a certain orbit. The change of foreign policy of a great power immediately affects the whole field of international relations; in fact such a change often causes a real revolution in world politics. The best example of this assertion is this: When Great Britain, at the beginning of the twentieth century, gave up the policy of "splendid isolation" and signed the "Anglo-Japanese Alliance"; it brought about a revolution in world politics. The Anglo-Japanese Alliance was a remote cause of the Russo-Japanese War. Japanese victory over Russia was the real cause of the Anglo-French Entente which was followed by the Anglo-French-Russian Entente, which was supplemented by the Anglo-French-Russo-Japanese Entente and isolation of Germany in world politics, which in its turn resulted in the World War and defeat of Germany in 1918. In this article I shall make an attempt to visualise the probable consequences of the recently concluded German-Japanese Alliance.

II

Before going into the possible consequences of the proposed German-Japanese Alliance, we should try to present the underlying forces which have been shaping the foreign policies of Germany and Japan during recent years, specially since the World War.

When the World War ended with the defeat of the Central Powers and the Treaty of Versailles which deprived Germany of her sovereign rights, colonies etc., it became clear to German statesmen as well as military leaders that one of the prime causes of German defeat lay in the failure of German diplomacy. Therefore German leaders began to work for the recovery of her lost power and prestige through re-orientation of German foreign policy to suit the new situation. The liberal forces in the German political world wished to enter the League of Nations and thus be associated with Great Britain, France, Italy and Japan—all members of the League Council—to regain the legitimate rights of the German people and bring about revision of the Versailles Treaty through peaceful means. Unfortunately for the whole world, victorious *allied powers*, lent a deaf ear to the moderate and democratic German statesmen and forced Germany to seek some other support to end her isolation in world politics. Under these circumstances the late Walter Rathenau (a great German capitalist) as German Foreign Minister negotiated the famous Rapallo Treaty between Germany and Russia. It should be noted that the idea of a Russo-German Alliance was favourably considered by German nationalists and the German General Staff (the extreme Right political leaders) on the one hand and also by German Communists (the extreme Left political leaders). Although German Socialists and German

Catholic Centre Party were opposed to the Communists of Germany, yet for reasons of international politics and international commerce, the majority of the political leaders agreed that Russo-German understanding was a necessity for Germany, at least for a period, until she might secure alliance with some other great power.

III

A very large section of German Nationalists began to think that it would be wiser for Germany to come to an understanding with Great Britain, thus separating Britain from France. This policy at one time seemed feasible and attractive, due to the fact that there was Anglo-French misunderstanding on various issues, specially on the Near Eastern questions. Even the late Gustav Streseman was once of the opinion that an Anglo-German alliance against France was the only way out for Germany. However, after the failure of the British to extend actual and effective support to the Germans on the occasion of the French occupation of the Ruhr, a considerable number of far-sighted German statesmen felt the necessity of Franco-German co-operation to recover German rights. They also felt that a Franco-German-Russian understanding would be a factor for world peace. They also realized that a close co-operation with France might lead to Anglo-French-German understanding. By pursuing such a policy Germany would become party to two powerful possible combinations—(1) Russo-German-French understanding and (2) Anglo-French-German understanding. Furthermore German statesmen, after the World War, began to recognize the great mistake committed by German statesmen who did not cultivate Japanese friendship. At least a very large section of German military leaders began to see that if Japan had been an ally of Germany in the World War or if Japan had even remained neutral, then Germany would have crushed Russia without great difficulty. Therefore many German statesmen and military leaders became advocates of a German-Japanese alliance. It is interesting to note that some of the advocates of a German-Japanese alliance favoured the idea because with the then existing Russo-German understanding, an alliance with Japan would result in a German-Russian-Japanese combination which would be far superior to any other combination—such as Anglo-French alliance. Others favoured the idea of an alliance with Japan, because they felt that a German-Japanese alliance would serve as a security against a hostile Russia. This group of German statesmen thought a German-Japanese understanding might be developed into an Anglo-German-Japanese understanding against a Communist Soviet Russian State. One may safely assert that even before the advent of Herr Hitler and the victory of the German National Socialists, all political and military leaders of Germany, *except those who were thinking of establishing a Communist State in Germany and also except those who were in favour of an Anglo-American-German Alliance*, were in favour of closer relations with Japan. Therefore it should be remembered that the idea of a German-Japanese understanding did not originate with Herr Hitler, but was in existence among German statesmen and military leaders, long before Herr Hitler came into power.

IV

After the Sino-Japanese War of 1894-1895, Japan found herself isolated in world politics; a Russo-German-French intervention in favor of China forced Japan to give up Liaotung peninsula which was ceded to Japan by China by the first Treaty of Shimonoseki. This was a very bitter lesson for Japan. Japanese statesmen made up their mind to end isolation of Japan by some means or other. The Late Prince Ito and others worked for a Russo-Japanese alliance while Viscount Komura, Viscount Hayashi and others championed the cause of an Anglo-Japanese Alliance against Russia. At that time some of the British statesmen thought of a possible Anglo-German-Japanese Alliance against the then existing Franco-Russian Alliance. But because Germany was anxious to remain in friendly terms with Russia, both Japan and Great Britain gave up the idea of bringing Germany within the fold of an Anglo-German-Japanese Alliance. For two decades from 1902 to 1922, the Anglo-Japanese Alliance was the pivot of Japanese foreign policy and, as I have already pointed out, the Anglo-Japanese Alliance was one of the most important factors in bringing about realignment of Powers and isolation of Germany in world politics.

Even during the life of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, there was a school of political thinkers who favoured German-Japanese-Russian understanding which would make Japan's position formidable against the growing hostile attitude of the Anglo-American nations. The late Baron Goto was one of the foremost exponents of this policy. In Soviet Russia, those statesmen who felt the hostility of Great Britain very keenly realized the necessity of making friends with

Japan and Germany so that Russian eastern and western frontiers might be free from any danger of attack and Soviet Russia might be able to increase her influence among those Asiatic states which lie south of Russia and also in China. Therefore for sometime Soviet Russian and Japanese relations remained cordial to such an extent that Japan remained neutral when Soviet Russia fought China on the issue of the Chinese Eastern Railway and Soviet Russia remained neutral during the Sino-Japanese conflict in Manchuria in 1931.

Since the Washington Conference and the abrogation of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance (1922), Japanese statesmen were most anxious to pursue a policy of international co-operation through the League of Nations and at the same time were anxious to cement friendship with China, Russia and other powers without giving up Japanese rights in Manchuria.

V

With the advent of Herr Hitler in Germany and Japan's resignation from the League of Nations, we find the beginning of a new era in world politics. When one reads Herr Hitler's *Mein Kampf*, it becomes clear that his foreign policy was largely based upon the idea of bringing about an Anglo-German-Italian Alliance which might be used against France and also communist Russia. When Herr Hitler became the leader of the Third Reich, he immediately started with anti-Russian policy and this very fact forced him to think about the necessity of German-Japanese co-operation, which was not an unwelcome idea for certain German militarists.

With the rise of anti-Russian policy in Germany, Soviet Russian statesmen felt the necessity of securing support from some other quarters. They decided to join the League of Nations, just as soon as Germany left this organization. Russia felt the need of support of the League Powers against Germany and Japan. Furthermore both France and Russia felt the necessity of forming an alliance to safeguard their interests from an attack by a third Power—Germany.

At the latter part of the Manchurian crisis, Japan realized that there was a serious possibility of an Anglo-American-Sino-Russian combination against her. She left the League of Nations and created the buffer state of Manchukuo and began to strengthen her military position in Manchuria to face Soviet Russia as well as China in any eventuality. She further decided that she must have a navy strong enough to protect herself from any combination of navies of other powers in the Pacific. Japan denounced the naval agreements arrived at at Washington (1922) and at London (1930) and demanded naval equality with Great Britain and United States. This step was deliberately taken by Japan to have a free hand in naval construction so that her fleet might be strong enough to defy the ever-growing Russian fleet at Vladivostok, the British fleet at Singapore and the American fleet, if they ever combined against her.

While Japan was engaged in carrying out her programme of increasing her military power in Asia and naval power in the Pacific, Germany under Herr Hitler, with the tacit consent of Great Britain, destroyed all restrictions imposed upon Germany by the Treaty of Versailles and built up the most powerful military and air force in Europe and also a new German navy which will be a serious factor in the European situation. Germany is definite in assuring Britain that her army, navy and air forces are not directed against Britain, but it is against the menace of communism. Germany begs Great Britain to join her in her fight against Soviet Russia. At the same time, the Japanese government during the last two years has tried its best to secure an understanding with Great Britain and the United States regarding her position in Asia. It seems at the present moment both Germany and Japan are suspicious of British foreign policy. They think that Britain may again follow the path of Anglo-French-Russian Alliance supported by the Little Entente, the United States and China, which may be detrimental to their (Germany's and Japan's) interests. Therefore the old idea of a German-Japanese Alliance has been seriously revived both in Japan and Germany, so that these two powers may not find themselves completely isolated in world politics.

VI

On November 25, 1936, a German-Japanese Pact was signed at Berlin, the text of which is as follows :

"The German Government and the Japanese Government, recognizing that the aim of the Communist Internationale known as the Commintern is directed at disrupting and violating existing States with all means at its command and convinced that to tolerate the Communist Internationale's interference with the internal affairs of nations not only endangers their internal peace and social well-being but threatens world peace at large, animated by a desire to work in common against Communist disruptive influences have arrived at the following agreement :

"The high contracting parties agree to mutually inform each other concerning the activities of the Communist Internationale, to consult with each other concerning measures to combat the activity, and to execute these measures in close co-operation with each other.

II

"The two high contracting States will jointly invite third parties whose domestic peace is endangered by the disruptive activities of the Communist Internationale to embark upon measures for warding these off in accordance with the spirit of the agreement or to join in it.

III

"For this agreement, both the German and Japanese texts are regarded as original versions. It becomes effective the day of signing and is in force for a period of five years.

"The high contracting States will, at the proper time before expiration of this period, arrive at an understanding with each other concerning the form of this co-operation is to take.

SUPPLEMENTARY PROTOCOL

"*A.* The competent authorities of both high contracting parties will co-operate most closely in connection with the exchange of information concerning the activities of the Communist Internationale, as well as in connection with publicity and defense measures against the Communist Internationale.

"*B.* The Competent authorities of both high contracting parties will, within the frame-work of existing laws, take strict measures against those who, at home or abroad directly or indirectly are active in the service of the Communist Internationale or lend a helping hand to its disruptive work.

"With a view to facilitate the co-operation of the competent authorities of both high contracting parties specified in (*A*), a permanent commission will be created. In this commission the further defensive measures necessary for combating the disruptive work of the Communist Internationale will be considered and deliberated upon.

Berlin, Nov. 25, 1936; that is the Nov. 25 of the eleventh year of the Showa Period. — Ribbentrop, Mushakoji"

—*The New York Times* Nov. 26, 1936.

Of course the above text of the pact is too simple to indicate the real significance of this document. To be sure the Soviet Russian statesmen and press declare the pact as a military alliance against Russia. A London despatch dated the 24th of November published in the *New York American* gives the following interesting interpretation of the treaty :

"Acording to information reaching here (London) tonight four principal points of the German-Japanese agreement are :

1. The Germans agree to supply Japan with material and technical aid in aviation and chemical warfare and all other things concerned with military science.

2. To arrange for the mutual exchange of political information between both governments and for the 'common defense of their legitimate interests.'

3. Each government pledges itself to make no agreement with any other country without the knowledge of the other.

4. If either government is engaged in war with a third power, the other signatory undertakes to do nothing to aggravate the situation of the partner to the agreement."

Well-informed British circles regard that the German-Japanese Pact is merely a cloak for a far-reaching understanding between these two powers, which will seriously affect British interests in the Far East. "*Augur,*" in a special despatch from London to *New York Times* of November 26, 1936 writes :

"Internal evidence is accumulating in London for several weeks now to prove that the German-Japanese agreement to create an anti-Communist front is only a cover for more serious contractual obligations.

"An agreement to co-operate in military domain has been known for sometime, as the activities of a Japanese mission virtually permanently stationed in Berlin, could not have escaped the attention of informed observers. Political circles here are much more interested in the revelation of the existence of a secret protocol for the division into spheres of influence of Netherland possessions in the East Indies.

"Denials forthcoming from Berlin and Tokyo cannot alter the conviction here that such secret understanding exists in binding form. And it brings the German-Japanese alliance into direct opposition to British Imperial interests.

"Reliable information has it that the basis of the German-Japanese agreement to share zones of influence in the region where the Pacific meets the Indian Ocean is a decision to consider a line drawn through the inner seas of the Dutch East Indian Archipelago as the dividing line between areas of imperial expansion for both countries.

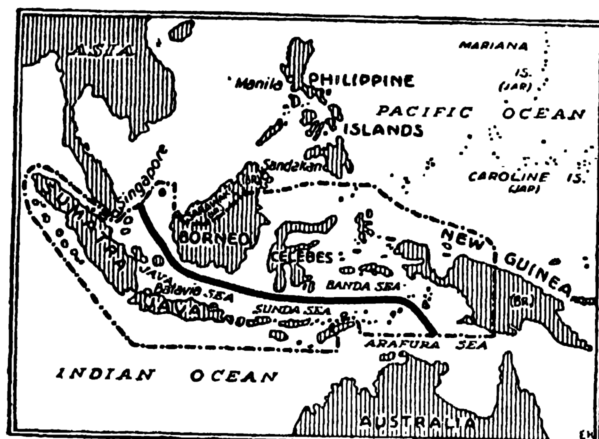
"Germany renounces all claims to island possessions on the Pacific side of the dividing line. This is a roundabout way of acknowledging Japanese sovereignty over Mariana, Caroline and other islands lost by Germany and given to Japan by the Versailles Peace Treaty under League mandate. Thus German pride is spared the need of officially surrendering specified territories and Germany's claim to lost colonies in Africa remains unchanged.

"The dividing line mentioned passes through the four seas known as Java, Sunda, Banda and Arafura, leaving Dutch Borneo and Celebes within the Japanese sphere of influence and linking up with the Philippines, Sumatra and Java constitute the plums in the German area on the Indian Ocean side of the dividing line, although the information available is to the effect that the rights of the Japanese textile trade will be preserved even there.

"From the viewpoint of British interests this arrangement, which incidentally is reminiscent of the pre-war Anglo-German treaty for the partition of Portuguese colonies, constitutes a serious menace, especially as anything contributing to Japanese penetration in Dutch Borneo is considered a menace to the imperial base at Singapore, which relies for its protection on the existence upon its right flank of submarine bases in British Sandakan Bay, North Borneo."

AREA COVERED IN REPORTED SECRET PACT

Germany and Japan are understood to have agreed on a division of the Dutch East Indies—the boundaries of which are shown by the broken line—into spheres of influence. The heavy black line traces the divide said



to have been fixed. Germany's sphere would be the area on the south or Indian Ocean side of the line and Japan's would be the area on the north or Pacific side. Other islands in this region are reported to be involved in the agreement.

MENACE TO COMMUNICATIONS SEEN

"A true prospect of strengthening the German position in Java and Sumatra, virtually in the rear of the Singapore position and on the main lines of communication between the great fortress and British bases in the Indian Ocean, is decidedly unpleasing.

"It is well known in London that Dr. Hjalmar Schacht, German Economics Minister, has prepared a comprehensive scheme of German penetration in the great islands of the Dutch East Indies. Taking advantage of the existence in the Netherlands of a large amount of German capital that is apprehensive of a return to Berlin, Dr. Schacht has encouraged the creation of a number of German-owned companies under Netherland laws with the object of developing exports to Germany of Javanese and Sumatran raw materials, which otherwise would have to be obtained through London and New York.

"There is also a deliberate policy of creating German settlements on plantations, and an increasing number of Germans are residing in Batavia and other large towns. Again, there is a special German organization for furthering Nazi propaganda among the Hollanders in the East Indies by instilling Hitlerite ideas and preparing the ground for political co-operation between Germans and Hollanders.

"Thus the German-Japanese agreement, carefully announced in Berlin and Tokyo as without anti-British bias, becomes intensely suspect in political circles in London, which have discovered a point directed against this country and the British Empire. The fact that German renunciation of all claims to territory on the Pacific side of the dividing line mentioned seems to rule out a demand for the return of New Guinea, now held by Australia, fails to satisfy Britain. The aim of British diplomacy now will be to probe the situation to the bottom so that no aspect of German-Japanese co-operation remains hidden."

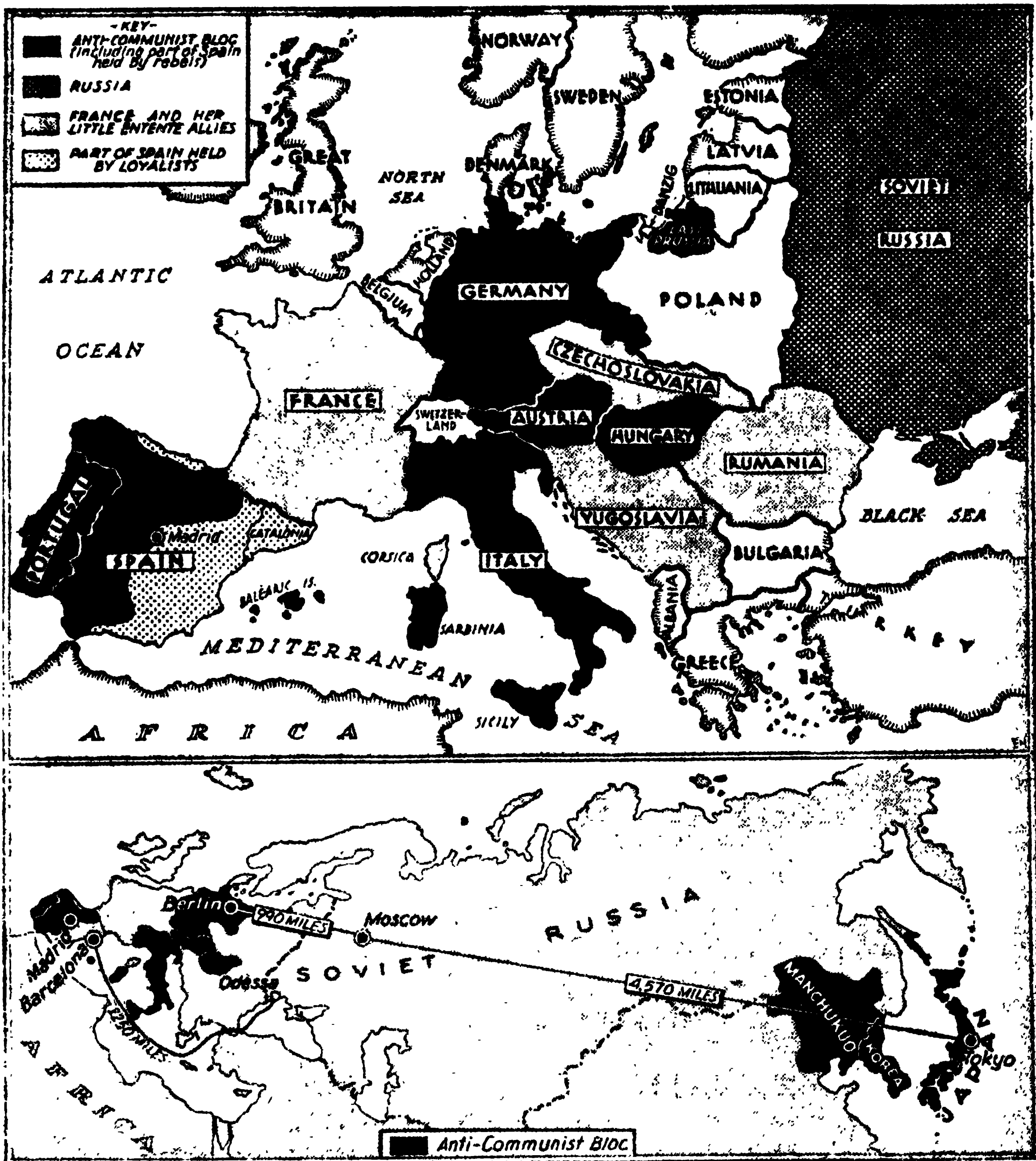
VII

The immediate consequence of the announcement of the German-Japanese pact is that Great Britain has definitely declared that she will stand by France and Belgium in case of an attack by any other Power. France has also declared that she will support Great Britain in case she is attacked by any Power. Therefore in Europe a new solidarity of Powers—Great Britain, France, Belgium, Russia and the Little Entente group of Powers—has arisen against Germany and her possible allies, Italy and Japan. There is little doubt now that Italy is going to be associated at least for the time-being with the German-Japanese Alliance; this is evident from the fact that a new Italo-Japanese treaty has been signed by which Japan has agreed to acknowledge Italian sovereignty over Ethiopia and Italy in turn has agreed to honour Japanese interests in that country. It is also agreed that Italy will recognize the special status of Manchukuo. This means that the international diplomatic world is sharply divided into two camps: (1) Anglo-French-Russian group of Powers aided by their allies and (2) German-Japanese-Italian group of powers supported by their allies. This sharp division of powers is generally regarded as the *anti-Fascist bloc of powers* (the first group) facing the *Fascist group* (the second group). I do not think this interpretation of grouping of Powers, due to difference of political ideology, is correct: because the division has been brought about by the conflicting political and economic interests of the groups. In fact, the division has been caused by the fact that the second group of Powers—German-Japanese-Italian group—is seeking expansion at the cost of the first group. It is therefore a struggle between "have-not" States against those States which are great Empires—the British Empire, the French Empire and the Soviet Russian Empire which regards Mongolia and part of China as her spheres of influence. It is not impossible that such a sharp division and grouping of Powers may become a factor in bringing about the next world war. If a world war breaks out in the near future it will be something like what happened in 1914 when the Triple Entente of Great Britain, France and Russia, supported by other Powers faced the Triple Alliance Group of Powers (minus Italy).

VIII

What will be the outcome of such a conflict? None can play the part of a prophet to answer this question dogmatically. However, if the Anglo-French-Russian Group of Powers be supported by the United States, China, all parts of the British Empire and France's present allies, then their combined man-power, industrial and

New Fronts forming in Europe and Asia



From Lisbon to Tokyo lines are being drawn. The upper map shows the alignment of European powers; the lower illustrates the vast sweep of alliances formed against communism

economic power and financial resources will be much superior to those of Germany, Japan and Italy. Although it may be suggested that military efficiency of Germany, Japan and Italy may be superior to their would-be opponents, yet it is not probable that under ordinary circumstances, they would be able to defeat such a powerful combination.

In case a conflict between these two groups of Powers occur, then it is certain that Japan

and Russia, will have to pay very heavily. Germany will in all probability not attack France and Belgium, because such an act may at once bring Great Britain into the war against Germany. Germany will possibly attack Czechoslovakia, an ally of both France and Russia, which Powers may come to the aid of their ally and declare war against Germany. In that case Japan may attack Russia in the Far East. If Italy decide to help Germany militarily against Russia and France, it is conceivable that the Italian army would be mobilized on the Italo-French frontier and this act will help Germany tremendously. In case Great Britain decide to aid France against an Italo-German attack, then Italians would do their best in creating difficult situation for Britain in the Mediterranean, in Asia Minor as well as Egypt. Of course, the Italo-German activities would be directed towards bringing about an Arab revolt, as the British did bring about an Arab revolt against Turkey in 1915-16. In fact, German-Italian-Japanese authorities would welcome a revolt in India as well. The British authorities would try to counteract Italian and German pressure by trying to blockade Germany in the region of the North Sea and to bottle up Italy in the Mediterranean, by placing powerful British fleet at the Atlantic entrance of the Mediterranean and also another fleet near Aden. The British will have to face the Japanese in the Pacific, with their fleet, centred in the Singapore naval base. However, in the theatre of the war in the Far East, Japan will possibly have the most difficult situation. She will have to face Soviet Russia which has, according to the statement of the Soviet Vice-Minister of War, about 1,000 war-planes, 1,000 tanks and 500,000 soldiers in Siberia and no less than 50 submarines in Vladivostok. Japan will have to fight this formidable force. Furthermore, it is the opinion of many well-informed persons that there is a secret treaty between Russia and China to the effect that in case of a war between Japan and Russia, China would come to the aid of the latter. Japan will have to take steps so that a powerful Chinese army may not attack her forces from the back, while Russia would attack her at the front. Furthermore, Japan must be prepared for any action of the British navy and the support of the British and Indian forces which are in India and which may come to the aid of China against Japan. Lastly, Japan may find that the United States may decide to stand by Russia, China and Britain against Japan. To be sure in such an eventuality Japan would not find any effective aid from Germany or Italy, who would be occupied in their own battles in Europe, Africa and in Asia Minor.

From the stand-point of the above-mentioned possible developments in world politics and war, the recent Japanese-Chinese hostilities in North China may be regarded as a phase of the future Russo-Japanese War, which may be a part of the coming world war. Japan is determined to check any possibility of a Russo-Chinese military combination, as she is anxious to defend herself against any possible naval combination of Great Britain and the United States. Therefore the developments in the Far East will have very far-reaching consequences in Europe. If a Russo-Japanese understanding can be brought about which would insure peace in the Far East, then there will be less possibility of a war in Europe.

In the next world war, Britain will have to use Indian forces both in the Near East and Africa as well as in the Far East against Japan. If Russia be seriously pressed by Germany and Japan, then Britain will be forced to place a million or two Indian soldiers in the Far East to check or defeat Japan. Therefore the role of India in the next world war would be of far greater significance than it was in the world war of 1914-18, when both Japan and Italy were fighting on the side of Britain. It may be safely asserted that if Britain fail to use the full support of India, owing to some unforeseen reasons, and thus fail to support China and Russia against Japan, it is quite conceivable that Japan would be able to hold her own against Soviet Russia and China in the battle-field. Similarly if the American navy does not come to the support of Britain in the Pacific, it will not be possible for the combined naval forces of Britain and Russia to destroy the Japanese fleet. Lastly, if America refuse to extend full economic and financial support to the Anglo-French-Russian group, against German-Japanese-Italian group, then the former group may not find it so easy to vanquish the latter. Therefore much will depend upon the attitude of the Government of the United States, whose friendship is being sought by the British Empire, France, Russia as well as other nations who may become involved in the coming world war. We even find that Britain, Russia, Japan and China are engaged in buying American planes in the preparation for the next war.

In conclusion, I wish to say that there is every reason to think that another world war is approaching; and at the present moment the

alignment is Anglo-French-Russian group *vs.* German-Japanese-Italian group. But the line-up may be changed—Great Britain may buy up Italy and Germany through certain concessions. But it seems somewhat certain that Soviet Russia will refuse to make adequate concession to Japan; and therefore there may be a Russo-Japanese War which may lead to a world war. India and the United States will indirectly as well as directly play very significant parts in the coming conflict.

New York City,
December 5, 1936

POEMS

By RABINDRANATH TAGORE

MORNING

In Thy name I ope my eyes
Upon the holy morn today;
In Thy name doth all my heart
Its hundred petals open lay;
In Thy name the touch of dark
Is streak'd with lines of golden fire ;
In Thy name now bursts the light
Like music from the Morning's lyre ;
In Thy name the eastern gate
Its mighty portals doth unfold ;
In Thy name comes forth the sun
Brow-bound with newly-burnish'd gold;
In Thy name the sea of life
With play of ripples wakes anew ;
In Thy name, lo, all the world
Deck'd in beauty comes to view.

THE NIGHT LAMP

Softly—softly—softly blow,
O night-wind, O restless wind :
Hark, the thrilling note of midnight !
Hush, O wind, go soft and slow.
I, the Night Lamp, for thy sake
In fear and trembling keep awake :
Tell thy secret in mine ear —
But hush, O wind, speak it low.
News from far-off woods in spring
Unto my room-corner bring ;
I too have a word to send
To the stars at darkness' end :
Take it in thine ear, O wind,
Take it softly ere you go.

(*Translated by* Lalit Mohan Chatterjee)



WORLD'S CURRENCY DILEMMA

By H. L. DEY, M.A., D.Sc. Econ. (London).

Reader in Economics, University of Dacca.

The Break-up of the International System

The International Gold Standard, under which the currencies of all the advanced countries of the world were linked to one another and which promoted international trade and capital movements and stimulated economic progress for nearly half a century prior to 1914 and again in the brief post-war period of 1925-31, was abandoned with the advent of the present world economic depression in 1930-31. Among the reasons that led to its abandonment were maldistribution of gold reserves due to reparations and war-debts, policies of restrictionism and isolation which choked the channels of international trade and finance, fall of prices unaccompanied by a corresponding fall in costs, causing an obstinate depression and an unprecedented growth in the volume of unemployment, and all of these together bringing about a great reduction in national income and in public revenues and expenditure. The international gold standard was like a gigantic enterprise, of which the success depended largely on steady and intelligent co-operation among the major nations in trade, finance and political relations, and it was but natural that isolation and separatism in these other fields would prove utterly incompatible with co-operation and mutualism in the sphere of currency and exchange.

But, it would be a mistake to suppose that the abnormal conditions of the post-war period alone were responsible for the break-up of the international gold standard. Even before the war there had been sometimes felt a certain incompatibility between an automatic gold standard and stability of domestic economic equilibrium. But this became more serious and pronounced in the post-war period. Thus, for instance, if a foreign country raised or lowered the rate of discount relatively to the domestic rate, efflux or influx of gold would take place and thereby disturb the state of domestic monetary and credit situation and ultimately affect production and employment. A country might be living quite happily in a state of perfect equilibrium in respect of production, investment, costs and prices and employment, by appropriate domestic credit policy operated through suitable movement in the discount rate, if it was not subjected to constant pulls and strains due to external monetary and credit conditions. But, if some other major nation raised its discount rate, then gold would flow out of the first country, its volume of cash and credit circulation would be contracted and this would discourage domestic production and investment, create unemployment and thus set up a series of strains in its economic system till ultimately through adjustments and sufferings a new equilibrium was reached, only to be faced with a fresh risk of disturbance due to a similar or an opposite course of action on the part of the foreign nation. The danger of such disturbance to the internal economic equilibrium was specially great for countries like Great Britain which had become international bankers. Foreign money flowed into and out of them due to countless reasons such as movements in international discount rates, political and currency disturbances, wars and rumours of wars, and also varying opportunities for safe and liquid investments. The consequence was that the currency and credit situations and the state of domestic investment, production and employment in these countries were governed at least as much by these fluctuating foreign influences as by deliberate domestic control. In the pre-war period such disturbances, though not altogether absent, were neither serious nor prolonged and frequent. Therefore, this dark side of the international gold standard did not attract much attention. A further important reason for the neglect of this aspect of the problem appears to be that the disadvantages were far outweighed by the advantages of rapidly growing international trade promoted by increased production of gold, marvellous developments in transport and communication, absence of industrialism in the greater part of the world, and exploitation of almost limitless virgin areas in the new world. But, in the post-war period many of these favourable circumstances disappeared due to the spread of industrialism, low output and sterilisation of gold, growth of economic nationalism generated by the sentiments of political independence and self-deter-

mination, and destruction of capital on a tremendous scale caused by the war. On the other hand, due to the growth of socialism and increase in the political power of labour all over the world, stability of wages, employment and standard of living has become a matter of supreme importance from the point of view of domestic politics. And to ensure such stability in the conditions of employment, it is essential that the government or the national monetary authorities should have complete control over the monetary and credit policy undisturbed by foreign conditions. This increasing appreciation of the importance of safe-guarding the stability of domestic economic equilibrium from the countless influences of foreign monetary policies and tendencies may, therefore, be regarded as the second important reason that has led to the break-up of the international gold standard.

II

National Autonomy in Currency

Now, having broken the golden chain that had imposed a common discipline on them and had required all to move in step with one another, the majority of the great nations of the world (except France, Belgium, Holland and Switzerland which are still struggling hard to stick to the gold standard due to peculiar reasons into which we need not enter here) assumed complete autonomy in matters of currency and exchange, and each began to pursue that policy which was considered appropriate to its peculiar situation both internally and externally. The principal objectives of this new national monetary policies appear to be, firstly, to raise and steady the internal price level so as to stimulate investment and employment, and secondly, to launch out on a policy depreciating and fluctuating exchange so as to counter the effects on the export trade of similar policies on the part of other nations. This brings us face to face with a new and highly interesting experiment in the field of international currency, which is likely to play an important rôle in the future gold standard, if and when it is restored. This experiment is called exchange management. Its principal instrument is the Exchange Equalization Account, which was established in England in 1932 and in a few other countries later on. Let us see what this Account is and what it is about.

The Exchange Equalization Account of England is a branch of the British Treasury, to which has been assigned by Parliament a predetermined maximum amount of British Treasury Bills. The amount was originally £150 millions as fixed in 1932 but in the next succeeding year it was raised to £350 millions. Now, whenever any foreigners are transferring their funds to London for deposit there, they sell the foreign currency (dollars or francs) and buy sterling and the result is that the exchange rate of sterling goes up and that of the foreign currency in question goes down. This gives an advantage to the foreign country and creates a disadvantage for England so far as the export trade is concerned. To counter this, the British Exchange Equalization Account sells a corresponding amount of Treasury Bills in the London money market, secures sterling and later on sells the sterling and buys the foreign currency. The result of this action on the part of the Account is to raise the exchange rate of the foreign currency and lower that of the sterling. In this way, the upward tendency of the sterling brought about by the action of the foreigners is completely counteracted and the disturbance in the sterling exchange that was about to take place due to the influx of foreign funds is held in check. For this reason, the British Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Neville Chamberlain, has never lost an opportunity of declaring that the sole purpose of the British Exchange Equalization Account has been to smooth out the fluctuations of exchange and never to depreciate the sterling exchange so as to gain for Britain an undue advantage in the export trade. But it is obvious that the phrase "smoothing out the fluctuations of foreign exchange" is a highly elastic phrase and may mean certainly more than one thing. Moreover, the operations of the British Account have been so far enveloped in complete mystery. Nobody knows when the Account is selling sterling and buying foreign currency and how much of the one is being bought and how much of the other sold. It is quite possible that the Account is selling more of sterling or buying more of the foreign currency than is required to counter the action of the foreigner in a reverse direction, and in that case there would be a deliberate policy of sterling depreciation. Consequently, both the United States and France have often accused England of deliberate attack on their currencies through depreciation of sterling. From an unbiassed account of the operation of the British system recently published by a British economist (N. F. Hall), it appears that the British Account has been operated sometimes to check undue fluctuations as claimed by Mr. Chamberlain, but also that sometimes it has been managed

with a view to depreciate the sterling exchange in step with the dollar exchange, specially after the U. S. A. left gold in the spring of 1933. Not much is known about the system of exchange management followed in other countries, but the British system gives us a fairly clear idea of the new mechanism that has been set up in the field of currency and exchange regulation.

But the Exchange Equalization Account has served another important purpose, too, which may remain as a permanent feature of international currency such as it is or likely to become. As we have seen, the Account buys up and thus absorbs or sucks away, as it were, all the foreign funds (gold) that comes for investment in the money market, generally for a short period. Again, when the foreigners want to withdraw their funds, the Account sells foreign currency, obtains sterling and buys back the Treasury Bills. Thus it comes about through the operations of the Exchange Equalization Account that the inflow or the outflow of foreign funds is not allowed to influence the volume of domestic credit as used to be the case with the automatic gold standard. Under that standard, whenever foreign funds (gold) came in, the currency and banking reserves of the country increased and consequently there was a period of easy money accompanied by rising prices, production and employment. When the reverse thing happened, there was a state of dear money, falling prices, production and employment. Now, what the Exchange Equalization Account does is to buy off this foreign funds when they come and to sell them off when they leave. In this way these movements of foreign funds are not allowed to influence the domestic currency and credit situation. The Account segregates the foreign funds from the regular domestic money market, which is regulated in accordance with predetermined domestic policy and not allowed to be adversely or favourably affected by the movement of foreign funds.

Thus it is clear that the new exchange management technique has been an instrument for securing what is now known as domestic autonomy in currency. A supplementary method serving somewhat the same purpose is to allow the gold points to become much wider than was the case in the regime of the automatic gold standard. Under that system, the currency authorities were legally bound to buy and sell gold at approximate fixed prices, so that when the foreign exchanges reached these points and went beyond, gold would flow in or out as a matter of course and consequently influence the state of domestic money market. But, under the new managed system, the currency authorities are not so bound to buy and sell gold at fixed prices in terms of national currency, so that the foreign exchanges may be allowed to go up or down to a considerable extent without creating an influx or efflux of gold. This also adds to the power of the monetary authorities to safe-guard the domestic money market from the influences of the foreign exchanges. Another technical device that is being gradually pressed into service for the same end is for the Central Bank to buy and sell forward exchange by means of which it is possible to maintain differential rates for the domestic money market and for foreign lending and thus to make the conditions of domestic equilibrium compatible with those of external equilibrium. This involves some amount of exchange speculation and therefore the Central Banks still fight somewhat shy of following this method to the limit. But, Mr. Keynes insists that if the Central Bank buys and sells foreign currency on forward account at appropriate premium or discount in relation to the spot or current rate, then the rates of interest for foreign borrowing or lending can be kept at any point that may be decided on without affecting the domestic credit conditions in the least degree. It is, therefore, likely that this device also will be exploited more and more in the future in order to safeguard the autonomy of national currency management.

Now, having in the manner explained above secured the autonomy of currency and exchange management, all the off-gold or free-currency countries inaugurated a policy of cheap money (*i.e.*, low rate of interest) and thereby encouraged domestic investments, both public and private. This policy succeeded completely in preventing a further fall of prices. But it also raised prices to a certain extent. This increased the profits of business and encouraged production and thereby stimulated employment. In July last, for instance, the figure of unemployment in Great Britain, for the first time in five years, sank below the inflexible two-million line. Similar improvements have also taken place in other free-currency countries like the U. S. A. The gold-bloc countries, on the other hand, being debarred from currency depreciation because of their adherence to the rigid gold-standard, have so far pursued a steady policy of currency deflation and price reduction in order to neutralise the effects of the depreciating exchanges of the free-currency countries. But, deflation and price reduction have brought about

a progressive decline in production and employment and a serious shrinkage in public revenues. And the governments concerned, faced with heavy budgetary deficits, have been compelled to effect drastic retrenchment and to increase the pressure of taxation. Belgium alone among the gold-bloc countries resolved the difficulty of the situation by straightaway reducing the gold value of her currency to the extent of 25 p.c. in March last under the leadership of her Prime Minister Monsieur Van Zeeland. In this Belgium only followed the example set by England in 1931-32 and by the U. S. A. in 1933. But France, chief and leader among the gold-bloc countries, has so far consistently refused to seek her escape out of the crisis through devaluation (*i.e.*, reduction in the gold value of the currency). This valiant struggle in defence of the gold standard has, however, cost her much too heavily in terms of political discontent and frequent fall of the government.

III

The Dilemma

But, these rival policies of deflation and depreciation in currency management and economic adjustments have produced serious repercussions in the field of international trade. In order to defend the national economic system against the attack of foregn nations' currency depreciation or price reduction, every country has erected strong and effective barricades in the shape of trade restrictions, quotas, exchange control, and rationing of raw material imports. Consequently, both the volume and value of every nation's imports and exports have sunk to low levels. Thus, according to the *Review of World Trade* for 1934 by the League of Nations, the volume of world trade in 1934 was only 78 p.c. of what it had been in 1929, while the corresponding value in terms of gold was only 34 p.c. and in terms of sterling 55 p.c. This shrinkage in the volume of world trade, of course, means that the great export industries of the world, *viz.*, steel, coal, engineering, shipping, textile, farming, etc., still remain in an exceedingly depressed state. This involves a correspondingly heavy volume of unemployment and persistence of economic instability. Therefore, although some measure of recovery has been achieved in the free-currency countries through the policy of cheap money in the domestic market, large parts of the economic system dependent on the flow of export trade still lie low in the trough of depression. Consequently, it is becoming increasingly clear that all-round economic recovery cannot be brought about except on the basis of stabilized international currency and exchanges, such as had been the case before.

Here, then, comes the dilemma of world currency : If the nations continue to pursue the path of autonomy of internal or national management, a few industries dependent on the domestic market only will recover and thereby reduce unemployment to a certain extent. But, such a policy, as seen by the experience of the last five years, produces repercussions in foreign countries and the export trade suffers gravely in consequence. Now, it has so happened that the present economic structure of every country has been largely determined by the export trades. The prosperity of every country was built on and through them. Their revival requires as a condition precedent that there should be stability of international currency and exchange under a more or less rigid gold standard. But, if such a standard is re-adopted, each nation must, first of all, give up the autonomy of domestic management. At the same time, there will be no guarantee that the mere re-adoption of the international gold standard will automatically revive the export trade; such a standard is only one of the conditions. There are other vital conditions, too, which must be satisfied before a recovery can be ensured. These conditions, briefly, are a reasonable settlement of the reparation and war-debts problem, international lending on a large scale, the adoption of a definite policy of all-round disarmament, and abolition of abnormal trade barriers. But, who can guarantee that these conditions will be fulfilled in the present state of international politics? And, unless they are satisfied, there can be no return to the gold standard nor any revival of the export trade. Hence the dilemma : To stick to domestic autonomy or to return to the international regime?

In search of a way out, a few leading economists of the world, notably Sir Arthur Salter (*vide* the *London Economist* of July 6 and 13, 1935) and group of English, Belgian, French and Swedish economists including Messrs. Keynes, Henderson and Ohlin, assembled in Antwerp in July last (*vide* the *Economist*, July 20, 1935), have suggested a sort of compromise, which is designed to facilitate the passage from the state of national autonomy to that of international co-operation and discipline without much strain. The essence of the plan is that, while domestic autonomy will be retained for the present, there should be an attempt to fix and stabilise the rate of exchange for short periods only in order to try out how far a particular rate of exchange

may be compatible with the requirements of domestic and international equilibrium from the point of view of each individual nation. If it is found in the course of a short period that the rate of exchange chosen is proving too high or too low for a particular nation, that nation must have the freedom to adopt another rate of exchange lower or higher than the previous one and try out the new rate for a further short period. But, it is not suggested that the rate adopted after a few initial trials will remain in force for all time to come, as was the case under the old gold standard. On the contrary, it is held that the nation concerned must always retain the freedom to vary the rate, if such an alteration is required in the interest of national economic stability and progress.

But, it appears to us that the compromise plan suggested by these distinguished economists does not solve the real difficulty. For, after the rates of exchange for all currencies have been once fixed and stabilized through a process of trial and error, who is to say whether any particular country desiring to alter that rate in so far as its own currency is concerned is doing so merely for the protection of its own economic interest and not for injuring that of other nations? There is no impartial international authority or third party who can arbitrate in such matters in case of dispute between any two or more nations. It has been suggested that disputes about the appropriate rate should be referred to a sort of consultative committee of Central Banks of the principal countries of the world. But, Central Banks are not quite such free agents as they are supposed to be. For, in a vital matter like the rate of exchange, each Central Bank is bound to be led by the decision of each government as to what would be an appropriate rate, and since each government, guided entirely by what it considers to be the national economic interest, is certain to take a view of the matter which is far different from and even antagonistic to the view taken by the other party to the dispute, it seems clear to us that the solution that has been offered by the economists is no solution at all. Perhaps it is one of those cases where we cannot make the best of both worlds but must choose either this or that.

COMBATING OF CRIME IN SOVIET UNION

By N.

The fighting of crime is a task that greatly concerns all organized States. The path covered in the matter and the limitations of results of the States that have long been in existence are largely determined by the social attitude of the States in question. In this matter also hence, as in many others, the Soviet Union based on ideas fundamentally different from those of others, has to reveal much of significance. The approach to and achievements of Soviet Union on this issue of international importance are worthy of attention and have been receiving newly gaining thought abroad, among not only individuals specially concerned with the issue of combating crime, but wider circles, the problem of crime and the fighting of it being one closely concerning society as a whole. Much information on these points, that is, Soviet Union's attitude and achievements, is supplied in the book *Soviet Russia Fights Crime* (Routledge: London. 10*s.* 6*d.*), newly translated from the German, *Sowjetrussland kaempft gegen das Verbrechen* by Lenka von Koerber (Rowohlt Verlag : Berlin|Prag. 5 Marks) on which this review is based.

* * * * *

The writer, a German woman, not a member of the Communist Party as she records, and as the " von " in her name implies belonging to the nobility, gives in easy and direct language the account of her visits to prisons for criminals all over the Union. The book, however, is not the production of a casual tourist taking to " looking into " prisons from a sense of adventure or amusement. The approach to the work, as one is told in the introduction, and as the following chapters ably substantiate, is made with student's and reformer's passion for learning and making known outside, developments relating to an important and universal issue. Lenka von Koerber has also much competence for this task, having worked voluntarily for eight years in German prison reformatories. She is particularly in a position to compare and contrast. These factors enhance the value of the

book and make it one of importance and significance to politicians and students.

* * * * *

The attitude of Soviet administration to prisoners is determined by two basic factors: adoption of the view that crime is a product of social conditions, and adherence to the interests of the social character of the Soviet State. Prisoners are not looked upon or treated as essentially evil matter or waste material. The purpose is not to let them roll away a number of years through a house of confinement and leave them out at the end with the same mental content as they had when they arrived, the same attitude to society, with no new prospects put before them, and physically depressed. The Soviet State, underlines von Koerber, looks upon the prisoner, charged for robbery, brigandage, offence against body, or deception, from the stand-point of the influence of social environments and circumstances of the prisoner, and takes into consideration the mental attitude conditioned by these and his outlook under their effects on society. The purpose is to bring about a healthy outlook on society consistent with the interests of the working class State, to give him a new mental content, and qualify him for a position of use and value in the Soviet State.

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The period of imprisonment in Soviet Union is rarely less than one year, as it is considered that the conversion necessary to a life of use and stability cannot be brought about in a shorter period; and the maximum period is ten years. Life imprisonments are unknown. Punishment is generally more severe in the cases of persons whose training warrants expectations of better conduct from them. It is particularly severe when a member of the Party has to account for a crime. The maximum period of punishment can be reduced considerably. This depends greatly on the prisoner himself. On his diligence and making clear his competence to be a useful and responsible Soviet citizen, the sentence gets shortened. Sentences may thus be reduced by half and even more. Upon a prisoner leaving his place of confinement there is no stigma attached to him. His past, in other words, is no bar to his future. He can work himself to important positions. Lenka von Koerber tells that in several of the prisons and reformatories that she visited, she found as high officials also persons who had themselves served terms.

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The life of prisoners in the Soviet Union, owing to the attitude of the Workers' State to crime and prisoners, it is stated, is different from that of prisoners elsewhere. There is greater variety and emphasis on the cultural side and on civic consciousness. All prisons have a school-room, a club-room, a reading-room, professional courses, chess-room, and hygiene and theatre circles attached to them. Illiterates are taught to read and write. Card playing and drinking are strictly prohibited. Chess on the other hand is actively encouraged. Professional courses are arranged according to the training already received and consideration of the work a prisoner is expected to follow on release. These factors also influence and determine the allotment of prisons. In prisons near about agricultural collectives special attention is given in imparting training in agricultural work, in one near a centre of metal industry special attention on training in this line, and so on. Prisons have accordingly agricultural farms and industrial establishments and workshops connected with them, where the prisoners have to work definite hours. Prisoners get twenty to fifty per cent of the wages of free workers, from which as a rule two-thirds are paid to them and the rest carried over to account and paid on release. There is no special dress for prisoners. Internal affairs as relating to discipline, theatre production, reading room affairs, chess tournaments, etc. are largely regulated by a committee elected by the prisoners from among themselves. Every prison has a "Wall Paper" run by the prisoners. The tendency in the Soviet Union is to cut down the familiar type of closed prisons, and in conformity to the Soviet attitude and aim, to have open "Communal establishments" to serve the purpose. The number of closed prisons, it is mentioned, has already dropped from 468 to 123. Separate establishments for men and women prisoners are also being done away with. In Ukraine already there are no separate women's prisons. In prisons or "Communes" where men and women prisoners are lodged they are allowed to mix. No restriction is put even on their deciding on marriage relationships "provided they are serious and do not prejudice discipline."

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Lenka von Koerber explains in considerable detail the working of different "Communes," some devoting special attention to the reformation of young derelicts and others in the nature of industrial and agricultural colonies, where in the farms and factories attached those under-

going terms of punishment and free labourers work together. The problem of youthful derelicts following the years of war and foreign interventions was an extremely serious and complicated one to Soviet administrators. At one time, in the year 1921, the number of these young vagabonds was estimated at 540,000. Lenka von Koerber tells of the able and successful method employed in tackling this difficult problem, which is also excellently brought to light in the first Russian talkie "Back Into Life." This she does in a separate chapter giving her impressions of a visit to "Bolschewo," one of the largest of the "Communes" for young criminals and vagabonds. The aim pursued and in general the method employed here are the same as elsewhere. But in the case of youths and certain seasoned criminals—there is a special chapter dealing with a prison of seasoned or hard criminals—they call from the authorities considerable tact, patience, determination and concentration. Often, one is told, from among these possessing strong will, energy, initiative, and enthusiasm, but all ill-directed, by training and careful treatment, evolve specially useful citizens. In general, one is also informed, it takes more to bring about the desired change in women prisoners than men prisoners.

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Soviet Union's attitude to crime and prisoners stands out in relief against other States, it is explained, by its positive aim and constructive character. The attention given to prisoners and the care taken of them in Soviet Union lead cynics and confirmed opponents of the Soviet system and the naive to ask whether people will not by choice seek admission in prisons. Lenka von Koerber answers that the question has little to do with attention and care of prisoners, but evidences a false estimation of value attached to liberty, and that prison life in Soviet Union imposes restriction on liberty in addition to those voluntarily imposed under a correct and social attitude to liberty is not denied. Soviet prisons are neither torture-halls nor time-killing barracks nor houses of entertainment. They are shown as educational centres of a particular type with special methods but pursuing an ultimate aim common to all educational institutions in the Soviet Union.

For fuller details, readers would do well to turn to von Koerber's interesting and informative book referred to above.

PRAGUE

FOREIGN RELATIONS OF INDIA AND THE UNITED STATES

By TARAKNATH DAS

SOME time ago the Indian Legislative Assembly raised the question of appointing Indian consuls in various countries but the question was put aside with the answer that Indian Foreign Affairs are solely under the control of the Viceroy and therefore the Assembly had no right to discuss the proposition. (I am giving the substance of the discussion). As things stand today the Indian constitution does not give the Indian people any right of forming any decision regarding India's Foreign Affairs. But Indian authorities and Indian statesmen will be interested to know that within a short time the Australian Government will establish its legation in Washington where already Canadian and Irish Ministers function independently of the British Embassy's control or direction.

Time will come when India will enjoy at least the same rights as the Irish Free State, Canada and other British dominions; in the meantime, Indian political leaders should consider what can be done to establish closer international contact with the United States of America, which is one of the principal customers of India.

(1) First of all, steps should be taken to improve trade relations between India and the United States. There is already an American Trade Commissioner in India and India should appoint a Trade Commissioner for U. S. A., who must be an Indian business leader with breadth of vision and experience.

(2) At the present time trade balance between U. S. A. and India is in favor of the latter; and it is my opinion that Indo-American trade can be vastly improved through a Reciprocal Trade Treaty between U. S. A. and India, on the same lines as the existing

Reciprocal Trade Treaty between U. S. A. and Canada. In this connection one may point out that there are reciprocal trade treaties between U. S. A. and Siam as well as U. S. A. and Ethiopia. (Of course with the Italian conquest of Ethiopia foreign relations of this country will be controlled by Italy). However, it may not be out of place to point out that the volume of trade between Siam and U. S. A. is less than 1/5 of the trade between U. S. A. and India.

In this connection, one must point out that the Government of the United States has recently negotiated several reciprocal trade treaties with various European and South American States. It is not improbable that the Government of Great Britain will try to conclude a new trade treaty with U. S. A. in which the principle of reciprocity will be the cornerstone for negotiations.

It is vital and imperative for India that she should protect her own commercial interests by concluding a reciprocal trade treaty with the United States. Initiative for negotiations of such a treaty should come from the Legislative Assembly of India.

(3) Indian merchants in U. S. A. are working under certain disadvantages. Indian residents in U. S. A., owing to anti-alien land-laws, of various states (in U. S. A.) and also because of the discriminatory Immigration Law are deprived of certain rights which American business men and residents enjoy in India.

On the fundamental principle of reciprocity the Indian Government should open negotiations with the United States to remove the existing restrictions imposed upon Indians in U. S. A.

It is needless to say that U. S. A. has perfect right to enact laws to meet her national requirements; but on the principle of reciprocity India can legitimately demand equitable adjustment of the existing grievances of Indians in the U. S. A. and particularly in matters of Immigration restriction as well as holding land.

On the question of holding land by Indians, in the U. S. A., it may be pointed out that many Indians who invested large sums in purchasing land in some of the states in U. S. A. were *forced* to sell their property at a great loss. If the Japanese Government would have adopted any such policy against British subjects (particularly white men) then the British Government would have demanded compensation for the loss of their citizens. But as the loss was borne by Indians no effective measure was adopted by the British authorities who control India's foreign relations.

Without going into further discussion of the subject, one may suggest that the Indian public, specially those who are interested in promoting Indo-American relations, should agitate for these definite propositions:

(1) Appointment of an Indian Trade Commissioner for U. S. A. who must be an Indian.

(2) Negotiations for Reciprocal Trade Treaty between U. S. A. and India.

(3) Modification of U. S. Immigration Laws so that *bona fide* Indian business men will have the right to reside in U. S. A. without any time limit for the period of their residence.

Lastly I wish to point out that at the present time Indian State Railways maintain an office—Information Bureau—in New York. Mr. N. N. Sen is the present Resident Manager of this office. He seems to have created a very good impression among the American public and furthered the cause of Indo-American commerce. It seems to me that he will soon leave for India. It is to be hoped that the Government of India would send a competent *Indian* (not an Englishman) to take the place of Mr. Sen.

The time has come when in every British Embassy and Legation there should be at least one competent Indian official who will gain practical experience in the field of diplomatic and international relations, so that in time there will be a large number of trained Indians available to take charge of India's foreign relations in all parts of the world.

As Indo-American relations are of vital importance for the future of India, I sincerely hope that the Indian political leaders will give special attention to this question.

New York,
December 8, 1936.

EXPLORATION OF BADRINATH HIMALAYAS



Unnamed Peak behind Camp Two



Foot of peaks at the head of the Arwa

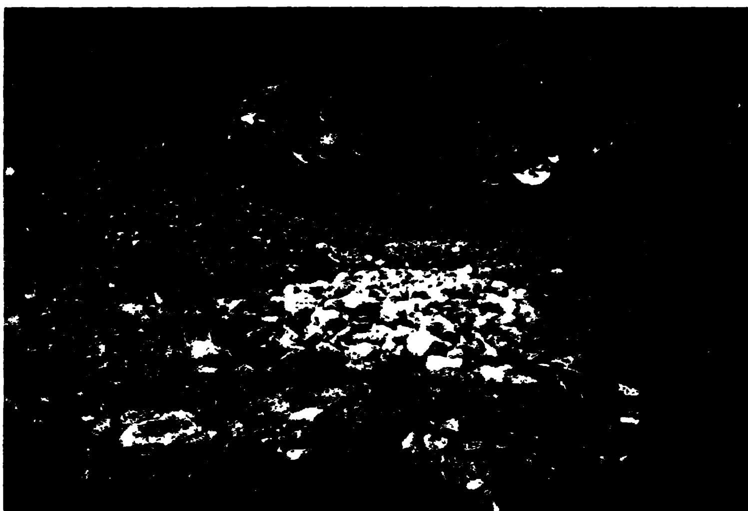


Mount Kamet from Camp Three









TOP : *Left*—A view of the source of the Saraswati   *Right*—Alaknanda and Gangotri Watershed
BOTTOM : *Left*—Junction of the Arwa and the Saraswati   *Right*—Source of the Saraswati near Tibetan Border

EXPLORATION OF BADRINATH HIMALAYAS

East Surrey's Remarkable Venture

By GOVIND PRASAD NAUTIYAL

The Himalaya in Garhwal appears in its majesty and grandeur. Its gemlike peaks capped with eternal snow, dazzling in their bright whiteness and its exquisite and unsurpassing beauty, have been held in the highest reverence and sanctity by the Hindus from the Vedic period. The adventures of the Pandavas, when they retired to the Himalayas and perished in the eternal snows, are sung in the Mahabharata as well as in local folklore. Hindu mythology is full of the great wars fought between gods and demons in these mountains. The religious mysticism, mythology and folklore associated with these holy snows are intensely thrilling. The two most sacred rivers of India, the Ganges and the Jumna, flow from the feet of the Gods from these holy and eternal snows. The Himalayas were mostly inaccessible in former times. Only a few mendicants and adventurous explorers could penetrate their innermost recesses and snow-covered peaks. Those high hills and deep glens were believed to be the haunts of gods, demons and fairies and beautiful legends and myths were invented to describe their life. In magnificence, in average height, and in the number of peaks, no other mountainous tract surpasses Garhwal Himalayas.

With such mighty Himalayas, the struggle of man continues apace. The Badrinath range have for decades constituted a subject of profound and unique interest and have attracted a distinguished company of explorers and investigators from all parts of the globe. A wealth of virgin peaks and glaciers remains here to be climbed and explored.

Such is the country, which was, in autumn last, explored by six members of the East Surrey Regiment under the leadership of Cpl. R. Ridley. The members consisted of corporals Williams and Axford, and privates Bates, Wilde and Hillier. The remarkable thing was that all of them were non-commissioned British serving soldiers.

Service Kit Utilised

For several months before they left Ranikhet, they were busy with their plans and the getting together of their kit. Their stores and equipment were by no means elaborate and could have been vastly improved upon. It is mentioned in order that it may be understood that this was due to neither ignorance nor bravado on their part, but to the fact that their financial means were very limited. They were fortunate in being able to utilize a great deal of their service kit which provided them with



Members of the East Surrey Himalayan Expedition
Standing: Hillier, Axford, Williams
Seated: Bates, Ridley, Wilde

excellent warm clothing. Their service blankets were made into very satisfactory bed bags, whilst army packs provided them with strong and reliable rucksacks. From the British-American expedition they received a large quantity of concentrated food-stuff, a further supply of clothing and some mountaineering ropes. Ice picks, snow glasses and climbing boots were obtained locally. Tentage proved a hard problem to solve, weight had to be kept down to a minimum, the ordinary army 60 lb. tent was out of the question. They got over the difficulty by using an old motor car tarpaulin which they made up into three small tents, the total weight of which was 36 lbs.

The question of porterage had to be seriously considered. After careful weighing of kit, twelve porters were employed up to Badrinath and beyond that only two were used. The

coolies carried a load of 70 lbs. each and gave every satisfaction. The party travelled as self-contained as possible and this obliged them to carry a considerable load themselves. Above Badrinath, they sometimes carried the kit in relays. At no time during a trip which lasted seven weeks and in which they marched nearly four hundred miles, did they carry less than 30 lbs.

Food

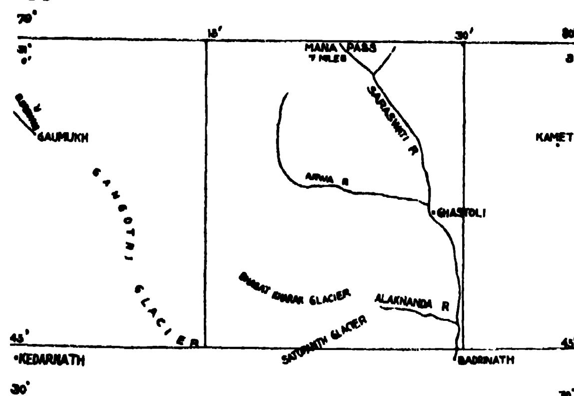
As regards food, in the words of Himalayan phraseology, they lived as much as possible 'on the country.' They had prepared and sampled some trial meals before leaving Ranikhet. One of these, Sutti, was a trial in more ways than one, and was unanimously rejected as a digestive possibility but was found excellent as a substitute for cement. Chapatties, a paste of Atta and water, cooked as a pancake, met with more favour. Actually on their trip they sampled many Indian dishes, and most time they proved both pleasing and satisfactory. Being somewhat dubious as to the supplies available en route, they increased their supplies of tin food and also succeeded in obtaining two 60 lb. boxes of army biscuits which proved very useful. They also took with them a Khansamah, who, they discovered, was quite a good cook but beyond this not much of a hero, and they were forced to leave him at Badrinath when they left for the higher regions. Over this part of the trip they undertook to cook for themselves.

The total expenses of their seven weeks' trip came to a little over a thousand rupees or approximately Rs. 25 per head per week. When it is considered that food, portage, initial outlay on equipment, in fact everything, is included, the total is a remarkably moderate one.

Object

The expedition did not undertake an attack on one of the great peaks on their first visit to the Himalayas. Exploration rather than climbing was their aim. They decided to explore the Badrinath range in the region of the Arwa valley, and to attempt some of the peaks at the valley head. They also decided to ascend the Saraswati valley to the source of this river in the glaciers near the Mana Pass.

The Badrinath range is that part of the Himalayas which forms the watershed of the Alaknanda and Gangotri rivers, the two parent tributaries of the Ganges. On the eastern side of the range flows the Saraswati which joins the Alaknanda two miles above Badrinath. Here the Alaknanda bends round in a westerly direction and forms a valley which runs due east and west. At the western end of the valley are the Bhagat Kharak and Satopanth glaciers from the combined snouts of which the Alaknanda rises. Some ten miles above the village of Mana in the Saraswati valley lies Ghastoli, a Bhotia halting place, and here diverging from the main valley and lying parallel with the Upper Alaknanda is the Arwa.



Badrinath is on the eastern side of the range where every summer thousands of Hindus visit toiling through the heat of the sub-tropical valleys of the foot-hills and braving through, as they near their goal, the intense cold of the snows. To the devout the arduous journey counts for naught, for at Badrinath they find their reward in gazing on the sacred image of Vishnu in the temple, and purification from sin by immersing their bodies in the icy waters of the sacred Alaknanda.

Journey Commenced

The expedition left Ranikhet on July 25 to Baijnath on motor and reached Gwaldom the same day. The next day they descended through heavy monsoon mists to the Pindar valley. The Pindar itself was a raging torrent, and from the steep hills of the valley side rushed mountain streams, some of the larger of which were by no means easy to ford. While the party was climbing from the Patni river, on their way to Joshimath, from the highest part of the path they saw about one mile to the west, lying like some gigantic mirror on the valley floor the beautiful Gohna lake, which is three times the size of Nainital. From Joshimath the journey to Badrinath was through the pilgrim route and was comparatively easy-going.

The party left Badrinath on August 7 with only two coolies, Pan Singh and his brother

Kusang. The following account of their journey into the higher region is given by Mr. Ridley :

The Saraswati Valley

"Two miles from Badrinath and just above the village of Mana, the Saraswati river enters a narrow gorge. It is nerve-racking experience to stand on the huge boulder that, wedged across the chasm, acts as bridge and gaze down into the depths below. The thunderous roar of the water as it crashes with relentless force against mighty boulders, the ascending clouds of spray that rise like pillows of steam from some devil's cauldron, leave little to the imagination of the consequences of one false step. The march along the Saraswati valley was a very hard one; the path at times completely disappeared amidst a wilderness of boulders, and we were forced to pick our way as best as we could. We were now above the tree line and the only cultivation about were clumps of juniper bushes and occasional grassy patches. Once we followed the track, now a narrow ledge, along a precipitous side of the valley only to find ourselves facing an area composed of loose shingle and boulders, the result of what appeared to be quite recent landfall. To cross it at any time would have been difficult and dangerous, to attempt to do so with heavy loads, could only have had one result. We were forced to retire, and make a wearysome climb above the broken part.

"In the late evening we reached the Bhotia halting place known as Ghastoli which lies at the junction of the Saraswati and Arwa rivers. Our elevation was now 13,000 feet.

The Arwa Valley

"The weather was now deteriorating and the heavy-laden clouds threatened rain at any moment. At the entrance to the Arwa valley, the ground is very flat, and we found the going quite easy.

"We were about one mile in the valley when trouble began. We came to a glacier torrent of considerable width, and there did not seem much chance of fording its turbulent icy waters. Climbing some distance of the moraine we were on, we came to a place where rocky slab divided the stream into two. It was the only place where a possible chance of getting across existed.



With the Tibetans at Ghastoli

"We were not, however, to cross without difficulty. Bates by means of a rope tied round his waist and held further upstream to counteract the force of the current, managed to reach the rock. A life line was stretched across the torrent. The second half of the stream was less difficult and from the rock a good jump enabled Bates to reach the opposite side. Hillier and Wilde were on the rock and one more bundle of kit remained to be passed across. The slippery surface caused Hillier to loose his footing, and in attempting to hold him Wilde also lost his balance, together they were thrown into the torrent below. They were brought up against a line of smooth rounded top boulders some thirty yards further downstream. A rope quickly slung out enabled us to get them to the bank. Both were badly bruised and Wilde had a nasty gash across his knee. Bad as things were we could not help but feel that we were fortunate to have got off so lightly.

"To add to our troubles, heavy rain began to fall, and we were glad to pitch camp a few hundred yards beyond the torrent. It had been an exceedingly hard day but we had made only about a mile and a half of progress into the Arwa. The next day was wet and cold and we decided to remain where we were. The morning of the tenth, we arose to find the sun rising behind the eastern peaks into a matchless sky of blue. The longed for break in the weather had come.

"Hillier and Wilde had both developed feverish colds and it was decided they should return to Badrinath. They left with Williams and Bates, who were to assist them over the difficult torrent. Axford and myself proceeded up the valley to prospect a site for Camp Two. We found the terminal moraine of the glacier, which since the visit of the Kamet expedition had been under observation, separate from the opposite bank by a narrow gorge. Reaching the level stretch of valley above the moraine without much difficulty, we proceeded some four or five miles. At several points we had to cross glacier torrents, which although not offering much trouble were extremely cold.

"The weather continued fine next day and we set off early for our new camp, arriving there at mid-day. We were now at a height of 14,000 feet and surrounded by a wilderness of grey boulders. Axford was suffering from a severe headache and fearing some form of fever we gave him a good dose of quinine and covered him with extra blankets.

"The next morning Williams and myself along with Pan Singh took some of the kit and set off to discover a likely place for our next camp. After a march of five hours, we were a hundred yards below the main valley junction. The going had not been at all difficult. Over the last mile the valley opens out to form a wide beach over which walking was good after the boulders in the lower valley. On returning we were rather disquieted to find Axford somewhat worse. The next morning feeling very weak and not wishing to hold the remainder of us up, he decided to go back down the valley to Ghastoli. Kusang Singh was sent with him. The rest of us moved on to camp three. We were now enjoying really wonderful weather. The sun was very hot and we took things easy moving up. Reaching camp we washed down our lunch of chocolate and cheese with water from a glacier stream. For the remainder of the afternoon we lolled around, taking our ease and enjoying the perfect weather.

"Later that evening I walked a short distance from the camp, and sat down in peaceful contemplation of the scene around. Far to the east descending shadows stole across the great red granite dome of Kamet, a host of lesser peaks stood silhouetted against the sky line. In graciousness and symmetry of shape they seemed like the creations of some master hand. To the west the last rays of the setting sun tinged virgin snows with gold. Slowly, as twilight began to fall upon the world, the gold turned to deep crimson, seeming to drench the peaks in

the live blood of the departing day. The first star of evening appeared; a solitary jewel in the purple vault of heaven. Then the enveloping cloak of night descended on all and the sky became studded with a myriad stars. The far off murmur of the torrent in the valley below seemed like some melody that added to the serene peace. How true are the words of the Hindu sage of old: 'In a thousand ages of the gods I could not tell thee of the glories of Himachal where Shiva lived and where the Ganges fall from the foot of Vishnu like the slender thread of a lotus flower.'

"For such an altitude the night was surprisingly warm and we slept in the open.

Base Camp

"About half a mile beyond where we had camped the main valley forks into two, and we entered the southern branch. Our progress along here was very slow, for we were forced to climb up and down the steep moraines that descended from the valley sides. After a tedious journey we reached the snout of a glacier from which issued the Arwa. We began to climb over the dirt-riddled ice travelling in a westerly direction. At one point a crater-like break in the glacier formed a pool, from the edge of the crater to the water was some thirty or forty feet, and down the sloping sides of ice there was a continuous fall of loose rumble and small stones.



Camp One—Arwa Valley

"Proceeding, we began to cross masses of boulders of red iron-stone. Great care had to be taken in disturbing the unstable stones as little as possible, for if such a thing as an avalanche had once started we would not have had much of a chance. We could now see that this branch of the valley was again sub-divided, one glacier turning to the east and appearing back towards the Saraswati, the other bent round in a westerly direction. Following the latter for a short distance we came to a glacier stream near which we pitched camp at a height of 17,000 feet. That evening the solitude was disturbed by the roar and crackle of avalanches higher up the valley.

Alaknanda-Gangotri Watershed

"Although it was well after eight O'clock when we crawled from our sleeping bags, we found the air bitterly cold, and lost no time in putting on all available warm clothing. We made a breakfast of Bovril and sardines. It may sound rather a mixture but it went down very well. Today we had decided to cross the glacier to the peaks on the opposite side. Immediately facing the camp these peaks were very steep and the heavy masses of snow and ice on them threatened an avalanche at any time. The bed of the glacier was fairly wide and by keeping well to our side we reduced risk to a minimum. After climbing steadily for an hour, we crossed the glacier bed and began the ascent on the further side.

"The slope here was much less severe but the going was by no means easy. The sun was now very strong and beat relentlessly down on us from a cloudless sky. Altitude was beginning to tell and we made frequent stops. Two hours of strenuous effort had brought us about a thousand feet above the glacier. We were almost the same distance below the col we were making for.

"We came to an area which was badly crevissed and we moved with caution over the soft snow. Taking it in turns at leading, we plodded one behind the other at funeral rate. Our knowledge of the technique of climbing was practically negligible. Of Pitons or crampons we had none, and we could place little faith in our bazar-made ice-picks, but we were determined to reach that col. At times a cautious traverse along a narrow ridge would gain us a few feet of valuable ascent, but mostly we were compelled to force our way upwards as best as we could. It was slow work but by no means dull, a glance at the glacier far below prevented it being that. The last few feet to the col had to be made over heavy layers of snow. Reaching it we found the ground rose gently before us and we moved forward a little. Far below we could see the wide lane of a great glacier; it ran due south for several miles and disappeared in a westerly direction. The ridge on which we were standing formed part of the Alaknanda-Gangotri watershed. For an altitude of twenty thousand feet the cold was not severe and we ate our lunch in comfort.

"There appeared to be an easy route from the col to the ridge above us and we decided to attempt it. Alas for appearance, it was only after a difficult climb that we made the crest. We found rewards for our efforts however in the glorious view which unfolded itself over us. We gazed upon virgin wastes of snow; upon a myriad peaks; upon great glaciers that swept down from the peaks and disappeared in the labyrinth of the icy wilderness. A scene of rugged grandeour and majestic power, yet full of a great beauty and a quiet peace.

"The afternoon was well advanced and time forbade that we should linger, we began our return to the base camp. The descent was not made without difficulty, and the sun was disappearing behind the western ridges as we made our way across the glacier and hurried down towards camp.

The Eastern Glacier

"The next day we set off to explore the glacier which forked round to the east and to which we referred as the 'Eastern glacier.' We were of the opinion that a pass might be found at its head which would lead back into the Saraswati. Unfortunately we were not able to ascertain this, for, after proceeding along it for two miles, the glacier lane became very narrow and the overhanging masses of snow and ice on the steep sides made the risk of being wiped out by an avalanche great and further exploration impractical.

"Our next move was to ascend the glacier on which we had pitched camp to its extreme western end. We did not descend to the glacier bed, but began a gentle upward traverse on our side of it. No great difficulty was met, and we climbed steadily onwards with only an occasional halt. At 19,000 feet, we decided to proceed no further, although we were not actually over the glacier head, being still on its northern side. From our position

we could see to the south-west the gracious summit of a mountain which we decided must be the 'Avalanche Peak' named and climbed by the Kamet expedition in 1931. We returned at an easy rate to our camp.

"In discussing our geographical position we came to the definite conclusion that the col to which we had ascended on the opposite side of the glacier offered a reasonable passage to the Gangotri side of the range. The practicability of the ascent from the Badrinath side had been proved and we determined to discover if a descent on the further side was possible. We did not intend, however, to proceed any distance towards the main Gangotri ice-stream; limited time and our inadequate equipment forbade this.

"Accordingly we set off early next day for the pass. We moved much quicker than on previous trip and reached the col in excellent time. The slope on the Gangotri side was very steep. Over parts we roped down passing a double rope over heavy pieces of rock and descending by it. We made a descent of about one thousand five hundred feet. The ground now sloped gradually down to the glacier below, and it was obvious it could be reached without difficulty. As we had achieved our object, we did not proceed any further. We were convinced that the journey across the range was feasible. The most difficult part we considered had been covered and our one regret was that we were not in a position to carry it to a conclusion.

"The difficult climb back to the pass now had to be made. The ascent was a toilsome business, and we forced our way up the steep snow slopes at a very slow rate. After resting a short while on the pass, we descended towards camp. It had been a very hard day and it was very tired men who trudged wearily down the glacier.

"Our limited stores were now very low and we decided to start our return down the valley on the morrow. It did not take us long next morning to pack our few stores and we were on the move early. Late in the afternoon we approached camp one, but decided not to remain here as our original intention had been but to move straight on to Ghastoli. The stream which had caused us so much trouble on entering the valley we found had lost much of its force and we crossed without difficulty. At Ghastoli we found Axford had fully recovered. He had seen us descending the Arwa and had prepared a hot meal to which we lost no time in doing full justice.

The Source of the Ganges

"There now remained the secondary object of our trip to ascend the Saraswati valley to the Mana Pass. Much controversy has existed as to whether or not the true source of the Ganges must be sought in the Alaknanda or Saraswati valleys. It has been argued the Saraswati being the longer of the two rivers the source of India's holy river must be sought in the glaciers near the Mana Pass. On August 20 we moved off towards our next camp.

"After the Arwa we found the going very easy, although the tract at times ascended steeply. Progress was good and we pitched camp early in the afternoon at a Bhotia halting place named after the valley. In place of moving to another camp we decided to travel light and make the journey to the pass and back in a single day from our present position.

"At six O'clock next morning we set off. The weather was very cold and heavy clouds concealed the sun. Now and then through the mists we caught a glimpse of snow-covered peaks. In places the valley opened out forming wide beach-like stretches over which we were able to make rapid movement. Once or twice in narrow parts of the valley the path became rather indefinite, but the way was marked by a form of roadside consisting of little cairns of stones placed on prominent boulders. These signs had been erected by Bhotia and Tibetan traders who used the route.

"A small lake situated in an open stretch of valley marked Jagroa Debtal, the last halting place on the Indian side of the border. Above here the main valley turns sharply to the north-east. Another branch was marked by a huge glacier over the snout of which came the waters of a side torrent of the Saraswati.

"The track now ascended steeply and we trailed slowly over its rocky surface. Our altitude was now over 17,000 feet, and a bitterly cold wind made us glad to don some extra clothing we had brought with us. For nearly two miles we travelled over a level stretch, the narrow corridor forming this part of the pass was flanked



Source of the Arwa River



In camp at Ghastoli



The Arwa above Camp Two

by low lying hills. The stream in places was more like a lake, its surface very still and partly ice-covered. We had bargained a journey of eight miles but we had now covered twelve without reaching our objective. Another steep climb brought us to a point where we could gaze down the last stretch towards the Tibetan border. The Saraswati curved to the west, and we followed along its boulder-strewn banks to where the stream divided into three. Climbing onwards we found ourselves amidst an area of dirty grey boulders and banks of mud and ice. Amongst the crevices of the banks the waters disappeared. It was a place of no great beauty, this birthplace of a mighty river; yet from the wilderness came life, for here from the barren hills around crowned with the everlasting snows come the eternal waters which feed Mother Ganges.

Back Through the Lower Valleys

"We made our journey back in the face of a strong and bitterly cold wind. It was a hard and trying march, but we were forced to move at a reasonable rate if we wished to avoid being benighted. As we descended into camp the sombre daylight faded, heavy storm-clouds rode low in the heavens and night brought an impenetrable darkness to the world. By the light of our torches we ate our evening meal. Of conversation there was very little. We desired one thing only : sleep.

"The next day we began our march back down the valley to Badrinath. The fine spell of weather we had enjoyed in the Upper Arwa now seemed to have deserted us, for heavy rain fell throughout the day. We halted two miles above Mana village, where we found the Tibetans encamped. Towards evening the rain ceased, the Tibetan brought us over a large supply of dry fuel and we soon had a cheery fire going.

"The march into Badrinath was only a short one, and we made this the excuse for a long lie-in. After good-bye to the party of Lamas, we set off. Taking an easy pace we reached Badrinath in the early afternoon. At the Dak Bungalow we found Hillier and Wilde fully recovered from the effects of their fall in the torrent and eager to hear our news. Again we experienced the wonderful hospitality of the local people. All were keen to hear about our exploits and listened with interest when next day I gave a brief description of our journey into the higher Himalayas."

On the opposite side of the range lies Kedarnath, which also receives its thousands of devotees who make their pilgrimage to the gods who dwell in Himachal, and from whose abode flows the eternal waters which feed Mother Ganges. Hindu literature is full of legend that in days gone by a direct passage across the range the pilgrims used to take a short cut, when visiting Badrinath and Kedarnath. Obviously such a passage would be through either the upper Alaknanda or the Arwa valleys. One of the things they were keen to discover was whether or not such a journey was feasible. They intend to form their plans for an attempt at sometime in the future, for an actual crossing of the range.

It might be said that in 1934, Shipton and Tilman went up the Alaknanda valley to the head of the Bhagat Kharak glacier and for three weeks they worked north along the watershed crossing, a series of passes between 18,000 and 20,000 feet high and ultimately they forced a pass over to Okhimath in the Kedarnath valley.

Back to Ranikhet

The party started off down the pilgrim route. They marched in easy stages, down through the narrow gorge of the upper Alaknanda on into the sub-tropical valleys of the foothills, through valleys where bananas, apricots, peaches, and other fruits grew in abundance; where thousands of gorgeous butterflies fluttered about the path, a world of vivid colour and life, forming a sharp contrast to the sterility of the higher valleys they had just left. They descended from a region of luxuriant vegetation and intense heat through cool green forests to the Ganges valley passing through Joshimath, Nandprayag, Karanprayag and Lohba. To quote Mr. Ridley again, he concludes by saying : "On September 6, we climbed the pine-clad slopes of hillside that led up to Ranikhet. High on a ridge we paused to look back; back over the foothills that receded wave upon wave to where beneath the tranquility of the evening sky lay the eternal snows."



LOST SANSKRIT WORKS RECOVERED FROM TIBET

By K. P. JAYASWAL

It is necessary that both the educated public and specialists should be apprised of the importance of discovery of manuscripts made by the Tripitakacharya Mahapandita Rahula Sankrityayana. The discovery is epoch-making. For centuries the name of this successful explorer will be cited with gratitude by writers on Indian philosophy and Buddhism. I am going to describe below the important works recovered by him. A complete list is being published in the *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*. I shall mention here a few out of the 50 works which the Rev. Sankrityayana has brought and which are getting ready for the press. It is desirable to append in the second part of this note a notice of the explorer's personality which has become a national asset to us and which now belongs to the whole land of Bharatavarsha.

I
The Discovery

In 1930, Rev. Sankrityayana brought twenty-two mule-loads of Tibetan books, paintings. and other things. In this collection there was only one Sanskrit manuscript (palm-leaf) in Kutila script of the 10th or 11th century A.D., *Vajra-Daka Tantra*—which is now at the Patna Museum. A translation of this work is found in the Tibetan encyclopædia of translations of Indian books called *Kanjur*. Probably this very copy was used in the translation by Gayadhara Pandita, a Kayastha scholar of Vaisali (Muzaffarpur district). This was the second Sanskrit manuscript recovered from Tibet, the first being that of the *Sadharma-Pundarika* taken to Japan by Rev. Kawaguchi (1900-1903). Both these manuscripts were found at Shalu.

In 1934, Rev. Sankrityayana, having stopped the restoration of the *Pramana Varttika* from Tibetan into Sanskrit which he had undertaken, went into Tibet with the sole object of making a search for a Sanskrit manuscript of this the greatest Indian work on Logic. He obtained (from the Sakya Monastery) a fragmentary commentary by Prajnakara Gupta on the P.V. But he found some 40 volumes of other manuscripts, a catalogue of which has been published in the *Journal of Bihar and Orissa Research Society* (Vol. XXI. Part I.). The part of Bhashya (commentary) of Prajnakara Gupta has also been published by us in that Journal.

In his third visit (1935) our explorer discovered 156 new works in the monasteries of Sakya, Ngor, and Shalu, which mark an epoch and make him immortal. My friend was so intent on his mission that while on his way to Tibet in the mountains he dreamt that somebody gave him a bundle wherein he found all the books he wanted including the original work of DinNaga. Dream was succeeded by fact, which went much beyond the dream. He however did not find DinNaga's work. Rev. Sankrityayana photographed folios covering 1,60,000 slokas (measurement, one sloka = 32 syllables or *aksharas*). He had provided himself, according to his highest expectations, with more than necessary materials for photographing, but the haul was so great that they fell short whereupon Rev. Sankrityayana sat down to



Rahula Sankrityayana (*right*) and a Japanese monk

copy old manuscripts in his own hand (his Ceylonese companion Mr. Abhay Singh Parera, an Acharya in Nyaya from Benares, having fallen ill). He copied out 40,000 slokas. All this time I was feeling nervous lest my friend broke down by over-exertion. Nothing could be done to render relief in the matter from Patna, as even the letters reached me after several months. Fortunately the iron constitution of Rev. Sankrityayana and the energy which success contributes carried the work through. Two names have to be mentioned amongst the friends who have enthusiastically supported Rev. Sankrityayana in his expedition—Rajagaru Hemaraj Sharma, C.I.E., of Nepal, and Mr. P. C. Chaudhuri, I. C. S., of my Province.



Rahula Sankrityayana and his companion

I am detailing below twenty-seven important works, the aggregate volume of which amounts to 89,333 slokas (measurement) or 6400 pages of royal octavo in print. None of these had been available before and every one of which is so important that the discoverer of any of them would have felt gratified with his success.

B. C. CENTURIES

To this period belongs the Vinaya texts in Sanskrit,

1. *Upasampada-Jnapti,* 70 sks.
2. *Pratimoksha-Sutra,* 400 sks. (Lokottara School).
3. *Vinaya* (of the Lokottaravadin School), 1200 sks.

EARLY AUTHORS (1ST CEN. A.D. TO 600 A.D.)

4. *Matricheta.*

We knew the name of this celebrated author from the *Manjusri Mulakalpa,* from Yuan Chwang, from Tibetan and Chinese sources. But we have now his famous poem which used to be recited every day at the Nalanda University when Yuan Chwang visited it. It is the *Adhyardha sataka*—153 verses. Matricheta was a contemporary of Kanishka (1st century A. D.), wrongly identified with Asvaghosha. We shall be publishing this work in the J.B.O.R.S. before long.

5. *Nagarjuna.*

His *Vigraha-vyavartani*—450 slokas (Text 72 verses, and author's own commentary in prose), wherein the author refutes the controversies raised against the Madhyamika system. He establishes here that *'pramana'* itself becomes *'sadhya'* i.e., loses its standard character. This very theory has been attacked by Vatsyayana in the Nyaya-Bhashya. Dr. Tucci has translated from Chinese and Tibetan this text and published it in the Gaekwad Oriental Series.

6-8. *Asanga and Vasubandhu, c. 400 A.D.*

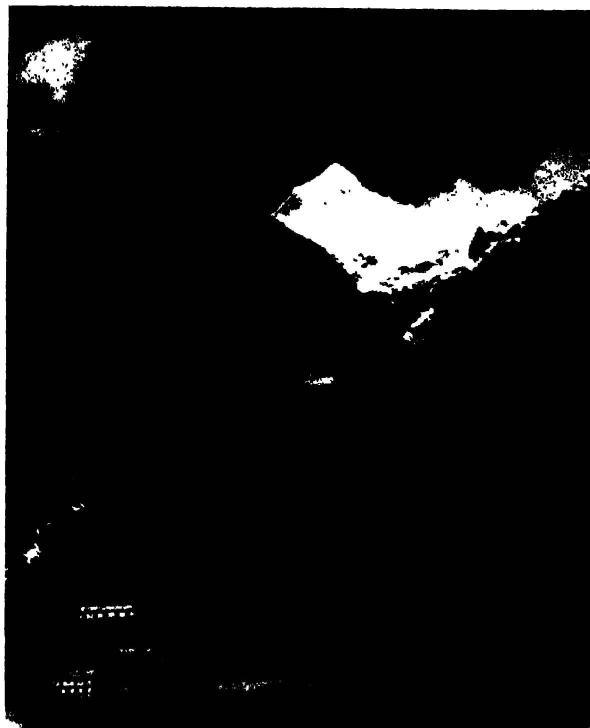
These two brothers of Peshawar are the leading Buddhist authors of the Gupta Period. Vasubandhu was an Imperial Tutor. Asanga is the virtual founder of the Yogachara school of philosophy. His original work—*Yogachara-bhumi*—8,000 slokas—is now in our possession.

Two works of Vasubandhu—the *Abhidharmakosha-bhashya* (15,000 slokas), which has been translated by Prof. Valle Poussin from Chinese into French in 6 volumes—and, the *Madhyanta-Vibhanga bhashya* 1,000 sks.—are standard treatises on Buddhist philosophy. The original *Vibhanga* of Maitreya on which Vasubandhu has written his Bhashya has been restored into Sanskrit by Mahamahopadhyaya Vidhusekhar Sastri. Now the Mahamahopadhyaya may have the pleasure of editing the real original.

9. *Bhavya* (5th century).

Bhavya was another Gupta author. He was a scholar of Nalanda and had been a prince while in secular life. We have now his *Tarka-Jvala,* 1,500 sks., which has a second name as *Madhyamakahridaya* it is a polemical piece. *Inter alia* it attacks the Avatars. Its





TOP : *Left*—Eastern Glacier *Right*—Nilkanta, 21,640 ft.
BOTTOM : Pansingh, Bates and Ridley, near base camp. (Behind Holy Badrinath)





Turkey gained in July 1936 the right to refortify the strategic Dardanelles. Great jubilation was expressed throughout the land on this momentous occasion

Below : A Column of Cavalry, for the first time in thirteen years, moves into Chanakkale

Sanskrit and verses are amongst the best examples of Gupta classical literature. Vasubandhu, unlike his elder brother, adopted classical Sanskrit in Buddhism; and since his time Buddhist writers vied with Brahmanical writers in the production of literary Sanskrit. Bhavya probably reached the zenith in that matter. His philosophic views are a reconciliation of Madhyamika and Yogachara systems, which have been attacked by later Buddhist writers, but the opinions of the author will probably appeal more to the modern scholar.

10-14. *Dharmakirti* (c. 600 A.D.) and literature on him.

In Indian Logic this author marks the highest water-mark. On account of his vigour and method, he has been described by Professor Stcherbatsky of the Leningrad University as "the Indian Kant." Prof. Stcherbatsky has written a treatise in two volumes on his published work *Nyaya-vindu* under the title *Buddhist Logic*. But his superior work—*Pramanavarttika*—which has been vastly cited in Indian literature (both Brahmanical, and non-Brahmanical) had been missing. Now Rev. Sankrityayana has not only brought that main treatise on which the reputation of Dharmakirti rests, but the whole literature on it in Sanskrit, namely,

(a) Pramana-varttika (complete, being printed in J.B.O.R.S.) with a commentary on the first chapter by the author himself (only ¼th portion).

(b) A complete commentary on the latter by *Karnaka-gomin* (8,000 slokas), (9th century).

(c) A complete commentary on the P.V. by the famous *Prajnakara Gupta*, professor of Nalanda (c. 700 A.D.), who is regarded as only next to Dharmakirti, if not an equal authority. The commentary measures 15,000 sks.—half of which is verse and the other half in prose (mixed).

(d) Another commentary by *Manoratha Nandi* which deals with each word of the P.V. Its extent is 10,000 sks. The author belongs to the 10th century. It is being printed in the J.B.O.R.S.

Any scholar would have been awarded the highest place in the world of Indian scholarship for having brought to light any one of these four books. The manuscript of *Karnaka-gomin*, which is in the Sakya monastery, was written in the 11th century, and other manuscripts belong to the 12th century.

I may note here that the manuscripts copied, photographed or brought in the original by Rev. Sankrityayana are on palm-leaves ranging from the 10th to the 12th century, except the commentary by *Manoratha Nandi* which is on paper (written in Tibet, about 1220 A.D. by an Indian exile).

The manuscript of Manoratha Nandi's work has a special interest inasmuch as it is in the handwriting of an Indian scholar—*Bibhutichandra*—who stands very high in Tibetan literature. He was one of the two Indians whose knowledge of Tibetan has been noted as perfect, the other being *Smritijnana* (c. 1030 A.D.) whom *Dipankara Srijnana* declared to be the greatest scholar in the whole of India. Smritijnana went as a missionary to Tibet and mastered Tibetan by adopting the life of a menial. Bibhutichandra was a Bengali (from Eastern Bengal, Jagat-tala). He went along with *Sakya Sri Bhadra* (died 1225 A.D.) who left India on account of the Muhammadan invasion of Bihar. Sakya Sri Bhadra was the Royal Preceptor, Head of Buddhism in Magadha, and the President of Vikramasila University (Bhagalpur District). I have seen a few folios of a paper MS. (paper was in use in Tibet at the time) brought by Sankrityayana; on its cover Vibhutichandra has the draft of a verse of his composition in which he records that even in Tibet he never ate meat, that his heart yearned for his Motherland but he could not give up his Teacher. Vibhutichandra died in Tibet. He became tutor to the family who shortly after converted Kublai Khan and introduced Buddhism in Mongolia. The Tibetan scholar "Sakya Pandita" who became the greatest thinker and author in Tibetan Buddhism, was a product of Vibhutichandra and his Guru.

15. *Jnana-Sri* (c. 900 A.D.)

Kshana-bhanga-adhyaya by Jnana Sri (900 A.D.) 3,000 sks.

This book (in prose) is criticised by *Udayana*, the Brahmin authority, in his *Atmatatva-viveka*, the whole chapter of 'Buddhadhikara' being devoted to it. The theme of *Jnana-Sri* is that every thing in this world is changing, the only unchangeable law is this law of change. His thesis contained in the first verse of the book is largely cited.

16. *Jitari* (c. 1000 A.D.)

Jitari was a great logician, living in the neighbourhood of Vikramasila, an old man in the time of Dipankara Srijnana. His work

Nairatma-siddhi (*Proof of Non-Soul Theory*) in prose (complete in 50 sks.) has been recovered.

17-22. OTHER NYAYA WORKS

(17) *Agama-pramanya-nirasa* (50 sks). does not admit the authority of canons. Author's name unknown.

(18) *Vada-rahasya* (3,000 sks.). Author's name is unknown, but the work is important inasmuch as it answers Udayana's attacks on previous authors. It was composed in the 10th or 11th century.

(19) *Tarka-rahasya* (2,000 sks.), similar to the Vadarahasya (10th century ?)

(20) *Ratna-kirti Nyaya-Nibandha.* Nine Naya texts by Ratna-kirti (1,000 A.D.), two of which have been published by Mahamahopadhyaya Haraprasad Sastri.

(21) *Prajna-Ratnakara* (10th century ?) (60 sks.).

(22) *Hetu-vindu-anutika*, (5,000) and

(23) *Nyaya-vindu-anutika* by Durveka Misra (11th century) (5,000) are two new works unknown before as they are not translated into the Tibetan collection.

OTHER SUBJECTS

(24) *Rules of conduct by Jaya-Rakshita.*

On rules of conduct of a Buddhist novice preparatory to entering the monkhood we have the *Sramanerakarika* by Jaya-rakshita in 300 verses. Probably it belongs to the 7th century.

25. *Old Hindi of 800 A.D.*

Amongst non-philosophic books, I must note two *Doha-kosas of Saraha* (800 A.D.), one of the manuscripts is in a script of about 1000 A.D. The original manuscript of one has been brought to Patna and a photographic copy of the other. The language is Eastern Hindi; the collection will be regarded as the earliest example of Old Hindi. On another occasion I dealt with Saraha's language and my conclusion that it represents the oldest Hindi has found acceptance at the hands of Sir George Grierson.

26-27. *Literary Works.*

The *Chando-Ratnakara* by Ratnakara Santi, Head of Vikramsila about 1000 A.D. and reputed to be *Kalikala-Sarvajna* ("All-knowing") is a work on prosody (700 sks.). *Subhashita-ratna-kosa* by Bhimarjuna Soma is an anthology. The manuscript is of the 11th century. The book is complete. It cites some authors not known before.

II

THE DISCOVERER

Rahula Sankrityayana—who is more popularly known in Bihar by the first part of his name, as '*Rahula-ji*' was born in a Brahmin family at a village (Kanaila) in the district of Azamgarh, U.P., forty-four years back. At the age of 16 he left for Benares to study Sanskrit, and at the age of 20 he entered the Vaishnava order as a *Virakta* and was destined to succeed to an endowed *Mahant-ship* at Chapra (Bihar), which he renounced, his old Guru has been still pressing him to accept the Mahantship. He went to Ceylon as a Sanskrit teacher. His former studies of Vaishnava Agamas at religious centres in Madras, and of Sanskrit Darsanas (Philosophies), and contact with the patriotic programme of the Arya Samaj had planted two seeds in his intellectual self—one, of patriotism and the other, of philosophy. In Ceylon at the great monastic college of Vidyalankara he studied and mastered the Tripitakas (the Buddhist scriptures), and finally decided to enter the Buddhist Order (1930); after his return from the first trip to Tibet (1929) he came to the conclusion that there can be no personal God as Vaishnavism taught and that Buddhism was the only religious system he could accept.

It was about 1928 when I received his first letter from Ceylon. It was written in Sanskrit, forwarding a paper on the site of Sravasti. When I first met him (1928) in my house at Patna he had a Kambal cloak on. He looked very young—a feature which he has retained, as he looks today below 30. His eyes gleamed with lustre and face showed restlessness. He had been to jail (1924-1926) twice for political speeches, he had been closely associated with Bihar leaders. I found in him a combination of spiritual ambition to raise his fellow-men and a desire for right thinking and deep learning. He was then intending to go to Tibet to study Buddhism. He confided in me the secret that he had made up his mind to enter Tibet without a pass-port. It was difficult at the time for him to obtain a passport either from our Government or from Tibetan Government which never allows an Indian to enter its own territory. He struck me at the time as a man belonging to the class to which my Oxford friend Lala Har Dayal belonged—intensely selfless, trying to find solution and support of his religious convictions in Buddhism, and regarding that system as affording a guide to his country to break through the thraldom of philosophies and beliefs and castes and creeds. But at the time I least suspected that the man will blossom into this Rahula Sankrityayana as I know him today—a man resembling the Buddha a man absolutely

free from hostility to any living man, universal in his outlook, absolutely calm, to whom children run up instinctively, to whom man would respond as to Christ or Gautama if he said, '*Follow me.*' Tall, stately, and handsome, he resembles the Great Founder of his Order, except that he has not got the blue eyes of the Buddha. His physique is powerful, mind immensely practical. He is capable of bearing great hardships, of walking great distances in the hills, living on any food obtainable. Last year the Commander-in-Chief of Nepal remarked to me that the route which the Monk (Rahulaji) followed in going to Tibet in his first journey (that is, the one mentioned above which the latter has described in his '*Journey*') was so dangerous that even the Nepalese do not venture to traverse it. On his return from Tibet, Swami Ramodara (as he was known up to that time since his Vaishnava ordination) became a Buddhist Monk obtaining his ordination in Ceylon.

On account of his perfect knowledge of the Buddhist scriptures the Samgha recognized him as a *Tripitakacharya*. The Pandit-Sabha of Benares gave him the title of *Maha-Pandita*. He with the help of a Chinese scholar started translating or rather restoring into original Sanskrit the *Vijnapatimatrata* from its Chinese translation by Yuan Chwang, which I published in the J.B.O.R.S. He went into Tibet again (this time with a pass-port) and brought a portion of the Bhashya on the *Pramanavarttika* of Dharma-kirti which is the basis of the great Sanskrit treatises on Logic (Nyaya). Rev. Sankrityayana edited the portion and we published it in the J B.O.R.S. He started completing the missing portions restoring from Tibetan. It however occurred to him to make another attempt in Tibet at searching for a complete copy. The result of his visit (1936) has been astounding, which Prof. Stcherbatsky described to me in a letter as deserving the holding of an International Conference to discuss the importance of the discovery and to mark the event.

I would like to say a few words here on the other aspect of the Venerable Rahula's personality which as I have said is national property. There has been a war between two sentiments both in my own heart and in that of my monk friend's. Rahula is not only a son of the Buddha, he is primarily a son of India. He regarded social and political work as of primary importance. He started writing in Hindi on political subjects. He has a powerful pen and a still more powerful speech. I intervened and begged him to leave politics, and he agreed. Often I search my heart and my conscience wars with my prudence and love of literature and history, and doubts arise. Have I stood between Rahulaji and the changing destiny of my country? Have I deprived India of another Gandhi or Jawaharlal? Have I done the right thing? Was I wrong? What an immense service would have been rendered by this intrepid recluse in breaking barriers and removing weights from the chest of my country from which she has suffered for the greater portion of her history? Rahula Sankrityayana is a man of the masses in a degree even greater than Gandhi. He has seen and studied the social systems of every country in Asia and most countries of Europe.

Swami Ramodara is a loss to the social movement but the Tripitakacharya Sankrityayana is a gain to literature. Any scholar would have become immortal by discovering any one of at least fifty books mentioned above out of the library double the size of the Mahabharata, which he has brought back to its original home and has made available to the whole world.

Sankrityayana between his travels produces in a few months large tomes of Hindi translations of the Pali Tripitakas. He sits down and works for several hours at one stretch. His labour is almost superhuman in writing and that terrible work of proof-reading. I always try to warn him and remind him of the fate of Sankaracharya whom voluminous writing killed too early. His reply has been that he has already outlived the limit of Sankara's age. He has written the best book on the life of the Buddha (*Buddhacharya*). His knowledge of Indian Epigraphy is so great that often I consult him on inscriptions. His general knowledge is very wide. It is a pleasure to discuss with him a present problem—whether Indian or International. His knowledge of Persian (which he acquired in Jail) and Urdu gives him a great facility in writing popular Hindi. At Sanskrit he is as facile as at Hindi. His articles have been translated into French by Prof. Levi and published in the *Journal Asiatique*. I always draw on his researches and embody them into my writings. Not a minute of his is idle. As a relaxation from the proof-reading and editing of the Pramanavarttika and its commentary he is dictating a monograph on Modern and Ancient Persia. There is no distinction in his eyes between India and the world outside, between Indian and non-Indian; he has no false patriotism in any matter. May he live long this life of the great Buddha!

The treasures brought by him from his three

visits to Tibet are gifts to the public. They are at the Patna Museum and the Research Society of Patna. He brought about two hundred Tibetan paintings of great historical and artistic value which are at the Patna Museum. The whole Tibetan Library is now available at the Research Society, and it is the biggest library outside Tibet.

The Bihar and Orissa Research Society has recognized his services to research by electing him an Honorary Member. Its Honorary membership is bestowed only on foremost scholars of the world.

He advocates reform of Nagari script in this country, and contributes largely to Hindi periodicals. He believes in the wisdom of the Buddha in making knowledge available to the masses. Yet his scientific interest is supreme. He has written many articles on Darwin; on evidence from excavations; on philology and phonetics. We await with eagerness his *History of Rational Thought*.

LAND TAXATION IN INDIA

By MANEKLAL VAKIL, M.A., LL.B.

III

Is Land Revenue Rent or a Tax?

In the preceding section we have already indicated that Land Revenue in India is in the nature of a tax from the earliest periods and not rent as is sometimes understood by Government Officials in this country. It is, therefore, necessary to examine in greater detail as to why Land Revenue must be considered a tax. It is always best to examine any question on recognized first principles but the tendency is always to demand any authority that can be had from the past in support of the conclusions which one might deduce from first principles. A conclusion becomes more convincing if it comes from persons who have always been in the past position to judge these things from personal experience and more so if they give the conclusion which is against the interest whom they are expected to serve. Baden Powell in his classic book on the Land System of British India at page 240, Vol. I, comes to the following conclusion:

"The Land Revenue cannot then be considered as a rent, not even in Ryotwari land where the law (as in Bombay, happens to call a holder of land an 'occupant', not a proprietor. The special definition does not entitle Government to the true rent. Nowhere and under no Revenue system does Government claim to take the 'unearned increment' or the whole of what remains after the charges of labour or cost of cultivation and profits on capital have been accounted for. If we cannot be content to speak of Land Revenue and must further define, I should be inclined to regard the charge as more in the nature of a tax on agricultural incomes."

The writer of the above words was a member of the Indian Civil Service in Bengal and was also one of the Judges of the Chief Court of the Punjab. He wrote his original manual in 1882 and prepared the new edition in 3 volumes in 1892 which have yet remained a classic on the subject of the land assessment in the various Provinces of British India. He further remarks,

"The Rulers, Rajas and Emperors of successive kingdoms in all parts of India have at all times raised the greater part of their State income by levying a charge on the land. It came to be a universally acknowledged principle that the King, Raja or Chief of a territory had right to a *share in the produce of all agricultural land*."

Jaimini, the great Mimansa Philosopher, after discussing thread-bare what was and what was not the King's property concludes,

"The land is not a subject of gift by the King, for as regards its proprietorship all men stand in the same position."

Sayana Acharya says,

"The land is not the property of the King. The land of the country cannot be given away."

The Ain-i-Akbari remarks,

"In former times the Monarchs of Hindustan exacted the sixth of the produce of the land as tribute and tax and not as rent. One-third part of the produce of medium cultivated land is the revenue settled by His Majesty."

Jaimini also says,

"The King may not give the land for it is the common property of all."

Savara commenting on this says,

"The King has a right to the definite proportion of the produce because of his giving protection to the crops, etc., but has no right to the land."

Manu says,

"A field is the property of the man that first brings it under cultivation."

Gautam speaks of this share as the gift due to the King because the King was bound

to perform certain very onerous duties at the cost of the State and free of cost to the people, *e.g.*—

1. To settle all disputes and even to restore at all cost the value of all stolen property even from the Royal Treasury if it could not be recovered.

2. To provide ample pastures for the cattle at the cost of the State and free of all costs for the people, the breadth of these pastures being 300 cubits of land for each village.

In the time of Chandragupta, Chanakya writes in his Artha Shastra,

".That the King shall make provis for pasture grounds in uncultivable tracts."

He further says,

"During famine the King shall show favour to his people by providing them with seeds and provisions; he may show favour by distributing either his own collections of provision or the hoarded income of the rich among the people or seek for help from his friends among kings; or the policy of thinning the rich by exacting excessive revenue or causing them to vomit their accumulated wealth may be resorted to or the King with his subjects may emigrate to another kingdom with abundant harvest."

Colebrooke in his *Miscellaneous Essays on Hindu Law* says,

"The Monarch has no property in the earth. His kingly power is for Government of the realm and extirpation of the wicked, for these purposes he receives tax from husbandmen and levies fines from offenders but the right of property in land is not thereby vested in him."

Dr. Rhys Davids in the *Cambridge History of India* says,

"The rural economy of India at the coming of Buddhism was based generally on the system of village communities, land-owners of what in Europe is known as 'peasant proprietorship'"

He further says,

"Each village had grazing ground for the cattle and a suitable strip of jungle where the villagers had common rights of waste wood."

Any reader who wants to go more fully in this question may refer to the two booklets of Professor Dwijadas Dutt, former Professor of Agriculture, C. E. College, Sibpur, on (1) 'Peasant Proprietorship' and (2) 'Landlordism in India' from which the above citations have been taken.

It is argued sometimes that the ancient Sanskrit Commentaries on Hindu Law had not the force of Law in the modern sense as having been enacted by the State and liable to be enforced with the power of the State behind them. Even these writers have always stated that custom is transcendent law and no king in those days dared oppose the influence of customary law for fear of Brahmanic Religious sanction and of serious unpopularity which may involve his deposition by the people. It is therefore untrue to say that the ancient laws and constitution of India fixed the share of the King at a much smaller fraction which was not enforceable as law. It must however be conceded that in times of trouble Civil War or any other provincial warfare in which a disintegrating paramount power was involved exactions were made of as large revenue as possible at the point of the bayonet as it did happen in the decline of the Moghul and Maratha Powers, on the ashes of which came into prominence the influence of the power of the East India Company. In case of war all kings even at the present times need money and adopt all sorts of measures to raise it by increased taxation, loans or even the dishonest method of debasing the paper currency under the sanction of emergency legislation or executive orders in Council.

The Mahomedan Rulers of India observed the old Hindu Laws with or without modifications even to the Lodi Dynasty and these laws have practically been collected in the Ain-i-Akbari of the great emperor Akbar. They claimed a contribution or 'vali' from the husbandmen in return for the cares of royalty and not on the ground that any confiscation had taken place of the husbandmen's lands as a result of conquest. The Muslim Rulers never claimed the peasants' land as royal land by virtue of the right of conquest nor did they give away any land to their favourites as in England at the time of the Norman Conquest which enabled the British aristocracy to claim their estates as free from rent but entitled them to claim rent in their turn from their tenants. It is only Lord Cornwallis who brought in this notion of the British aristocracy and made the Permanent Settlement with the Bengal farmers of revenue and thereby created a hereditary landlord class by depriving the Ryots or peasants of their hereditary ownership of land and thus reducing them to mere tenants whose rights were later determined by the various Tenancy Acts in Bengal.

Writes Baden Powell at page 244, Vol. I,

"The inconvenience and injustice to the public of fixing the revenue for all times regardless of changes in the value of produce or rise and fall of agricultural incomes were recognized soon," after the Permanent Settlement of Bengal.

The Zamindari system was therefore provided in U. P., the Punjab or C. P. by assessment of Zamindars being fixed only for 30 years and by instituting the Ryotwari system in Bombay and Madras (except Northern Circars).

Mr. F. G. H. Anderson, Settlement Commissioner, and Director of Land Records till

1929, writes in a supplement to the Bombay Land Revenue Rule (1921) at page 226 of the 1935 reprinted edition,

"The proprietary right of Government over all land is discussed in G. R. No. 4239 and No. 5293 of 1873 and that right was reserved in Government Circular No. R-3361 of the same year."

And this has taken place in Bombay in spite of the fact that

"The Doctrine that the land belongs to the State as Crown Property was repudiated in the despatch of the Court of Directors dated 17th December 1856 and it was there claimed that the land assessment should be treated as taxation and not as rent."

The same position was re-affirmed in the despatch of Sir Charles Wood in 1864. Again in para 31 of the Despatch of Lord Lytton's Government to the Secretary of State dated 8-6-1880 a similar disclaimer of the assertion of the general proprietary right is to be found. But nevertheless continues Anderson,

"The right to impose upon all land in India was no less firmly maintained. Indeed there is no practical difference and if Government can tax even up to the extent of taking all the unearned value in the land, then distinction between ownership and right of taxation is purely academic."

No doubt this is from the said Government publication in a prefatory resolution R. 55 of 1921 to which Government state,

"It must be clearly understood that Government did not endorse the commentator's views or accept responsibility for the accuracy of all the matters in the commentary. But even now the Government of Bombay or for the matter of that the Government of India have not defined their exact position with reference to this question of Land Revenue being either a tax or a rent in spite of orders issued by Lord Curzon's Government, namely, 'the Land Revenue' resolution of 16th January, 1902, 'the Suspension and Remission' resolution of 25th March, 1905 and 'the Land Improvement' resolution dated 24th May 1906, which are said 'to constitute the complete exposition of the principles for the Land Revenue administration in future'."

IV

THE STATE, THE LANDHOLDER AND THE PEASANT

WE have already seen that even after conquest the conquering power did not disturb the proprietory right of individual peasants and made settlements of Land Revenue with the village community through their accredited representatives of the village Panchayat. Even where the kingdoms in size were large or had to utilize the services of warlike Chiefs of armed men to maintain peace and order, the distant king made grants to such Chiefs or turned them into feudatories by leaving to them their early rights of getting revenue from the peasantry according to the old custom subject to the payment by these Chiefs of a portion of their former revenue as tribute to the paramount power for the functions it would have to perform against a foreign invasion or internecine warfare between Chiefs of different provinces. Such grants which assumed various names as Inam, Jagir, or feudal rights of some form or other merely granted right to collect the land tax and retain the whole or a part of it, that is a share of the produce from the peasant but could give no proprietory right to such feudal holder inasmuch as the King himself had no ownership in that land. In the 18th cenutry owing to the frequent wars between the declining Moghul power and the rising Maratha confideracy, the state of the country was continuously disturbed and gave rise to the system of collection by provincial Governors at the head of armies in the form of Chauth, Sardeshmukhi, Forage etc., and later to a system of regional collectors of the State's share by annual contracts subject to the deduction of a certain percentage generally 10% as the contractors' remuneration. Under the influence of the above causes with the growth of the large Empire in India there came into existence a body of middle-men who are now known as Zamindars in Bengal, U. P., the Punjab, the Northern Circars of Madras and the Malguars in Central Provinces, and the Inamdars, Talukdars, Polygars and the Khots etc., in other parts of India all of whom have the common characteristic of getting a certain share from the cultivator of the soil and paying a certain part of it to the State as tribute or State's share minus their own. In practice, however, due to the lack of the control of the Central Government of these Revenue farmers whom the British East India Company recognized as the owners of the soil to the exclusion of the ancient peasants, these so-called new proprietors began to collect as much as they could from the cultivating peasants and paid as little as they could or as much as the commercial representatives of the East India Company like Clive or Warren Hastings could under the severe annual exactions of those days under pain of even corporal punishments at times.

How the British Government recognized the rights of some of the ancient feudal Princes and Talukdars and how they created the permanent irrevisable or revisable Zamindaries in Northern India is a matter of recent history fairly well known in this country. Even in the Ryotwari tracts the peasant's ancient right of what is called the hereditary occupant with power to transfer. The right of the British Government

as the ultimate owner in theory is thereby upheld by the Revenue Officers in British Indian Districts and this has encouraged the feudal Princes and Talukdars to claim such an ownership and treat their peasants as mere annual tenents at will or tenants without restrictions on eviction without compensation for improvement or prescriptive right in the land.

The state of Law is thus in a very unsatisfactory condition and has reduced the robust peasant of ancient India into the starving labourer on the soil. With the growth of the population under the peaceful conditions of British rule in India even some of the Talukdari families have been reduced to the condition of starving peasant proprietors and the descendants of the old peasant proprietors have been turned into landless labourers. The proportion of such labourers to Khatedars or holders of lands on Government registers is 1 to 2. In other words the number of landless labourers is half of that of the Khatedars in the midst of an agricultural population of 70% of the total throughout India. It is, therefore, both important and urgent that legislation to restore the peasant's right and curtail the rights of the intervening landlord to not more than 10% of the State's shares be undertaken without further delay. The cry for abolition of landlordism in India is heard everywhere and intermediate landlords will have to submit to the drastic reduction of their share and that too only if they perform any useful function in India of the present times. For collection of their revenue from the peasants the landlord has in most cases to be assisted by the Government Revenue Officers and they have not to perform any warlike duties as in ancient or mediaeval India. The only function that they can now perform is if educated, to develop scientific agriculture in large estates by guiding their tenants along methods of intensive farming. The industrial capitalist is not to be permitted under the future recognised laws to more than a 10% of the net profits and the Sardeshmukhi of the Maratha period could only get a 10% for his supervision over the group of districts in those days of bad transport through horses and bullocks.

Even the Joint Parliamentary Select Committee of the Indian Reform Bill of 1918 have recognized the need of some changes in land legislation and have remarked in para 11 of its Report,

"The process of revising Land Revenue assessment ought to be brought in closer regulation by statutes as soon as possible, in preference to the present revision by executive action through departmental inquiries . . . The Committee are of opinion that the time has come to embody in the law the main principles by which the Land Revenue is determined, the method of valuation, the pitch of assessment, the period of revision, a graduation of enhancement and the other chief processes which touch the wellbeing of the Revenue payers."

This has not been done even uptil now. Even the J. P. C. Report of 1934 has the following observation on the question of the guarantee of the vested interest of intermediate landlords in para 371 at page 218,

"Some of the claims to protection which have been urged in this direction upon us in this connection would be satisfied by little less than a statutory declaration which would have the effect of maintaining unaltered and unalterable for all times, however strong the justification for its modification might prove to be in the light of changed circumstances, every promise or undertaking of the kind made by the British Government in the past. *We cannot contemplate so far-reaching limitations upon the natural consequences of the change to responsible Government.* We recommend, however, that the Constitution Act should contain the preparatory provision requiring a prior consent of the Governor-General or the Governor as the case may be to any proposal, legislative or executive, which would alter or prejudice the rights of the possessor of any privilege of the king to which we have referred."

Even regarding the permanent settlement in Bengal at the end of para 372 at page 219, the Committee remark,

"We recommend therefore that the Governor should be instructed to reserve for the signification of His Majesty's pleasure any Bill passed by the Legislature which would alter the character of the permanent settlement."

With the establishment of the new Legislatures of Provincial Autonomy a Bill to effect Revenue Settlement can be brought under the foregoing observation of the New India Act of 1935. But with the provision of a second Chamber in the important provinces it is hardly possible that any real effective legislation can be undertaken to restore the peasant to his ancient position of ownership and independence as against the Zamindars or Talukdars or Jagirdars. For instance in Bombay there is the second Chamber even though it is chiefly a Ryotwari Province and the proportion of occupancy land to that of over-lord or Zamindari tenures including Revenue-free Inams or Jagirs is in the proportion of 284 to 83. This minority of intermediate landlords will naturally combine with the large Khatedars of occupancy land and with the representatives of mercantile and industrial interests and thus defeat any Bill which would attempt to restore peasant proprietorship to the detriment of the so-called landed interest of the Zamindars.

Assessment, Suspension and Remission

"As leech, calf and bee take their food, so must a King draw from his kingdom moderate taxes. A fifth part of the increment of cattle and gold is to be taken by the King and one-eighth, one-sixth or one-twelveth part of the crops, though a Khastriya King who in time of War takes even the one-fourth part of the crops is free from blame if he protects his subjects to the best of his ability." (Manu quoted in Bombay Survey Manual, Vol. I, 1935, page 6).

The above quotation gives us an idea as to the basis of taxation in the days of Manu and before him. The one-fifth part of cattle would of course apply to the increase of cattle in the case of cattle farms or professional shepherds who live on cattle-farming alone, as a certain number of plough and milk cattle has always been allowed to graze free of any charge in the common grazing ground. Shepherds' tax is not now taken in kind but is converted into grazing fees and is a sort of assessment on common grazing ground in India. In the initial stages the share of the crops was ascertained by corn that was collected by the original peasant proprietor on the threshing floor of the village. There would not be much difficulty in this method of collecting the land tax so long as the kingdoms were small and there was very little scope for the dishonesty of State officials. With the enlargement of kingdoms there would come into existence some purely landlord tenures in the hands of intermediate landlords. Otherwise, was developing the system of assessing the whole village for the land tax for the payment of which the whole community would be jointly and severally responsible. The village *panch* would, after the crop is collected on the threshing floor, ascertain the proportion which each farmer would have to contribute according to the size of his crop in relation to the total tax of the whole village. When the kingdom would merge in an Empire, control from the centre becomes difficult over the collections of the State officials as well as the distant landlords and village communities of peasant proprietors would naturally grow to obviate the difficulties of control from the centre. It is very often said that the method of collecting on the threshing floor from each peasant would give scope to the peasant to be dishonest, but no dishonesty is possible until the State official on the spot is in league with the peasant. The system therefore gave place to the appraisement of the standing crops by the State official, the village-headman or the Zamindar, for the purpose of paying the land tax to the State as well as the share of the intermediate landlord assigned by the State to the latter. In such an appraisement of the standing crop the peasant would ordinarily suffer as the State official or the intermediate landlord would always have a tendency to assess the standing crop at a higher figure. In the time of Akbar both these systems were in force and the peasant had even the option of paying assessed land tax in money. For the purpose of money assessment it was necessary to have a survey of the land with the State and the classification of the different types of land which would grow one or more crops in a year and the variety of crops etc., while some fields would have to lie fallow for the rotation of crops. As the fixed money assessment was to be levied on cultivated as well as uncultivated fields to enable a State to have a steady revenue to balance its expenditure, the assessment would naturally have to be on a lower scale than the share of the crop which could only be levied on cultivated fields that might have actually yielded a crop. Further in years of deficient rainfall or of complete famine and floods there would be no crop and therefore under the money system the collection of the land revenue would have to be suspended and later on to be remitted if the accumulated arrears go beyond the capacity of the peasant to pay from future savings. If the money prices rise or fall the money assessment should accordingly be increased or decreased.

The first land revenue settlement carried out by the British in India was the permanent settlement of Bengal made by Lord Cornwallis in 1790. Its chief object,

"was the introduction of the English Landlord System which the Governor-General in ignorance of the actual conditions of the country had determined as panacea for all agricultural evils. Absolutely individuals with perhaps some sort of titles, others without any sort of title whatever, were sought for and set up as landlords of Estates and the land revenue of which was settled in perpetuity. It was expected by the Governor-General that the result of his system would be the creation of a body of loyal contented and indepedent land owners who would not only be a source of strength to Government but would also like their English counterparts take interest in their estates to the improvement of the conditions, not only of their lands, but also of their tenants, the cultivators. But these brilliant anticipations were doomed to early disappointment. The new landlords so far from making improvements, proceeded to rack rent from their unfortunate tenants to the utmost limit. At the same time Government having no direct interest in the land and the cultivator, found it difficult to obtain any real and detailed information regarding the condition of the agricultural population or the sources of the country."

(*Vide* Bombay Survey Settlement Manual, Vol. I pages 17 and 18).

This mistake was committed in troublesome times to replace the farming system adopted by the factors of the East India Company as the Dewans of Bengal from the Nawab at Murshidabad. A similar state of affairs in the "disturbed times" obtained elsewhere in the Bombay Presidency during the rise of the Maratha Power over the decline of the Moghuls. Marauding armies were moving over the country to collect tributes from feudal owners of village communities or the kingdoms that assumed independence on the weakness that followed the death of Aurangzeb. The farming system was also adopted by the Marathas as large territories were being rapidly conquered and unadmitted to a steady development of administrative methods.

On the fall of the Peshwa in 1817, Bombay did not copy Bengal but adopted the Ryotwari System introduced in 1793 by Col. Read in two of the districts of Madras Presidency. The leading principles were then laid down for the guidance of the officers by the first Commissioner of the Deccan, Mr. Elphinstone and were intended

"to abolish the farm but otherwise to maintain the Native System; to levy revenue according to the annual cultivation; to make assessment light; to impose no new tax; and to do away with none unless obvious and unjust; and above all to make no innovation."

Unfortunately these principles were not followed in the earliest settlements in Bombay and the Deccan was far too highly assessed. The consequence is described by Briggs in 1830 and quoted in the Settlement Manual, Vol. I, page 19 as under,

"After so many years of peace and plenty it is lamentable to find the revenue less secured, the people less respectable and perhaps independent, the servants to be less depended upon and private rights not more certain and secured than when the Province first came under the Company's Government."

Mr. Pringle's settlement failed chiefly because of over-assessment and the inaccuracies of survey and cultivation resulting from the impossibility of a sufficient check by a single officer over a very large body of subordinates. Remarks Lieut. Vingate the subsequent Surveyor later on,

"The administration of the settlement was equally bad and perhaps as much as the weight of assessment itself has contributed to the cultivators being reduced to their present state of poverty and wretchedness and to occasion the slovenly inefficient system of cultivation now prevailing.

"The idea was current among the Revenue Officers of the day that the criterion of administrative efficiency was to be found in the nominally large rent-roll and a wide extent of cultivation irrespective of other circumstances. The consequence was that the District and Village Officers have been accustomed to use every expedient whether of pursuasion or intimidation to prevent land being thrown out of cultivation and this with little or no regard to the means of cultivators who upon sustaining any reverse such as mortality among his cattle, has been obliged to pay the same revenue when no longer able to raise the same quantity of produce."

In 1836 Mr. Goldsmid aided by Lieut. Vingate had to commence the whole operation de-novo and they carried out the principles of Mr. Elphinstone in the Poona District and later extended them over the whole of the Presidency.

One other factor may be mentioned which was operating at the fall of the Peshwa Power namely the effects of war-like conditions upon prices. During the continuous movement of the Maratha forces there were increased demands for grain, decrease of supply, decrease of agricultural population drawn up as soldiers, and rise of prices which induced the Marahta Government to levy the assessment at a far higher rate than before the war under the title of Kamal rate. With the close of the war and the advent of peace and the disbandment of soldiers there was an increase of population, increase of the supply of the grains, and a decrease in the demand from the Maratha Government which had ceased to exist. Under such combined influences prices fell like a stone, and though several famine years followed never regained the high pitch during the wars. A parallel recurrence of similar rise and fall can be observed in the recent times as a result of the Great World War of 1914-18. During those years and the few subsequent boom years for reconstruction, prices rose very high, but subsequently dropped like a stone in 1929-30 and do not seem to have any chance of recovery, notwithstanding the new currency and tariff policies of the various Governments of the world against the increased products in consequence of the improved mechanical technique which is a consequence of new inventions of the War and post-War periods.

The certainty of money assessment is no longer good and even today the necessity of suspension and remission is necessary as under the inflated assessment of the Maratha period. Even long before the publications of the "Joint Report" of 1847 on Survey Settlement, competent observers had expressed the opinion that the idea of a fixed unalterable assessment was impracticable as the basis of the Ryotwari System of settlement.

The following are the rules which govern the suspension and remission of land revenue at present in the Bombay Province under the G. R. No. 650 dated 22nd January, 1907 (*Vide* Bom-

bay Survey Settlement Manual, 1935 edition, Vol. I, page 181) :

(*a*) Suspensions of either the whole or half the assessment when the crop is four annas and under and between four annas and six annas respectively.

(*b*) The remissions of suspended assessment in excess of one year's revenue in Gujrat and the Konkan and of two years' revenue of the Deccan and in all cases where more than three years old, with special rules for collection of suspended arrears in following poor seasons and also for the remission of the water rate."

It is not possible to go into a detailed consideration of the special rules referred to above, but the above principles have converted the fixed and rigid system of assessment into one of a flexible type accommodating itself to the vicissitudes of the season, and consequently to the resources of the cultivators (no doubt subject to the personal factor of the Officers of the Bureaucratic form of Government).

During the period of 1929-30 the year of a general world-wide fall of prices the necessity for such suspensions and remissions is frequently before the Government and the public and especially after the revised assessment of the post-War period on the ground of boom prices of the period of reconstruction. We shall deal more fully with this question in the next section along with the problems of the revision of assessment.

(*To be continued*)

SCIENCE AND RELIGION

By BASISWAR SEN

Before attempting a short discussion of science and religion, I must recall a few of the obvious, not-very-profound truisms. For instance, that the masters of both science and religion are human beings; that both science and religion serve different needs of human happiness; that they are complementary and not contradictory, as some of us would like to believe.

Why, then, in this enlightened twentieth century have science and religion developed such incompatible temperaments ? Scientists often insist that religion is a bundle of superstitions and that man can get along just as well, if not better without it. Anti-religious men have coined the phrase, " Religion is the opiate of the people." The religious man returns the compliment by estimating the net contribution of science in terms of the diabolical engines of destruction it has evolved, and the noise and restlessness it has created. The ideology of the scientist is that fundamentally man is a body endowed with a mind, and that if these are adequately looked after, then the soul, if such a thing exists, will be able to take care of itself. A correct scientific prayer would be something like this : " O Lord, if there be one, save my soul, if there be any ! " For the saint, on the other hand, the soul is the reality, which is encumbered with a restless mind and this clod of earth called the body. For him, the purpose of life is to free the soul from its encumbrances.

Is there any hope of reconciling these two views of life? I am reminded of the anecdote of Charles Lamb, who was once questioned whether he knew a certain person for whom he always expressed a strong dislike. His reply was, " Of course not! If I knew him, I should like him!" Perhaps it may be worth our while to make an attempt to survey the underlying truths of both science and religion, their advantages and limitations in their respective fields, and it is just possible they may turn out, on investigation, to be not half so bad as we may think them to be!

In distinguishing the living from the non-living, we physiologists recognize that all living things, including man, have two environments, both equally significant : the inner, which is individual, and the outer, which is infinite and has to be shared with the rest of the universe. These two environments are in intimate contact with each other, yet a recognisable boundary must exist between them to delimit the individual. For the growth and development of the inner structure and functions of the organism, however, this boundary must be adequately selective, to permit the exchange of necessary material and energy between the two environments. If the organism is unable to discard its superfluous byproducts, or is incapable of appropriating

material and energy from the external environment, it has to surrender its life. Compared to the external environment, any individual organism is always insignificant.

As far as we know, man can be readily distinguished from the rest of the animals by the power and potentialities of thought and feeling residing in his inner environment. No doubt there are exceptions to prove the rule! It is this unique power of thought and feeling that enables man to exercise control over both his environments. So long as man can maintain harmony between his internal and external environments, he is happy—that is, we are happy when we can do just as we please without any unpleasant consequences! But in the natural course of events, we can seldom realise this harmony for any durable period of time, because the inner and outer environments are not static. Both are constantly changing.

Consciously or unconsciously, man ceaselessly tries to regain the lost harmony in two ways. The one is to control the external environment to an extent that all the varying needs and whims of the individual can be readily satisfied. The other is to establish such conscious control over the inner urges that they refuse to react to the changing external environment. Broadly speaking, the aim of science is to achieve the former, that of religion, the latter. The objective world—everything from electrons to galaxies, as also any subjective event which can be defined adequately in objective terms—comes under the purview of science. The world of feeling and emotion, as also objective realities in so far as they affect the inner environment, is the domain of science.

The objective world of science is more amenable to accurate observation and experimentation than the subjective world of thought and emotion, and this for several reasons: first, the perceptive organs of man—his eyes, ears, nose, etc., can be used to gather information about the happenings of the external world, and these observations can be readily checked and verified by similar experiences of others, but these organs are of little avail for observing the happenings in the inner world of man; second, the objective materials of science are quantitative—for example, two half loaves will give us a whole loaf of bread, but unfortunately in the subjective realm we cannot produce a wit out of two half-wits. Third, the supply of similar materials for scientific investigation is abundant and enduring, so that investigation can be carried on simultaneously and successively by many over a long period of time. All these factors give science certain special advantages: the conclusions of science are capable of experimental verification; its discoveries can be harnessed to perform concrete tasks; and the achievements of individual scientist are cumulative in effect. But the struggle of science is unending. No sooner does it succeed in pitching its tent at some new frontier than still greater vistas open up, more enchanting, more alluring. Thus, as science progresses, its goal always recedes.

In contrast, religion can claim that its goal is attainable. Some there are who have certainly attained it! Put in the simplest terms, the goal is the subjective realization of eternal bliss, born of perfect purity and self-control. Since the seat of happiness is within man himself, adequate control over the inner urges can insure him happiness even if he "hath not where to lay his head."

But the handicaps of religion are many and very exasperating. Religion has to contend with the inconvenient fact that all men, saints included, must die sooner or later and that after they die the inspiration of their messages suffers dilution and distortion. The attainments of individual saints do not lend themselves to be directly utilized by others. Neither can we devise any means for the concrete perpetuation of the spiritual attainments of saints. Given the mechanical aid—and I must not forget money—any one can fly or talk across all the seven seas and five continents without being accused of knowing anything of aero-dynamics or electricity. But to benefit by the attainments of the great religious men, one has to follow in their footsteps and in the details of life lived, what they have taught. The subjective world cannot be mass handled. Religion must therefore always remain essentially a personal and individual problem—in popular phraseology "a one man show!" Hence the vitality of religion at any given period is determined not by the number of temples, mosques, or churches, neither by scriptures nor commentaries, but by the number of living individuals who have realized as a personal and indestructible experience of their own, the spiritual reality which is the high promise of religion,—"getting which, everything else appears small."

"How do the people in your country go about searching r e a l i t y? What is their technique?" I was once asked by Professor Einstein when we were having a discussion in his study on this same theme of science and religion.

"The technique," I tried to explain, "is as

logical as the technique of science. The religious aspirant first sets himself the task of acquiring the necessary equipment for the quest a perceptive faculty which will be true and pure. He must be able consciously to insulate his mind from all disturbances, alike from the distractions of his inner urges and the lures and the frowns of his external environment. Exactly in the same way, when you are conducting an experiment, you first make sure that your instruments are clean and are registering correctly, that no outside influence is affecting them."

"But how do your religious aspirants achieve that state ?" he asked.

"They give up social life for the time being and go into retirement, either in a forest or some secluded spot just as you shut yourself up in your study or in a laboratory when you have work to do. There they struggle hard to attain complete self-mastery."

"But," said Professor Einstein, "suppose, instead of struggling, they merely enjoy the scenery and sleep and dream ?"

"Perhaps," I replied, "a great many do dream and sleep. But those who do not, and who succeed in their difficult task, when they emerge from their seclusion, they radiate something which carries conviction."

Professor Einstein's eyes lighted up with enthusiasm. "Yes, yes," he said, "I understand."

I have briefly outlined the inherent advantages and limitations of both science and religion. Now let us see what constitutes the creed of the scientist. It is primarily the mental attitude of the scientist towards his problems and towards the various branches of science which is responsible for the steady advance of science in this age. Any branch of science is willing to modify or even completely abandon its most cherished conclusions if the logic of new facts so demands. According to the material of study, different branches of science use different techniques, use different units of measure. An astronomer does not attempt to weigh his stars in a chemical balance—he uses his mathematical formulae and obtains dependable and verifiable results. A millionth of a metre is a very significant unit of length for a microscopist, but a few odd millions of miles may be of no consequence to the astronomer, thinking in terms of super-galaxies. Despite different frames of reference, the various branches of science recognize the necessity for co-operation and mutual appreciation. The different scientific societies exist not to blow their own trumpets and each to emphasise the shortcomings of all other branches of science, but to offer helpful suggestions and criticisms to colleagues.

Religion, on the other hand, shows a tendency to hold grimly to past laurels, ignoring the fact that its material today, the psychology of modern man, has been profoundly modified by such new developments as rapid transport and communication, factories, literacy and the printing-press, the newspaper and the radio—all tangible bequests of modern science. Old coins, despite their instrinsic worth and historic significance, must be re-minted if they are to secure acceptance at the currency counter of a new age.

The first task of religion, therefore, is to re-establish the fact that it has something very precious and positive to offer to modern man. To begin with, it will have to adopt something of the attitude of science, and evolve the required technique to handle its changed material. That technique, whatever else it may be, must consist of something more than sackcloth and ashes though these may be necessary, like the artificial equipment of a modern research laboratory.

Effort to foster mutual co-operation and appreciation among the various expressions of religion would be a great positive step towards this end. The cause of existing recrimination and distrust among the professed followers of different religions does not lie in the messages of their respective founders, or masters, but mostly in the ignorance and misdirected fervour of the followers. And seeing the religious men fall out among themselves, naturally the scientists look askance ! This year it so happens that we are celebrating in India the centenary of Sri Ramkrishna, the most modern in spirit, as well as time, of the great religious teachers. Born a devout Brahmin, he had his first great spiritual realization following his own religion. Later he followed, in turn, the path of the Muslims, then of the Christian. His conclusion was that the different religions, like so many different radii, can and do take one to the same centre. Any one with capacity and sincerity who will take the trouble to repeat his experiments, he assured us, will find the same truth for himself.

To live, every man must pay tribute to science, be it in the form only of a set of pious incantations, and for the satisfaction of his inner self, he must have some sort of religion, be it nothing more than a violent disbelief. As long as human love, affection, and sympathy

are brought up against the blank wall of suffering, frustration, and death, human beings will continue to seek solace and peace in some inner fastness of the self. Modern science has now, at least, acquired a great spiritual asset, a humility born of its successful pursuit of knowledge. It now knows what it cannot know. Since nothing but religion can offer the experience of that which science cannot give, mankind cannot do without religion. The need of our age is not less of the one and more of the other, but more of both.

THE REFORM OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

By L. C. J.

We all know, that as a result of its complete failure to stop Italian aggression against Abyssinia, the League of Nations is passing through the greatest crisis in its life. Its prestige and its moral authority was never lower, the faith of the weaker nations in it, to protect them from the grasping greed of the Greater Powers was never less than it is today. In October 1935, when fifty-two nations gave an unanimous verdict against the aggressor and agreed to apply sanctions, when the Foreign Secretary of Great Britain announced to the Assembly, "In conformity with its precise, explicit obligations the League stands—and my country stands with it—for the collective maintenance of the Covenant in its entirety and particularly for steady, collective resistance to all acts of unprovoked aggression," simple honest men and women may be forgiven if they believed that a new and glorious chapter was being written in human history! And today, not content with the booty in his hands, Mussolini can not resist the temptation of sneering at the League and declares to a cheering crowd in Milan:

> "There never has been, and never will be realized even in the remotest future the idea of collective security. We will not shed any tears if the League disappears. I offer an olive branch to the world—but an olive branch rising above a forest of eight million bayonets!"

All love's labour lost? The all too successful attempts of Laval to make the sanctions as ineffective as possible and hinder the inclusion of oil, iron and coal in the list of prohibited goods, the refusal of the League to take any military sanctions whatsoever, the Laval-Hoare Peace proposals, the decision of England to recommend the dropping of Sanctions without consulting France and before the meeting of the Council, the refusal of the League in its June Session to adopt the unambiguous resolution submitted by the Ethiopion delegation proclaiming that it will recognize no annexation obtained by force and substituting in its place a wordy nebulous formula, the strenuous but luckily vain attempt of France and England (though England denies it today) to keep Ethiopia out of the last September Assembly; these and many others—too numerous to mention—are the services rendered by France and England and the League under their domination to the Italian Dictator! And the above insolent outburst is the thanks they receive in return for those services!

It is a fact, that the speech of Sir Samuel Hoare on the 11th September, 1935, at the Assembly (from which I have quoted above) sent a thrill of joy through the ranks of the League Members, who thought that England had given up at last her traditional policy of wait and see and was ready to lead the nations of the world in organizing collective security. If, following up that speech and the resolution of fifty-two nations to impose sanctions against the Covenant-breaker, England and France had led the League to organize immediately *a complete and thorough severance* of all trade and financial relations with Italy, as demanded by Art. 16, para 1, and, if need be, blockaded the coast of Italian Erythrea and Somaliland by a combined fleet of the League Powers, what would have been the state of the world today? Abyssinia would have been saved, the principle of collective security vindicated, and a complete defeat inflicted on Mussolini as a wholesome warning to all future dictators! Nations in the past have sacrificed their wealth and their manhood lavishly, for concepts, mostly illusory, like national glory and national honour. But to defend the law of Nations which is the Covenant, to outlaw private wars between nations and thus give life and

blood to the ideals embodied both in the Covenant and in the Briand-Kellogg Pact, was it not worth taking a little risk? The risk of fifty-two nations combined against one! But to show how little the men in power really care for or understand what is meant by collective security, let me just give one glaring example from many. After England had decided to lift Sanctions against Italy, Sir John Simon declared without a blush in the House of Commons, that the defence of Abyssinia was not worth one British ship! This from the lips of a man, who was for years the British Foreign Secretary! The ordinary man in the street is just perplexed beyond words and asks in utter amazement, why was the whole British Fleet then concentrated in the Meditarranean last year? Just for an autumn cruise? *Either* you believe in the old pre-war Balance of Power system, then you should have come to an imperialistic deal with Mussolini over Abyssinia, as Mussolini had repeatedly announced his willingness to do. In that case you should not appear in shining armour as the Knight-Earrant pledged to the defence of the Covenant and speak as Sir Samuel Hoare did to the Assembly in September, 1935. *Or* you believe in " collective security," —then reality should be given to that phrase—it should not just remain a pious sentiment, or worst still, a camouflage under which the old diplomatic game is carried on. By pursuing half-heartedly a pro-League policy,—giving mostly lip-service, but at the critical moment abandoning it, you just get the worst of both the worlds! You anger Mussolini and estrange your relations with his country, without having won the battle for the League! No, it is not the Covenant of the League that has failed. How could it have failed, when it was never tried in its entirety? It is the statesmen of the democratic and pro-League countries who have failed. They do not bring to the cause of Peace the same iron determination, the same spirit of willing sacrifice, as the dictators in the Fascist countries are willing to bring to the cause of War. And so long as that remains true, no tinkering with the Articles of the Covenant will make matters any better.

But we who believe in the ideals of the League have a duty to perform. In a spirit of constructive criticism, we have to show, how the League can be improved, how it can be made to work better in the future, and how—most important of all—the minds of men can be changed and taught to pay deep and unswerving loyalty to the new ideals of human co-operation.

The Moral Issue

We know that through the Ages war has been glorified as the source of all the great virtues. From Heraclites down to Nietzsche and Ruskin, there have been philosophers who have sung the praises of the god Mars, and today under the whip of two dictators, Germany and Italy are passing through an apotheosis of war. In Germany boys of nine in joining the Hitler Youth Organization are given daggers with the inscription "*Blut und Ehre*" (Blood and Honour), and Ludendorff, fully rehabilitated after a temporary eclipse, is preaching, while the Third Realm is organizing the whole nation for the " totalitarian war," in which all the spiritual, intellectual and material forces of the nation are being mobilized just for one purpose, *i.e.*, a war, which when it comes, must be fought with utter ruthlessness. If any body doubts let him just read Ludendorff's latest book *Der Totale Krieg* (" The Totalitarian War ") in which he says :

> "All Disarmament Conferences offend against the sacred principle of national self-preservation and are therefore doomed to failure. The attempt to abolish unrestricted submarine warfare, as also the attempt to prohibit the bombing of urban populations of the belligerent nations will remain a pious wish."

Apologists of the Nazi Regime are often heard saying that much of the crudities of the Nazi Philosophy will pass away with time, not realizing that they are the very core and essence of their whole *Weltanschauung*. And so we find one of the foremost leaders of the Nazis and an intimate friend of Hitler, Julius Streicher, declaring in November 1936—four years after their seizure of power—at a huge mass meeting :

> "I feel with all my inner conviction that the God of Eternity wishes to use us Germans for some very special purpose. This God is really active in the midst of our people and perhaps He has let two million Germans die in the World War for this new Germany. 'We Germans are God's chosen people and you belong to them,' say that to your children every morning when they get up, and repeat it every night when they go to bed. It is our duty; we must believe in it. And so will come true what a great Greman once prophesied : 'Once again the whole world shall be cured by the German spirit.' (An Deuschen Wesen wird einmal noch die Welt genesen.)"

And similar rhetoric has been poured down upon the German nation during the last week through three hundred and twelve mass meetings! Does the world realize what is happening in Germany today? This is the spiritual food on which the whole youth and manhood of Germany is being nourished! Germany, formerly the land of philosophers and poets, is today being trained and drilled for the coming

great war by a ruthless dictatorship. Exactly the same thing is happening in Italy. And only a fortnight ago the two have stretched their hands across the Alps to cement their spiritual friendship, and the world is already perceiving its healing effects in Spain. This is one world that confronts us with its dark reality—a world where war is glorified as the highest and noblest of human activities.

With what spiritual forces shall we meet this new challenge of the glorification of war and prevent it from poisoning the mind and soul of humanity?

Why do we condemn war?

Because it makes the most vital human concerns depend on a factor essentially irrational: Force. Not justice but might decides the issue.

Because it is immoral to permit a state to be both party and judge in its own dispute. In civilized society we deny that right to the individual.

Because it is madness to admit that murder, violence, destruction of property, the unloosening of the baser instincts of mankind, condemned as crimes in all normal society, can be honourable and glorious in war.

And because we finally believe that the highest spiritual values, Science, Art, Religion, Justice, Love—the things that alone make life worth living—can only develop in an atmosphere of peace.

The peace that we envisage is not merely absence of war. It is a dynamic and heroic peace, that will call forth all the virile virtues and the creative instincts of man, and turn it to creative and not to destructive ends. Who dares to say today, that it is war alone that calls forth the spirit of sacrifice in man? The pioneers in the field of preventive medicine, who at the risk of their lives, have discovered cures for many a fell disease that ravaged mankind until very recent times, the great explorers who through the ages have challenged the elements, some of whom like Scott and Andre facing death in the arctic wilderness, and the seekers after Truth—be they in the realms of Art, Science or Philosophy—who scorning ease, comfort, and security sally forth into the uncharted seas to wrest from the Unknown a little of her closely guarded secret;—these heroes of peace, are they not capable of inspiring even the most virile of men to the noblest deeds, the greatest sacrifices? Today in the 20th century, when modern war is nothing but mass massacre, must a Mussolini come and preach the glory of war and its necessity for the evolution of nations, or a Hitler come and resuscitate the blind fanatical worship of the old tribal gods, in order to rouse the nations to great deeds? Who dares now-a-days to speak of the chivalry of war? If he does, force him to face the reality of today, when the flower of youth in every European country is being drafted from the Universities and trained as expert military pilots to maim young girls and mothers with aerial bombs! Ask him if that is his idea of chivalry! Visualise what is happening at this very moment to the women and children of Madrid. Does not the imagination reel back in horror at the sheer barbarity of it? We the protagonists of peace do not need to be sentimental. It is the Nazis and Fascists who are the incurable sentimentalists, who think with their blood and not with the brain with which God seems to have endowed them in vain! In the age of bombers, tanks, and chemical warfare, they talk with the mentality of men who fought with bows, arrows and spears and prattle about the rejuvinating effects of war! In the name of patriotism, heroism and courage, they are stirring the human heart to renew hundredfold the mistakes of the past.

What can save us from their mad folly?

Intelligence illumined by moral vision.

And with that weapon we will have to fight the battle of civilization and human decency against barbarism and the Powers of Evil.

The Organization of Peace

Once we have fully comprehended the fact —through cold intellectual analysis—that in the present age, a war fought with all the scientific weapons at our disposal, means nothing less than the complete collapse of civilization, we must exert all our energies to build up Inter-State Relations, on a basis that outlaws war and unites all the nations of the world in a common defence against the aggressor. The League of Nations was founded to realise this ideal. Everybody wishes ardently that the League should be universal. But what if there are still some States, which are not willing to renounce war as the means of realising their national ambitions and refuse to bind themselves to submit all national disputes to arbitration? What should the League do, in the face of such a situation? Should it compromise with its most fundamental principle, in order to make easy for those States which do not conceal their contempt for international obligations and openly exalt the power of the sword, to re-enter or remain in the League? The League has

many so-called friends who are strongly advising it to take that course. But that way lies death and dishonour to the League. Nothing would suit would-be aggressive nations better than to belong to a League of Nations which just talks and advises, and leaves them practically free to do as they wish, *e.g.*, Japan in Manchuria, and Italy in Abyssinia! But we friends of peace are clear in our minds that we do not want such a League and we find it not consonant with the dignity and prestige of the League that it should allow the aggressors who have broken the Covenant, to dictate the terms on which they are ready to return or remain in the League. Two great a price can be paid for the ideal of universality. It is in our view preferable to have a non-universal League which commands the loyal support of all its Members, than a League that stultifies itself in order to obtain the unreliable co-operation of States, which in and out of season declare their open contempt for that Institution. And we would all heartily agree with what Mr. Litvinoff said at the last Assembly meeting: "I would object strongly, if, in the name of universality, the League were to set about eliminating from the Covenant all that makes it a weapon of peace and a threat to the aggressor. *I should object vigorously to anything calculated to make the League safe for the aggressor.*" But interested parties, who want to take away the sanctions clauses from the Covenant, say that the League failed to protect Abyssinia because it was not universal. Nothing would be a greater travesty of truth than this statement. The non-membership of the United States is brought forth as the main reason for the failure of the League in the Italo-Abyssinian dispute. But what are the facts? After the League had announced sanctions against Italy, President Roosevelt issued a proclamation saying, that Americans could only carry on trade with the belligerent Powers (Italy and Abyssinia) at their own risk. The President said in so many words to the American trader: "If you insist upon trading with Italy and thus come into conflict with the League Powers, my Government will not give you any diplomatic support." This view of the American attitude has been confirmed (in a private talk with the writer) by Sir Norman Angell—the famous author of *The Great Illusion,* who happened to be in the States in the winter of 1935, and he is in a position to speak with authority in the matter. And the recent revelations of ex-Secretary of State, Stimson, make it clear beyond doubt, that the United States would not have stood in the way of the League Powers taking a stronger line against the Japanese aggression in Manchuria. Too much disingenuous explanation (*i.e.*, American non-membership) has been given to excuse the weak attitude of the League Powers in both the Japanese and the Italian aggression. This hypothesis on close examination will not hold water. What nation would have gone to war with the League if it had applied complete and rigorous economic sanctions against Italy? America? Japan? One has only to put the question to answer with an emphatic "no." Who has forgotten the scurrilous attacks in the Italian Press against Japan, accusing her of helping Abyssinia? And as regards Germany, it is improbable in the highest degree that she should have gone to war with the League Powers in support of Italy in the autumn of 1935, when she had only just begun rearming. But for the sake of argument granting this possibility, could not the fifty-two Powers of the League face these two Powers and gain the victory? Let me quote Litvinoff again to give a final answer to this question. He spoke as follows at the last Assembly:

> "The aggregate power of the peace-loving countries, both in the economic and in the military sense, considerably surpass the strength of any possible combination of countries which the aggressor might rally round him. I am deeply convinced that it would be sufficient for these forces in some way to combine, to display merely the possibility of joint action, for the peril of war to be averted, and for the aggressor to be obliged to ask, sooner or later, to be admitted himself to the common system of collective security."

The above statement holds in a nutshell the whole idea of collective security. If a State contemplating aggression in violation of the Covenant is left in no doubt whatever, that all the States' Members are determined to carry out their precise obligations arising out of Art. 16, then one can be almost certain that no war will ever break out. For even a dictator will not dare to plunge his country into certain destruction. The nations must realise that in the long run collective security is the cheapest form of defence, and one that makes the outbreak of war well-nigh impossible. The essence of the collective system is that it pledges the nations to non-aggression, arbitration and mutual support against aggression. In such a system, self-defence and the defence of the Covenant are merged into one, and the security of the *one* does not mean the insecurity of the *other*, which is bound to be the case in a system of competitive armaments where each tries to purchase security by being more strongly armed than its neighbour. And who is the aggressor? A State

which refuse to submit its dispute to third party judgment and dispatches its armed forces into territory not belonging to it without a mandate from the League. Is anything simpler than to determine the aggressor according to this definition? This restriction on what till now has been considered the inallienable right of all sovereign States, *i.e.*, the right to declare war, is imperative if we are ever to realise the collective peace system. Peace demands sacrifices—it will not be had for nothing! If statesmen and nations are not conscious of the larger responsibility towards humanity in this age of scientific warfare, and cling tenaciously to the old shibboleth of unrestricted national sovereignty, then of course even the gods cannot save the human race from sure destruction! The acceptance of the collective system does not deny justice to a State suffering under a grievance—on the contrary it makes its realization more certain for brute force is eliminated at the very outset in the discussion of an international dispute. Is not that the very reason why the Big Powers till now are avowing it with mental reservations, while the Smaller Powers are in bitter earnest, that the idea of collective security shall not remain just a phrase but becomes a reality.

How are we going to make the League machinery more effective to serve the cause of peace? By improvement along two different lines. On the one hand we should strengthen the sanctions clauses and make them really effective, so that they take away all temptation from a State to embark upon a war lightheartedly. On the other hand it is equally important to give life to Art. 19 of the Covenant —so that nations can feel sure that peaceful changes and revision of treaties, deemed unjust, can be secured through the machinery of the League without resort to arms. Both are of vital importance to resuscitate the League. As Mr. Eden has well said :

"The peace which we aim to preserve is one that by its justice commends itself generally to the nations of the world."

The League must not only secure peace but also justice among nations. If nations are to be bound to apply sanctions automatically in case of a breach of the Covenant, then they must also have the confidence that they can obtain justice from the League. Until now Art. 19, concerning the revisions of treaties has remained a dead letter and this is most unfortunate. Art. 19, should be made effective in the manner that if a Member-State has any grievance against an existing treaty the matter should be referred to an Arbitration Commission, whose members should not be nominees of Governments but experts chosen because of their wide knowledge and because they commend universal respect. On the basis of the recommendation of this fact-finding commission, the Assembly of the League should come to an equitable decision. At the present, it will perhaps be not possible to force a decision on a reluctant Member—but one should not minimise the moral pressure that is exerted on the side of remedying an injustice by a strong recommendation of the Assembly. A nation cannot in the long run ignore the judgment of the world. There is one further consideration. Till now nations have always sought for strategic frontiers, and fate of peoples in the frontier regions has been a tragic one. But if collective security becomes a reality, then the League which guarantees their political security, can exert a moral pressure upon the nations so to rectify their frontiers that minorities can be joined to their mother countries. Only one must proceed warily on this delicate matter and not swallow uncritically all the demands of the various irredentists. To Pan-Germans one must reply that Austria and Bohemia have never belonged to Germany in the past. And when the Hungarian irredentists lament over four million compatriots torn away from the mother country, one must remember that the majority of these four millions are non-Magayar by race and formed unwilling minorities in the former Kingdom of Hungary. Besides the races are so haphazardly distributed in the South-Eastern corner of Europe, that it is impossible to draw national frontiers according to strict ethnological principles. Here one can only hope that all nations, whether they have signed the Minorities Treaties or not, will deem it their duty to grant to their minorities full cultural and linguistic freedom. One thinks with special sadness about the lot of the South-Tyroleans—a solid block of German-speaking people, who have been torn asunder from their mother country and joined to Italy for purely strategic reasons.

As regards the problem of giving back to Germany some of her former colonies, in order to induce her to return to the League, would in our opinion be a retrograde step. A Germany drunk with the wine of the gospel of "The Chosen People," a Germany that has put the Middle Ages to shame in its treatment of the Jews, is surely not an ideal guardian to be entrusted with the welfare of the backward races of Africa. Besides, when the Germans cry for colonies for the purpose of emigration, let us remind them, that after forty years of intense colonial activity the total German population in

all the German Colonies was less than that of the German Colony in Paris before the War. Similarly the number of Italian Colonists in Italian Somaliland and Erythrea, provinces bordering on Abyssinia, have been less than a thousand after forty years of occupation. And a few years ago Mussolini passed a decree discouraging Italians to emigrate to America. With the same breath that Mussolini and Hitler declare to the world how overpopulated their countries are, they demand from the Italian and German mothers that they become breeding machines and produce more and ever more children! We know for what purpose—to serve as canon-fodder. Is it not a mad world in which we live? But how are we to solve the colonial problem? Our aim should be to liquidate the colonial systems of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries which were based on exploitation, and not to help to create new ones. In whatever else the League may have failed, in putting the ex-German territories in Africa under mandatary Government, the League has done good work on behalf of the native races of Africa. The writer can admit that all the more generously, because formerly he had quite a different opinion in the matter. But after attending the sittings of the Mandate Commission and hearing debate of the Commissions during the Assembly meeting, the writer is convinced that the League is really trying to live up to the sentiments expressed in Art. 22 of the Covenant," ......that the well-being and development of such peoples (*i.e.*, 'those not yet able to stand by themselves under the strenuous conditions of the modern world') form a sacred trust of civilization and that securities for the performance of this trust should be embodied in this Covenant." When one hears in the Commission (as the writer has heard) a citizen of a small country like Sweden admonish a representative of a Mandatary Power, that too much money has been spent upon the education of European children and too little on that of African children, when another representative of a Small Power tells the big Colonial Powers, that in the Government of the mandated territories, they must get rid of the last vestiges of the old imperialistic ways of thought, then one must acknowledge that a humaner and more civilized conception of the responsibilities of the advanced races towards the more primitive ones is slowly dawning on the minds of the Colonial Powers. Efforts should now be directed towards inducing the Colonial Powers to apply to their Colonies the fundamental principles of the mandatary regime and to present an annual report to the Council. The Labour Party in England has promised to do something similar if they come to power. Equal opportunities for the trade and commerce of all State-Members of the League are guaranteed in the mandated territories. These rights should also be extended to the Colonies of the Members of the League. The raw materials in the mandated as well as in the colonial areas should be made accessible to all Members of the League and distributed in such a manner as to take due account of the reasonable claims of individual State-Members. Mr. Eden has declared this year at the Assembly, that England will support the proposal for an impartial expert inquiry into the matter, and the League has put it on its agenda for discussion at the next session of the Assembly. In the Overseas Dominions and Colonies, after providing adequately for the native populations, opportunities for settlement of the surplus population of State-Members of the League should be afforded.

The League should also turn its efforts towards forming a low tariff group open to all States-Members and do everything in its power to promote social and economic co-operation among them through the International Labour Office. Through such and similar measures the League should try to meet the just grievances of the Have-nots, and offer to all its Members *not only political security but also economic justice*. The nations of the world should be made to feel that it brings them concrete economic advantages to belong to the League of Nations. Only then will it possess sufficient cohesive power to hold the nations together in loyal and active co-operation. And as regards Germany's demands for Colonies, we think that if she is willing to enter the League, with the earnest purpose of building up the Collective Peace System and not that of sabotaging it from inside, then the League may entrust her with the Mandate in Africa (*not* with a Colony, be it emphasised), but only on condition that Germany is willing without reservation to grant all the rights and privileges of a Minority—as set forth in the post-war Minorities Treaties—to the German-Jewish community. We think it would be an utter shame for the League, if it undertook no collective action to improve the lot of that sorely harrassed community, if and when Germany joins the League. And it should be made clear beyond all doubt to her present rulers, that a Germany which treats her Jews as she is doing now, is deemed unworthy to be entrusted with a Mandate. Must the conscience of the world in

DIAMOND AND ITS WAYS

By P. VENKAYYA

THE discovery of a mineral deposit sometimes bestows a sudden and good fortune on the discoverer but very curiously, most of the famous mineral deposits of the world including the immortal COOLIGARDEE gold field of Australia were all sudden and chance discoveries. There are many mining Engineers and highly experienced geologists in the world but these are only occasionally connected with the discoveries of great mineral deposits. Let us now turn to the WAJRAKARUR diamond field in the Ananthapur district of the Madras Presidency. Neither the most eminent officers of the Government's Geological Survey at Calcutta nor the mining Engineers and geologists employed so far by European and Indian firms have succeeded in discovering the real rock from which the diamonds of this area have separated by denudation and are occassionally picked up by people. Until the original rock in which these gems were first crystallised, is discovered, no safe investment can be made by any one to work this area. The reason is not far to seek. If you take up a field in which a very valuable gem was once picked up, and dig and search the soil even to a depth of 10 fathoms, nothing is found in it because the gem that was previously discovered on that spot was never born in the rock lying within that field, and it only happened to be there as the result of the disintegration and denudation of a previously existed rock which has since completely disappeared from this region, and these gems must have formed part of that disappeared rock. The reason for finding the gems without its parent rock is that diamond will not so easily yield to the forces of denuding agencies like water and wind, it being the hardest known substance in the mineral kingdom and its parent rock might have been of a softer nature. Thus, the parent died and the child is surviving. In this manner the gems now and then discovered on the WAJRAKARUR field are only of a detrital nature and were never traced to their parent rock. Their occurrence is very sporadical. Any venture to run a regular mining concern before the discovery of the parent rock, will result in total failure. A kind of gambling enterprise may be started by undertaking to wash the gravel on some of the localities lying within this area with eager expectations to pick up a gem, but after washing a thousand cart-loads of earth with water one may or may not find anything worth the name in it. Knowing the gambling nature of the proposition European firms are standing aloof from this kind of venture (ALLUVIAL WASHING). Recently a most influential diamond mining concern in South Africa asked me if it is advisable to undertake any washing of these gravels with certainty and safety and my reply was in the negative. Leaving the question of the source of the WAJRAKARUR gems for further investigation let us for a while consider the part diamond plays in the destiny of man. In ancient stories we read of a king's daughter falling in love with a leper, or a state elephant entrusted with the mission of selecting a heir to the throne of an issueless king throwing the garland on a begger and dragging him to the throne. In modern days diamond acts as the hero of such dramas. Last month (June 1936), a Boya labourer belonging to the village of Kadamalakuduru which is about 5 miles from WAJRAKARUR village brought a pebble to the merchants at Wajrakarur. The pebble which looks like a rock crystal (vernacular—*Sphatikam*) was picked up by him last year while reaping the VARAGU crop. The pebble looked so humble that he did not at first worry himself much about its worth. As time rolled on when he found himself hard pressed for a sum of Rs. 5|- which he could not raise in his own village, he brought the pebble to WAJRAKARUR where it was pronounced at first to be only a rock crystal. In an hour it passed many hands with no encouraging remark; at last, some one said that it may be a diamond. This was the signal for a clamour. The labourer was invited by a few merchants of the place to a house to settle its price. The door of the house was jealously closed not to give free access to people who may throw obstacles in the way of striking a cheap bargain. The police had to appear on the scene. At last a sum of Rs. 5,000|- was paid on the spot into the hands of the Boya labourer by the merchants of the village, and the labourer went

home, of course satisfied. The very next week a Marwari merchant came from Madras with enough cash and a revolver to meet any emergency and offered a price of Rs. 30,000|- for the gem but the local syndicate has resolved not to part with it for anything less than Rs. 40,000|-.

During the last 12 years there were two more romantic incidents like the above. One of the heroes was a regular barber and the other was a Fakir (a Muhammadan begger) of the village. They were favoured with a fortune well above a quarter of a lakh of rupees each, but they became beggers again only in the course of a couple of years owing to bad company of which there will be any amount in places where wealth is so easily acquired.

Visitors

Last year no less than 5,000 people visited the place during the rainy season and returned disappointed. Human nature is just the same all the world over. In the early days of Kimberley people from far-off America took return tickets and came to Kimberley to search the lands there as if they were sure to pick up a decent stone on the day of their arrival there. Most of these people had to sell their rugs and even cloths to pay for their food on board ship. Wajrakarur has several visitors of this type, every year. A very interesting sign of advanced times was the presence, last year, of a number of bold Indian ladies with silk sarees who visited the place from far-off Tanjore and Trichinopoly and nearer Bellary without any male assistance, to search the fields here. Hotel accommodation is scanty. An old Coimbatore Brahmin has been the sole caterer of food here for over a dozen years and he took to this public service after his turn of disappointment as a gem prospector.

So far, the only method of search adopted by the eager visitors is merely roaming about the fields with a downcast look and pick up any stone which looks white or glistens, and place it before the local merchants. Most of the stones thus collected by these poor people turn out to be rock crystals (*Sphatikams*). Once I very nearly killed a Brahmin who brought to me a pebble for opinion. The poor man picked up somewhere a stout piece of crystalline quartz and ran up to me in hot haste, fully believing that he had picked up a diamond. When I told him that his stone was as valuable as a piece of glass, he fell into a swoon and stopped showing anything to me from the next day. Taking advantage of the presence of many innocent people some of the trickish local businessmen take the trouble to shape with the help of a lapidari's wheel a few rock crystals into octohedral and dodechahedral forms of the diamond and approach with a sagely look, the poor innocent visitors with offers for sale. There is also another way of cheating the ignorant visitor. When the new-comer takes a stone to a purchaser, the purchaser in case the stone happens to be a diamond, pretends for a while with the examination of it and manages to return to the poor visitor, instead of the original stone, a rock crystal (of which he has many in stock to meet such emergencies), with the expert declaration that what was shown to him was not a diamond but only a rock crystal.

Scope for Educated People

There are in our country many graduates who for their degree course make a good study of geology. Most of these young men are unemployed at present. Such people, instead of trying for a copyist's post in a Sub-Registrar's Office, resolve to spend a month every year in the Wajrakarur region, they will at least add much to their wealth of geological knowledge, and if favoured by luck, may even make some fortune. No equipment and no great investment worth the name is necessary to embark on this enterprise. A small hand-washing enamel basin worth annas six, is all the equipment necessary. The lower half of an earthen pot will equally serve the purpose. With this, he can wash the gravel and earth in likely regions instead of vainly roaming about the thorny fields, spoiling the crops of the poor cultivators, and gazing at the angular debris of the Hornblendic Granite rock, like the illiterate thousands that visit these parts every year. An educated man knows better where to search and if he has acquired a rudimentary knowledge of the main principles of geology his work will surely be more methodical than the crude traverses of the illiterate. A knowledge of the type of rock with which diamond is associated in other countries of the world, and his ability to distinguish a basic rock from an acid rock, will surely place an educated prospector on a higher level than the barber, the Boya and the Fakir. If per chance, he picks up a crude piece of field rock in which a small crystal of diamond is firmly embeded *in situ*, it will be a great gain to the geological science, for, up to this moment the parent rock of the Indian diamond is not discovered. If this original mother rock (not the ancient water-formed

deposits of rolled pebbles in Palnad and Kurnool, underlying Nergee beds of lime-stone) of the diamond is traced, a stable industry, on the famous lines of the South African diamond mines can be established in our country, providing employment for thousands of people, and this will greatly help to solve the unemployment problem in the perpetually famine-stricken Ceded Districts of the Madras Presidency. In South Africa the diamond mines are now worked at the ten-thousandth foot level from the surface with the help of ingenious machinery which can crush the hard rock without breaking the delicate diamond crystal in it. The immortal Cullinan diamond which weighs 3,025 carats valued at £150,000 was discovered in that country. There is evidence to show that at Wajrakarur in the diamond mining boom during king Krishna Devaraya's glorious rule in the sixteenth century, diamonds weighing half a pound troy were mined. It is admitted by diamond experts in all the countries of the world that the South African diamond can bear no comparison to the Indian diamond in point of "FIRE." The revival of the Indian diamond mining industry will therefore undoubtedly affect the South African Mines to a certain extent if the parent rock of the diamond in India is discovered, that is to say, English capital invested in the South African diamond mines will be affected to some extent (See *Gazetteer of Ananthapur District* by W. Francis). Whatever that may be, diamond has the power to pave one's way for fortune. It has changed the whole course of the history of South Africa and paved its way to the present enviable position in the world. It is helping many poor people at Wajrakarur in bettering their lot. Who knows if there is another Kimberley in the region of Wajrakarur lurking somewhere undiscovered. Let some educated young Indian discover it, to the great benefit of his country on the whole and the poverty-stricken people of the Ceded Districts in particular.

A MYSTERY MAN

BY S. D.

RECENTLY on the country's political horizon has appeared a striking personality, that of Comrade Roy. His name was familiar in Indian political circles. Around it were woven many a curious story of revolutionary activity, police pursuit in this and other lands and hair-breadth escapes. His young life has been eventful.

He is known to hold advanced communist views and is believed to enjoy international reputation. He was in Russia during the revolutionary period. He was in the inner councils of the communist party there and is believed to have been deputed as one of those to guide and organize the communist revolution in China. He was in Mexico for the same purpose. He is known not only to be a man of action but also as a man of thought and a writer. He knows several European languages and is reputed to have made some original contributions to communist thought. In India a group of Socialists is styled or styles itself as Royist.

Naturally the authorities in India were trying to keep trail of his elusive movements. Several times they thought they had followed the scent of the man but were soon disillusioned. Nobody had seen him. Nowhere was his likeness available. At last the Indian police ran him to ground, betrayed, as is supposed, by a companion who had political differences with him. He was tried for complicity in an old conspiracy, convicted, it is believed, on doubtful evidence and thrown behind the prison walls for the long period of six years. Recently after the expiry of his term of imprisonment he was released in shattered health, having lost fifty pounds in weight. The time of his release was interesting. It was the eve of the Faizpur Congress.

Political circles, specially the Socialist and Radical groups, were awaiting the release in eager and excited expectations. Some had great hopes of a further radical movement in Congress politics Others were suspicious, for his past reputation was not all complimentary to him. He had been expelled from the Communist Party in Russia. However, different sections of the Socialists were awaiting the release of this mystery man, as he has since been called, with different and mixed expectations. They were curious to see how he reacted to the Indian situation and what part he played on the chequered board of Indian politics. A man of will and force, of indomitable courage and of

keen intellect, was after all not going to play a very passive or insignificant role in Indian public life. Therefore there was eager waiting for his first utterances.

The curious had not long to wait. Though he modestly said that he had not been in touch with the Indian situation for years, in what he spoke he showed no hesitation or doubt. Naturally he did not say much; but whatever little he said was significant. He unequivocally and unreservedly declared that he was going to join the Congress and work in it and through it. These ideas he emphasised and elaborated in subsequent statements. He holds that in India it is the duty of all advanced sections to join the Congress and work through it. There can be no effective action today outside the Congress. There is no need of any separate popular front. The Congress itself is the popular front. The only real issue today in India is that of political independence. As if this was not significant enough, he went further and said that socialism in India today was only a theoretical and academic proposition. People should study it but all effective preparation and action can only be in terms of political independence. On the question of offices under the new constitution his opinion was that it was not a fundamental issue on which the country need divide itself into rival camps. It is therefore better to allow those who want to accept office to try their hand at it and find out the use and the uselessness of office by actual experience. No question of principle is involved in the issue.

To the majority of the political public these views of Comrade Roy appeared sane, reasonable and practical. It showed that he was no more student and theorist but one endowed with political sagacity and a shrewd grasp of the objective situation of Indian politics. But this unqualified support of the Congress was disturbing to the Socialists, specially the Congress Socialists. They felt that Roy was not behaving quite as Comrade Roy. They were not quite sure if he really meant what he said. Some of them therefore hurried to Bareilly and others to Allahabad to find from him what he actually meant. They had hopes that he might yet be talked and argued into a more reasonable attitude. He may at least be induced to express his opinion less unequivocally and more guardedly. But they were disillusioned. Comrade Roy stuck to and justified from his ample revolutionary experience, every statement he had made. All that he had said was said deliberately and after due consideration. He even seemed to have kept in touch with what had been going on outside, whilst he was behind the bars. The talk with the socialist comrades therefore did not cure Roy of his heterodoxies. Rather, he by this time made it clear that he was against the formation of separate and distinct groups within the Congress having party organizations outside its fold. When some Anglo-Indian journal accused him of trying to turn Congress into a communist organization, he retorted that in him a communist had turned into a Congressman. Though well-known for his connection with Labour he showed no enthusiasm for functional or organizational representation in the Congress, a pet theme with the Congress Socialist. He thought that there were neither proper Kisan nor labour organizations for the purpose.

All this aroused hostility in the Socialist coteric. Roy's support of and agreement with the accepted Congress policy was bewildering to them. Now that there was no doubt about his opinion they began to hunt for the psychological causes of what appeared to them Comrade Roy's *volte-face*. Was he not an opportunist? Socialists will not be socialists unless they coin a damaging adjective for every political, social and economic phenomenon that can't square with their bookish learning and a complimentary adjective for all their pet theories and schemes.

Thus before the great concourse assembled at Faizpur the Socialists were already disillusioned about Comrade Roy. One could distinctly note a feeling of ill-disguised and ill-suppressed hostility. It came therefore as no great surprise, the heated discussion in the Socialist Conference at Faizpur about according to Comrade Roy greetings on his release. Greetings to one who has suffered for a cause is but a formal matter of courtesy; but it was made the occasion of a great deal of unnecessary heat and denunciation. However in the end good sense prevailed. The formal resolution was passed, but not before the controversy had deprived this act of courtesy of all its grace.

As if all that he had already said was not enough Comrade Roy chose to make a speech in the Subjects Committee on the resolution about the national convention, in some quarters believed to be a proposal emanating from him as so many things done at Faizpur were believed to be inspired by his suggestions. He spoke. As he rose there was an instantaneous hush as if the audience were all alert to take in every word of what he spoke. A tall dark figure, rather gaunt and emaciated, came and stood behind the microphone. As he stood there he gave the impression of one not quite at ease in

that gathering. He hesitated for a minute or so, to gather words to clothe his pregnant thought. Then he started his slow ponderous speech full of pauses and awkward stops. The pronunciation and intonation had all the typical faults of the Bengali Babu. There was a rustle of disappointment in the audience, used to fluent speech and not to cumbrous audible thinking. There was a murmur of comment. The speech lacked the smoothness, the polish and the ease of a popular speaker. It lacked fire and verve. There were no occasional sallies of wit or humour. The awkward pauses at times made it difficult for the ordinary listener to follow the chain of his close reasoning. It was no speech in the formal sense of the term. It was rather loud and laborious thinking. It was the presentation of a thesis, done somewhat awkwardly by a professor out of practice and in unfamiliar surroundings. If the form of the speech was defective its substance was irritating to the Socialists and invoked their open derision. The speaker dared to talk of revolution in terms of evolutionary preparation. It was a novel interpretation of the term which had connoted to their learned minds, a sudden burst up, a quick transformation, something of a cataclysm. The speaker traced the evolutionary process of the Congress terminating in the revolutionary calling of the Constituent Assembly. The Congress he said should be allowed to develop along the lines it was developing and become more and more representative of the masses, till it finally bloomed forth in the Constituent Assembly.

It was a lengthy speech full of repetitions. Even the President appeared restive. If he did not ring the speaker off it was only due to courtesy to a well-known figure now on the Congress platform. From the Socialist viewpoint it was the most damning speech Comrade Roy could have made. If he wanted to reconcile any section of these it was certainly tactless. He no more held any illusions for them. He was an outcast. If not a reactionary, then a mere opportunist; for how otherwise could his views be reconciled with what they had read in Marxian literature.

What was the sin of Comrade Roy? How did he, an eminent communist, deserve all this condemnation and denunciation? Was it that he showed greater inclination and gave more unqualified support to the Congress and its policies, than those of his friends who always protest that they are loyal Congressmen in spite of the fact that the views they express and put forward from the Congress platform are dictated by an outside organization to which they feel they owe greater loyalty. If the Congress policy is so repugnant to them that whoever endorses it, more than they do, is a suspect, one may well ask if their loyalty to their smaller group does not overshadow their loyalty to the Congress. One also may well doubt if it is ever possible to be true to two loyalties without damaging the one or the other. It would therefore appear that such of the Socialists who refuse to join the Congress have at least no divided loyalties.

The charge of opportunism brought against Comrade Roy may or may not be true. The writer has but a passing acquaintance with Comrade Roy and is not sufficiently familiar with his views before and now to venture an opinion. But for every thing a man does, even for opportunism, there must be a sufficient motive. Whom did Roy want to please and placate. Surely not the President, against some of whose favourite views he is reported to have spoken. There is a belief that he was all the time speaking against Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's expressed views. How far that is true can only be known by a person more in touch with the different political under-currents and their inner working in the Congress than the present writer. Whether Roy spoke against the views of the President or not, this much is certain that, if he wanted to find favour with him, he would have been less forward in annoying a party which is supposed rightly or wrongly to enjoy the special protection of the President.

Roy could not possibly have thought of placating the Gandhi-ites. He is not reputed to be a dull person. But however dull he may be, he must have known that an unbridgeable gulf divides him from Gandhi. Not to mention the aim and the goal, the difference in Gandhian and Marxian methodology is such that there never can be any approach of the two. Even if Gandhi is to turn into an economic socialist and communist, which is quite within the range of practical politics, he can never turn into a dialectical materialist or a Marxian. Whom then did Comrade Roy desire to placate by his opportunism? Let scientific socialism give the answer. We can but pose the question.

Book Reviews

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in The Modern Review. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published. —Editor, The Modern Review.

ENGLISH

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU *an autobiography*: *John Lane, The Bodley Head*: *Demy Octavo. Pp. 618+xiv art canvas gilt with a dust jacket and 13 plates in Collotype. Sh. 15 net (Indian price Rs. 7).*

Judging by the reception that has been accorded to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's autobiography by the reading public of India and Euro-America, one must be inclined to believe that this book will rank with the great autobiographies and memoirs of world literature. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru is a man whom Destiny gave a choice of two sharply contrasted ways of living, thinking and aspiring. Moved by a profound emotion, he chose a life of struggle, suffering and sacrifice. So that he has experienced that inward turmoil which alone gives one the correct material for introspective writing. The book was written entirely in prison and in the Pandit's own words, it was written as an attempt "to trace" his "own mental development and not to write a survey of recent Indian History."

Jawaharlal Nehru was born with the proverbial "Silver Spoon" in his mouth. Although there was no deliberate attempts at spoiling him in childhood, he was nurtured in luxury in the normal course of things. His life at Harrow and Cambridge surely did not urge him to choose the path of struggle and suffering, nor did he imbibe a spirit of sacrifice from the atmosphere of the Inner Temple. He sums up his post-graduate days in London with a frankness which is reminiscent of Mahatma Gandhi's self-criticism. In London, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru says, "I came across some old Harrow friends and developed expensive habits in their company. Often I exceeded the handsome allowance that father made me and he was greatly worried on my account, fearing that I was rapidly going to the devil. But as a matter of fact I was not doing anything so notable. I was merely trying to ape to some extent the prosperous but somewhat empty-headed Englishman who is called a 'man about town.' This soft and pointless existence, needless to say, did not improve me in any way. My early enthusiasms began to tone down and the only thing that seemed to go up was my conceit."

The writer has composed his autobiography with sincerity and has attained in it a literary and artistic excellence which can be ascribed to his keen power of observation guided by a deep-seated emotionalism. For his description of Kashmir and his longing for a journey to Kailas and Manassarovar could only emanate from a soul attuned to the grandeur and beauty of Nature. His opinions and descriptions of incidents and persons generally bring out in bold relief the outstanding features without labouring over details. Describing the Moslem League Meeting (1920) which supported Mahatma Gandhi's Non-Violent Non-Co-operation campaign, Pandit Nehru says, "a very tame gathering of timid, middle-aged folk. And yet these people . . . voted for the struggle. Of course, very few of these members of the Moslem League joined the struggle later. Many of them found a safe sanctuary in Government jobs." In the same year Pandit Nehru visited Mussoorie with his mother and wife. The Afghan envoys were staying in the same hotel with the Nehrus. Although the writer had no contact with these people, the police, one day, demanded an undertaking from Jawaharlal Nehru that he would not have any dealings with the Afghans. "This struck me as extraordinary," says Pandit Nehru in his autobiography, "since I had not even seen them during a month's stay and there was little chance of my doing so." And, of course, "The Superintendent (of police) knew this." Jawaharlalji was externed from Mussoorie on his refusing to give the undertaking.

His description of the *Kisan* movement gives us another phase of the period during which Jawaharlal Nehru was becoming a force in Indian politics. It may be assumed that the *Kisan* movement largely accounts for his conversion to socialism.

It is impossible to give a comprehensive idea of the contents of this volume within the limited space of a short review. The book helps one to understand the man Jawaharlal thoroughly well. It incidentally, acquaints the reader with British Imperialism, the Indian police, the social and economic problems of India, the different landmarks of recent Indian History and that grand army of selfless workers who are fighting for the Nation's cause.

Ashoke Chatterjee

PROBLEM OF NUTRITION, LEAGUE OF NATIONS: *Volume 4. Price 3 shillings.*

This is the fourth volume issued by the League on the problem of nutrition. It is a preliminary study by the International Institute of Agriculture at Rome of the available statistical material on the production, consumption and prices of the chief protective and other foodstuffs, *e.g.*, milk and dairy products, meat, eggs and poultry,

fruit and vegetables, cereals and sugar. The volume deals also with the question of the financial assistance given to agriculture in some of the principal agricultural countries. Half the volume is devoted to an analytical examination of the situation in the limited number of countries for which data exist. *Of course*, no data exist for India. The remainder of the volume gives valuable statistical tables relating to production and consumption, as well as wholesale and retail price indices. Despite its preliminary character this volume represents the first serious attempt to gather together and digest the somewhat fragmentary statistical information available on the vitally important question of protective foodstuffs. The volume brings out sharply the extreme incompleteness of the data available in respect of most of the foodstuffs dealt with by it; and the necessity therefore of making further serious efforts to complete these essential data on an international basis.

WORLD ECONOMIC SURVEY, LEAGUE OF NATIONS. *Price in wrappers 6|-, $1.05, bound in cloth 7|6, $2.00. Pages 450.*

This World Economic Survey, the fifth of its kind and covering the year 1935-1936, has been published by the League of Nations Secretariat. It sums up clearly and vividly the quintessence of the economic tendencies revealed by the world-wide and comprehensive studies of the Economic Intelligence Service of the League.

The volume is intended for the expert who wishes to see the economic situation in a wide perspective, and its non-technical language will recommend it to the layman. It opens with a survey of the main features of the rapid and bewildering changes which have occurred in the years of the great depression from which the world is now emerging. The final chapter summarises and interprets economic developments until as late as last August.

The central theme of the book is that of slow uneven recovery, particularly in national industry and markets, combined with a continued lag in international trade.

The Survey describes the nature of this recovery and its development in the various areas such as the sterling area, the gold block countries and what might be called the "new deal" area of the United States of America.

Various aspects of the economic situation are dealt with in the central chapters of the book, illustrations having been taken from typical countries to throw light upon general trends. For example, the recovery registered in agricultural production and industrial activity is compared with the lagging tendency of world trade.

Other questions dealt with are the rising tendency of prices and the correction and levelling up of unevennesses in prices, the emergence once more of industrial profits, changing trends in consumption, wage rates, unemployment and labour organization, the rapidly expanding gold production, credit policy, capital issues, the adaptation of taxation to new conditions, as well as the trend of public expenditure and national indebtedness.

The analysis and statistical measurement of world trade is followed by a special chapter on the evolution of commercial policy in the different countries.

No world economic survey would be complete without some reference to the economic consequences of the dramatic political events of the last few years, and particularly of this last year. These political conditions and the part played by rearmament in economic recovery are referred to, therefore, in the opening chapter of the volume.

R. C.

MAHADJI SINDHIA AND NORTH INDIAN AFFAIRS, 1785-1794: *Edited by Sir Jadunath Sarkar, C.I.E. Pp. xxviii+415, and two portraits. Rs. 5-8.*

POONA AFFAIRS, 1786-1797 (MALET'S EMBASSY): *Edited by G. S. Sardesai, B.A. Pp. vi+40+552, and two coloured portraits. Rs. 7-12. (Government Book Depot, Bombay.)*

It is not sufficiently known to the general public that a work of the greatest importance to Indian history has been taken in hand by the Government of Bombay and half carried through already. It is nothing less than the publication of the immense mass of original State papers relating to the Marathas. The records in the Marathi language that had been preserved in the archives of the Peshwas, have been already published in 45 volumes with a supplementary volume of only specimen Persian papers. The next stage in the work is the printing of the English records (or what remains of them) belonging to the old Poona Residency that represented the British Government at the Court of the Peshwas from the first Resident, Sir Charles Malet (arrival 1786) to the annexation of the Peshwas' Dominions in 1818. These latter come most opportunely to supply our need just when the records in the Marathi language suddenly dry up after the First Maratha War which ended in the Treaty of Salbai, (May 1782).

The first two volumes of this English series (entitled *Poona Residency Correspondence*) are admirably well printed and edited; and special praise must be given to the coloured portraits of Nana Fadnis, Peshwa Madhav Rao Narayan and Mahadji Sindhia by the artist J. Wales and a still more expressive portrait of Sindhia by the famous painter William Daniell,—who saw these celebrities and painted them from life. The two volumes are indispensable to all students of Indian history for the period covered, and the Bombay Government deserves our best thanks for having made these records available to students at a reasonable price, in spite of the stringency of the public finances. The Bombay Government acknowledge that the work has been rendered possible because of "Sir Jadunath Sarkar and Rao Sahib G. S. Sardesai, who are rendering their services as editors without remuneration or honorarium and are also travelling at their own expense in connection with the editing and publication of these volumes."

Each volume contains a long and lucid editorial introduction, a list of the letters with dates arranged in the alphabetical order of their writers, a useful correct chronology of events, the body of the documents divided into topical sections with summaries and notes, and a very detailed Index.

The first of these volumes throws a flood of new light on the affairs of the Delhi Imperial Court, the Rajput Powers, British secret diplomacy, and above all "the character and policy of Mahadji Sindhia, the successive stages by which he rose to dominating influence and the means by which he overcame the appalling and ever-changing obstacles in his path . . . At the same time we see the strength and soundness of Lord Cornwallis's policy . . . uprightness of purpose, and rigid enforcement of his will."

Malet's despatches (Volume 2) will be an eye-opener to many. We see here the entire Peshwa's Court turned inside out, thanks to the wonderfully accurate and detailed reports of the spies whom Malet maintained and from whom not even the highest minister could keep any secret. The editor, Mr. Sardesai, mournfully contrasts the English and Maratha States and explains the gradual

decline and ultimate downfall of the latter. In fact, from several points of view these eleven years that Malet passed at Poona were the most significant in Maratha history, and we here get their inner history in the minutest detail from Malet's secret despatches and the long reports of his interviews with the Peshwa, Nana Fadnis and Nana's agent for English relations (Bahiro Pant). By February 1797 (when Malet departed from Poona), Baji Rao II had succeeded to the Peshwaship, Nana Fadnis had been shorn of his autocratic power and was trembling on the edge of a yawning gulf, and the Poona Government was about to be a mere plaything in the hands of stronger powers. Its internal strength was totally gone even six years before the humiliating Treaty of Bassein.

We eagerly look forward to the succeeding volumes of the series, which are to deal with the Nizam, Tipu Sultan, the Bhonsles of Nagpur and Daulat Rao Sindhia, besides Poona affairs.

BRAJENDRA NATH BANERJI

OUR ELDER BRETHREN : THE GREAT ONES IN THE WORLD'S SERVICE : *Edited by Annie Besant, D. L. Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras.*

This book contains an account and gives an interpretation of the teachings of some of the great religious and spiritual leaders of the world, such as Buddha, Sankara, Zarathustra, Mahommed, Chaitanya etc. The aim of the book seems to be to teach the doctrine that "The most beautiful thing in the whole world is the fact that there is a Hierarchy, a sacred Government of the Best and the Wisest, who guide and direct all things to the final good of everyone" (p. 3). This august group of superhuman men are the elder Brothers. "They are also called the 'guardians of the world,' "because the world is divided into areas, each of which is under the care of a Master" (p. 10).

U. C. BHATTACHARJEE

INDIAN SPEECHES AND DOCUMENTS ON BRITISH RULE 1821-1918 : *Edited by J. K. Majumdar, M.A., Ph.D. (London), of the Middle Temple, Barrister-at-Law, Advocate, High Court, Calcutta. With a foreword by Ramananda Chatterjee, M.A., Editor, "The Modern Review." Messrs. Longmans, Green & Co., Ltd. 1937. Pages XVI+186. Price Rs. 2.*

A certain section of the Press preaches in season and out of season the shortcomings, the sins of omission and commission of British Rule in India. Comparisons are frequently made between the conditions of the people before and after the British settlement and a credit balance is shown in favour of the pre-British period. Dr. Majumdar is a courageous man in taking up the cause of the British and putting together important documents bearing on the subject. The time may not have arrived as yet for the impartial historian to pass judgment on the benefits of the British domination : when that time comes however, this collection of documents will be useful.

One or two impressions worth recording are left in our mind after perusal of the book. The first is that security of life and property had unquestionably been the result of the British settlement. Over and over again attention is called to this. Separated as we are by so many decades from the events that followed the breaking up of Moghul rule in India, it is difficult to appreciate the security of life that India as a whole enjoys today. Raja Rammohun Roy could value "the numerous measures adopted for the protection of persons and property" and thank God that "in these days the inhabitants of Calcutta enjoy under the Government of the English nation that freedom and security which is considered by rational and social beings as the grand object of all civil and religious institutions." This recognition, however did not emasculate and denationalise men like Raja Rammohun Roy. In their fervid praises of British rule and admiration for British justice, they never forgot the great goal of Indian aspirations. Security of life and property would be more valued when the sons of the soil, leaders of India, are themselves able to maintain and keep it. Raja Rammohun Roy was a great son of India and in no better way is this greatness manifested than in his readiness to render honour to whom honour is due. Some people may look upon praise and admiration as indications of slave mentality. The Raja could not be accused of such frailty. Great minds will always keep close to reality.

If this book compels people to examine dispassionately the facts of history and encourages them to praise when praise is deserved it would have served a good purpose. Historical judgments should never be coloured by racial prejudices.

P. G. BRIDGE

ASTRO-NATIVITY, AN ASTRONOMICAL COMPENDIUM FOR ASTROLOGERS : *By L. Narayan Rao, M.A., Norman Printing Bureau. Calicut. Price Rs. 5.*

The book deals primarily with the processes of mathematical calculation required in preparing horoscopes. The Eastern as well as Western methods have been given and sought to be explained. It has been found useful by many astrologers of repute and the language used by Prof. M. R. Bhat, Jyotish Mahopadhay in the Foreward, *viz.*, that "the methods (advocated in this self-contained book with the idea of Plane and Spherical Trigonometry as well as Tables of Trigonometrical Sines, Cosines, and Tangents) attain in practice, in most cases especially, a measure of success not achieved by any other system known to me," is certainly sufficient recommendation for the book.

Many books dealing with the mathematical portion of astrology have been published in recent times, but treatises in English concerned with the Hindu methods of correct interpretation of horoscopes and forecasts are comparatively rare. The reviewer would like to see more authoritative books on this latter aspect of astrology. Possibly they will come from South India; if they do he would request the authors to write in plain and simple English and not indulge in the confusing syntax which unfortunately is much in evidence in the present volume.

S. C. MITRA

THE INDIAN PRINCES IN COUNCIL : *By Sardar K. M. Panikkar, with a Foreword by Lt.-General His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner. Oxford University Press, 1936. Pp. ix+184. Price 5s.*

Once again Sardar K. M. Panikkar has come out with a book which is not merely of topical interest, but will ever remain a source of much valuable information to those who seek to know the details of the activities of the Chamber of Princes during the fateful years of 1926 to 1936. During all those years, save a short interval of two years (1931-33), H. H. the Maharaja of Patiala was the Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes and was thus the accredited as well as the elected leader of the Indian Princes. It was during that time that the Federal Constitution for India was conceived, developed and finally put into a definite shape; and the part played by the Indian States was of no mean importance. As such any record of the Chancellorship of His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala is bound to be of great value to all those who are interested in the history of the Indian States as well as to those who are keen on gaining a

thorough knowledge of the events which led to the development of the new federal constitution.

After succinctly describing the political situation as it existed in January, 1926, when the Maharaja of Patiala was for the first time elected Chancellor, Sardar Panikkar gives in detail a vivid account of the special interest taken by His Highness in seeing that the rights of the States are more fully and properly determined. The author is at pains to explain and account for the apparently paradoxical position taken up by the States in respect to the Reforms in British India. He quotes passage after passage from the speeches of that leader of the Indian States, and shows that the Indian Princes are as nationalistic as any leader of British India, and that all that they wanted was to lay the foundations of an India in which the States could take their place as equal and autonomous partners. Further Mr. Panikkar devotes two chapters to giving details of the routine work of the Chamber, and explains at some length the constitutional changes that came about in the Chamber during the period under survey. Of the two, the latter chapter is bound to prove to be of profound interest to the general reader as well as to the student of Indian constitutional history. One whole chapter is devoted to an account of the special interest taken by H. H. the Maharaja of Patiala in the cause of the so-called smaller States; obviously it is intended to explain the much-misunderstood campaign of the Maharaja for the Confederation scheme, as also to clear much of the misunderstanding that has been prevalent during recent years about his true attitude in respect of that class of States. At the end of the book there are appended four big Appendixes, a careful reading of which will amply repay the pains of any reader.

Having gone through the book once, one only wishes that the author of this volume should not have restricted the scope of the book merely to a record of the Chancellorship of H. H. the Maharaja of Patiala, but should have made it complete in itself by giving even a summary account of the events that led to the establishment of the Chamber of Princes and a complete even though a short survey of the early years of the Chamber, when H. H. the Maharaja of Bikaner was in charge of the high office of Chancellorship. Again, it was all the more desirable that the gap of the events of those two important years, *viz.*, 1931-33, should not have been allowed to remain unfilled.

A few discrepencies have, however, crept into the book and it would but be in the fitness of things that they be removed in the next edition. The term 'small states' has been used somewhat loosely; its use on pp. 64-5 and 112 is not consistent with the definition as given by Mr. Panikkar himself on p. 51. It cannot but be pointed out that such a loose phraseology in a book, which is bound to be a part of the permanent literature on the subject, is liable to cause some mischief and heart-burning.

But, on the whole, one cannot but agree with H. H. the Maharaja of Bikaner, that Mr. Panikkar has made 'a useful contribution to the political history of the India of recent times.' Every Indian statesman, whether of the Indian States or of British India, would do well to read the book; for without a perusal of this book it would not be very easy for many to understand the true significance of many an event of recent times.

RAGHUBIR SINH

SANSKRIT

DASOPANISHADS WITH THE COMMENTARY OF SRI UPANISHAD BRAHMAYOGIN. VOLUME II: *Edited by the Pandits of the Adyar Library under the supervision of Prof. C. Kunhan Raja, M.A., D. Phil. (Oxon). Published for the Adyar Library (The Theosophical Society).*

The publication of the present volume containing the text and commentary of the *Chhandogya* and the *Brihadaranyaka*—the biggest two of the ten principal Upanishads, the remaining eight of which were published in the previous volume, already noticed in the last September number of the present paper—concludes, let us hope, for the time being, the series of Upanishadic publications undertaken by the Adyar Library as early as the year 1920 when the first part of the series was published. 'Thus in eight handy volumes we have now all the 108 Upanisads with the commentary of a single author, the Upanisad Brahmayogin, and 71 other Upanisads which bear this name but which are not included in the list of Upanisads according to traditional reckoning.' We now eagerly wait for the contemplated volumes of English translation of these texts and especially of really critical editions of them on the lines indicated by Dr. Schrader in his edition of the Minor Upanishads (Adyar, 1912).

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

HINDI-ENGLISH

LOVE-POEMS IN HINDI: *By O. C. Gangoly, Fellow of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. 29 Illustrations and 4 Colour Plates. Price Rupees Five. To be had of A. N. Gangoly, 6 Old Post Office Street, Calcutta.*

The Hindi love-poems brought together in this nicely got-up book have been printed in Nagari characters and transliterated in Roman italics. An English translation follows each poem. The pictures and the poems explain one another.

With regard to this feature of the book the author writes in his introductory paragraphs: "Some aspects of Hindi poetry are very closely related to a School of Indian Pictorial Art,—known as the Pahadi or the 'Hill School,' which flourished in Panjab Himalayas in the districts now known as Kangra, Chamba, Basholi, and Jammu . . . . In fact Hindi poetry and its pictorial counterpart echo and re-echo each other in their expression of a common stock of religious motifs and imageries. And most of the pictures of the Kangra School bear inscriptions in Hindi quoting the most popular dohas composed by poets of repute."

The author has done well, therefore, to enrich his poetical selections by pictorial illustrations, the pictures selected being by old masters whose names are for the most part unknown. The poems and the pictures are like twins descended from one and the same parental stock.

The poems selected relate to the loves of Radha and Krishna, with their religious significance, composed mostly by the poets Kesavadasa and Surdas.

The texts and translations of the poems are printed neatly on fine tinted paper. The reproductions—particularly those in black and white, are excellent.

At one of the sittings of the Prabasi Banga-sahitya Sammelan (All India Bengali Cultural Re-union) at Gorakhpur the author read these poems, explaining them in Bengali, and threw the pictures on the screen in a magnified form. The recitation and exposition of the poems and the exhibition of the pictures were highly appreciated.

C.

BENGALI

PASCHIM JATRIKI: *By Sm. Durgabati Ghosh. Crown Quarto. Pp. 171+iv. Paper board multi-colour cover design, illustrated 32 plates. Ranjan Publishing House, Calcutta. Price Rs. 2-12.*

There is no dearth of books on travel in the Bengali. A good many volumes have been presented to the Bengali reading public dealing with foreign travel as well as tours of shikar, pilgrimage, sightseeing, long sojourns on duty or business and journeys undertaken in the cause of anthropology, botany, zoology etc., etc. Since the late Satyendra Nath Tagore (I.C.S.) wrote his *Bombay Prabas* and published it with good lithographic plates, Bengalee authors have traversed the length and breadth of India and the world and made us familiar with everything that is anywhere. Sm. Durgabati Ghosh is the wife of Mr. R. C. Ghosh, Bar-at-Law (eldest son of the late Sir Charu Chandra Ghosh sometime Acting Chief Justice of the Calcutta High Court). She is the daughter of Dr. Girindra Shekhar Bose, M.D., the well known psycho-pathologist. She is therefore, well placed to give us a review of the European landscape as well as of the manners and, customs and ways of living of the denizens of that 'Superior' continent. She has done this with a thoroughness which is at once pleasant, literary and, occasionally, entertaining. In the remote future if and when Bengali becomes the compulsory second language in all European schools, this book will have its critics. As far as we are concerned, we have enjoyed its contents and are awaiting the authoress' visit to America and Japan. The general get up and printing of the book is exceptionally good.

Ashoke Chatterjee

TELUGU

ANGLA CHARITRA—TUDOR YUGAM: *By Mr. Veluri Satyanarayana, B.A., B.L., pp. 144. Price Re. 1-4-0. To be had of the author, Bhimavaram, E. Godavary Dist.*

The work, as explained by the author, is a perfect rendering into Telugu, of the period, to afford a good reading to the layman; the works hitherto being published were mere catalogued historical facts. The subject-matter, being well known, needs no introduction.

The book is pleasant reading and the work may be recommended to the public.

B. Sunder Ram Rau

GUJARATI

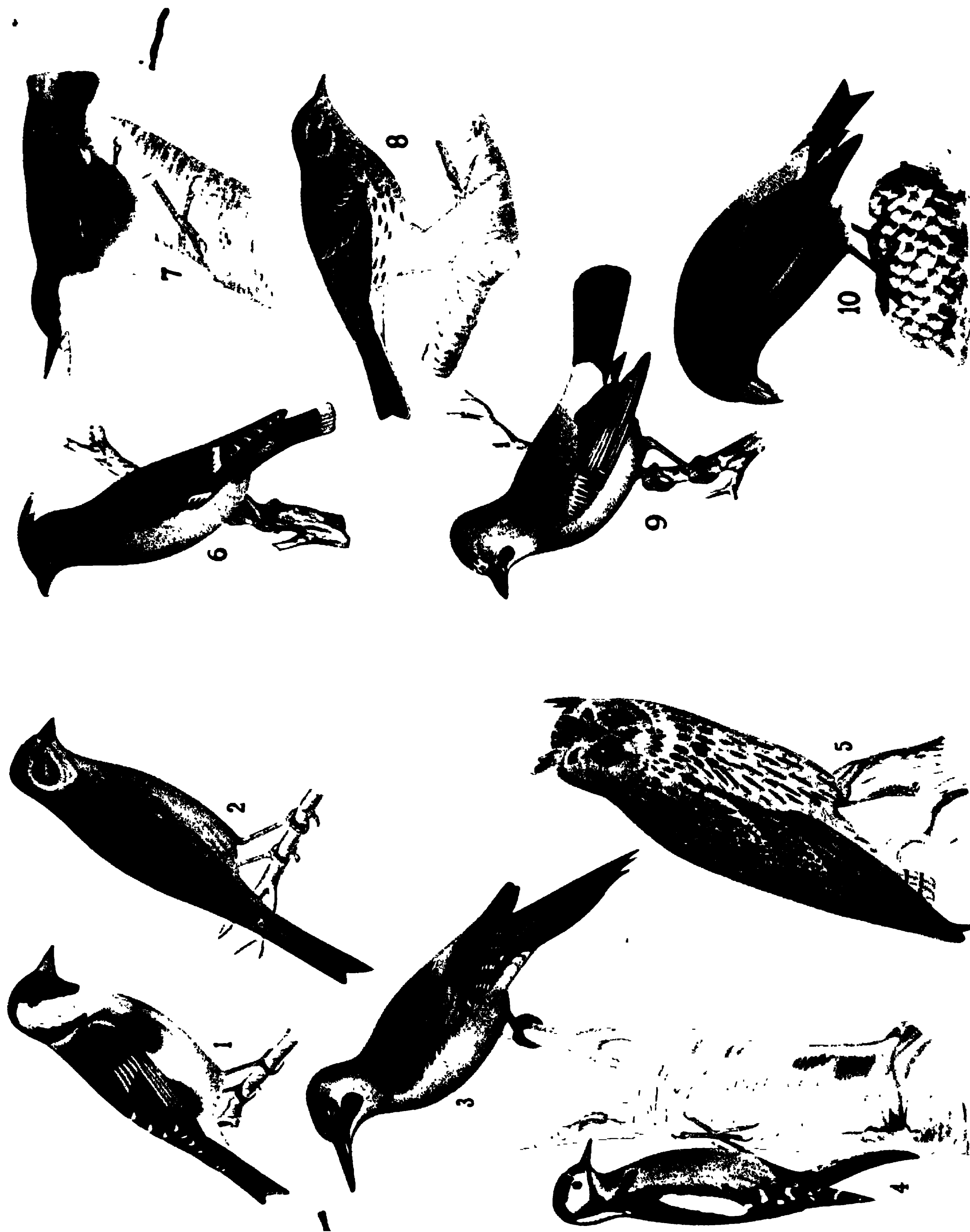
ASHARAM DALICHAND SHAH AND HISTORIES: *By Mulchand Asharam Shah, B.A., LL.B., Advocate (O. S.) Bombay High Court, Ahmedabad. Printed at the Aditya Printing Press, Ahmedabad. Cloth bound. Illustrated. Pp. 125. Price Re 1-0-0. (1934).*

The late Mr. Asharam Dalichand Shah was the father of the late Mr. Justice Sir Lallubhai Asharam Shah, a distinguished judge of the Bombay High Court. Sir Lallubhai owed the many good traits in his character, assiduity in work, scrupulous fairness in the administration of justice, large-heartedness and a happy social nature, to his good father who had most carefully brought up his two sons, to become cultured and prominent members of society. Asharambhai had passed almost his whole life in Kathiawad, a life of 80 years and an eye-witness of the procedure by which the British Government slowly but steadily brought to a close the turbulence prevailing in Kathiawad in the nineteenth century. Though a Bania by caste he knew how to use arms and was therefore able to do gallant deeds in the suppression of outlawry which was a common feature of Kathiawadi life then. He was a very observant man and has left behind him notes of his observations as to the State of Kathiawad as he saw it, politically, judicially and administratively. There was very little happening in the Native States then of which he was not aware. Many Princes and their ministers considered it advisable to consult him on various problems facing them, and he gave them frank advice. On retirement, he set himself to publish the materials he had collected on "Proverbs" and the book, which has now undergone two editions is a rich mine of stories and tales illustrating the proverbs, and a perennial source of instruction to those who desire to become worldly wise and of delight to those who seek pleasure. There is a letter in his handwriting, printed at the end tendering certain advice to his sons from an orthodox Hindu's point of view. The well known man of letters, Prof. B. K. Thakore, B.A., I.E.S. (Retd.) has given the benefit of his long experience as a writer to Mr. Mulchand, in the preparation of this book.

GRAM LAKSHMI, Parts I and II: *By Ramanlal Vasantlal Desai, M.A. Printed at the Lakshmi Printing Press, Baroda. Clothbound. Pp. 320: 296. Price Rs. 2-8-0 each. Illustrated. (1934).*

Gram Lakshmi, the Wealth-goddess of a village. Who is she? This is the problem the author seeks to solve. Is she a being of flesh and blood, like his hero's own wife Kusum, full of verve and fun, with an innate desire to serve and help her husband Ashwina in the fulfilment of his ideal—uplift of his village, or is she a mere dream, a vision, he saw rising from the village pond lily (*Pankaj*) on a fine moonlit night. In other words, is it possible to reform an Indian village and its inhabitants at the hands of a university graduate, a B.E., helped by his own wife, not much learned but willing to work? A third part is still to come, and hence one cannot say what the result of Ashwina's efforts would be, success or failure: so far he seems to have gone forward and reformed, Dhods, field-labourers, cultivators and even docoits. In fact Mehru, the decoit, in heroship runs very close to Aruna. His wife, Vijli, beautiful, loyal to the core to her husband, reminds one of Ram Narayan Pathak's Khemi, the Dhod-woman. The author belongs to the Revenue Department and therefore knows the ins and outs of it, and he has most skilfully woven into his novel, the pomposity of the Revenue officer when he goes into a village and the utter worthlessness and vanity of the work done there by many of them. The hollowness of the work done by the Co-operative Department officer is also humorously set out. Rama Pahl a cultivator of sterling merits is held up as an ideal villager of the old type. Zemindar if they choose can do a lot of good to the village: if they choose, however to feather their own nest by fawning on Government officers, like Vaikunth Zai, they are capable of doing great harm. Incidents of everyday village life, its intrigues and its sorrows are delightfully well presented. There are one or two incidents out of the normal, like Ramrai and Krishnarai, two brothers, intriguing for the young widow Tara, to each others knowledge and to the knowledge of their wives, or Ashwina not realizing that Tara too can feel sex hunger. The book at the same time reveals the great thinking power of the writer, as it is interspersed with observations and reflections on matter, political, moral, economic, and ethical, in the form of short, terse, pregnant sentences which read like Sutras. We heartily congratulate him on his admirable work.

K. M. J.



SWEDISH WILD FAUNA

By LAKSHMISWAR SINHA

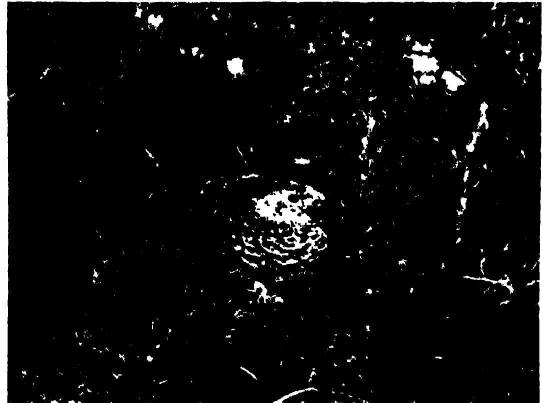
[Many Europeans have written about the fauna and flora of India. But Indians are generally not known to have written anything about the fauna and flora of foreign countries from their own observation, with original illustrations.

Notable for this reason is Mr. Lakshmiswar Sinha's article on Sweden's wild fauna, however short. It will be followed by his article on the wild flora of the same country.]

In the works of Bruno Liljefors, the well-known Swedish national painter, are perhaps best depicted the forests of Sweden and her animal world—a subject that draws the attention and interest even of a casual visitor to a foreign country. His originality of conception was so great and his hand so deft and powerful that his paintings of wild beasts in their retreats,—'the wandering elk family,' 'sea gulls on foaming wave-crests,' 'the horned owl with glowing eyes,—hissing and puffing, perched on the forest rocks,' 'the wily foxes hiding in the clefts of the rocks while the pale crescent moon shines in the sky,' 'the fat grey hen which sits torpid and complacent on its perch in the fir' and many others adorn today the famous art-galleries within the country's frontiers and beyond them, and have endeared him to all who love nature and art. As an art-critic remarks, "he (Liljefors) paints a duck family as a duck would paint, if it could. It is the forest and the sea that he most loves and paints them, we might almost say, from the animal points of view."



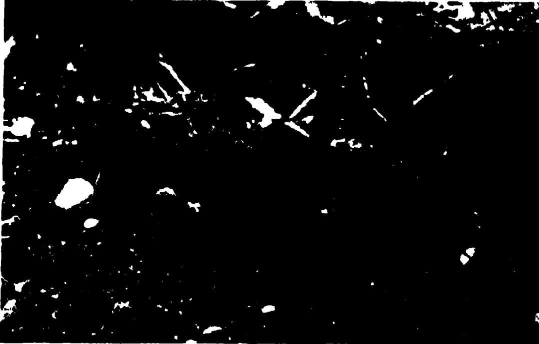
The Osprey returning to its huge nest built near forest-lake



The Ptarmigan is one of the most characteristic birds belonging to the Alpine regions—situated above the tree-limit

It is to be noted, however, that I became interested in the subject, not through art but incidentally through my intimate associations with the young people whom I met during my tours and wanderings in primeval forests,—deserted wildernesses of the arctic mountains,—of sea-rocks and in the islands of the Baltic, especially that of the great Karl, which is the real kingdom of nordic birds. It was now, for the first time, that a little of the mysteries of the wonderful animal world were revealed to me. I remember, six years ago, while spending the summer holidays in a friend's villa, situated on a lonely hill-side of Dalarna, I made acquaintance with a boy of ten who, to my surprise, showed me a wonderful collection of the specimen of nordic butterflies that he himself had gathered. Curiously enough, it was he who got me interested in the subject. He described to me the lives of the butterflies in different climates, even in the Indian. Sometimes we would walk together and collect wild berries in the neighbouring mountains. He would stop here and there, if he happened to hear the sound of a bird, and would tell me the name of it, whether it was a migratory bird—from the north or south—whence it came, where it laid eggs, what would be the colour of

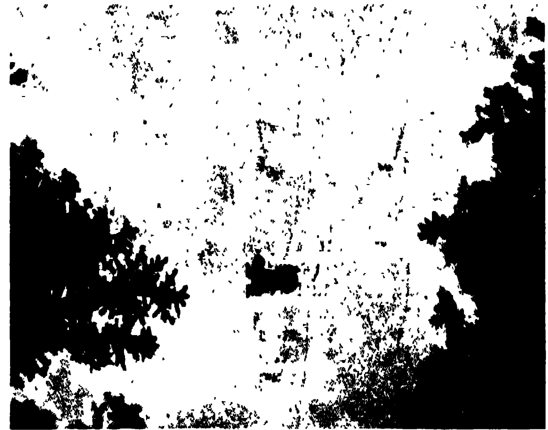
the eggs, and so on. Further, during my tour and visits to schools, I realized how the Scandinavian children pursued their studies in natural history with the jest of sport. In many a home I found collections of botanical specimens in the rooms of the youngsters. Below is a short account of the Swedish wild fauna with some illustrations.



The Oyster-catcher. Here it is seen how it protects itself from enemies

The Scandinavian peninsula, due to its great extent from north to south, with varing natural conditions, contains flora and fauna which present a very different appearance in different parts. It is, however, not always so with many animals, as they are not to the same extent as that of flora, dependent on the nature of the soil and climatic conditions. Besides, there are animals that wander to tracts which they do not properly belong to. This great difference, displayed specially by the insects and birds, is due to a good number of migrants which come in spring to lay eggs and give life to forests—high and low, lakes, mountains and sea-coasts, and they fly away in the late summer to warmer climates, leaving behind the fields, forests, lakes and mountains deserted and silent. Some species of the migratory birds, in course of their flight, stop for some weeks in certain places in the southern parts of the country. One of such known places is the island of Oland, which is also rich in rare flora.

Another interesting feature of the nordic fauna is the white winter dress of certain birds and mammals, on account of the long snowy winters. In this way, the arctic fox and the weasel are enabled to steal unnoticed upon their prey, and the hare and the ptarmigan protect themselves from their enemies. Sweden, however, like all her sister countries, is poor in reptiles and batrachians. There are only three kinds of snakes and only one—the Viper (Vipra



The Squirrel is jumping from one tree to another. It is distributed over the whole of the country

berus), is poisonous. This and the common snake (natrix natrix) are distributed over the whole of the land. During my seven years' stay I have come across snakes only a few times while wandering or collecting berries in the forests, and only once a viper was recognized. There are lizards of only three kinds and a few amphibians, of which the latter group is mostly confined to the southerly part of the country. The common lizard (Lacerta vivipara) is to be seen almost everywhere. Among the batrachians, the common toad (bufo bufo) and the common frog are widely distributed. A considerable number of butterflies are to be found even in the most northerly part of the country, and some of them are very beautiful. The insect life—generally speaking is rich.

Amongst the Mammalia, the ermine (Putorius), the common hare (Lepus timidus), the common field-vole (Microtus agrestis); and amongst the birds,—the teal (Nettion crecca), the common snipe (Gallingo), the common sandpiper (Tringoides hypolencus), and the cuckoo (Culucus canorus) are spread over almost the whole land.

Herein are given coloured illustrations of a few common birds with general descriptions of their mode of living and songs.

(1) The wax-wing is seen during the winter in the southern and middle parts of the country. In summer, it makes its nest even in the most norhterly part of Sweden. It sounds 's i i i i r.' It moves in flock and visits the parks and gardens.

(2) The nut-hatch is generally to be found in the southern and the middle parts of Sweden and makes its nest of moss and hairs—both in

woods of leaf-tree and on the ground. It sings beautifully. Sound:—sitt, sitt and sometime tvett, tvett. Eggs :—white with red-brown and yellow dots.



The common Sand-piper in its nest

(3) Anthus trivialis (Swedish trapiplarkan) makes its nest on the ground, of grass and mosses, and is to be found all over the country on fields and forests. Sound :—zip—zip—zip, sometimes svisvisvisvi, but ends as it begins with sia—sia—sia. It sings high. Eggs :—in May, colour varies—more or less bright greyish, —sometimes reddish with brown or black lining dots.

(4) The common jay generally to be found more in the forests of the south than in the north. A very careful but good robber. Lives on berries, insects and seeds, and steals nest of smaller birds. Makes lose nest of fine roots and straw-branches. Eggs :—bright grey,—sometimes reddish. Sound : at a stretch 'kreee, kreee, kreee,'—sometimes more mild—'miau.'

(5) The common cross bill is widely distributed. Lives on the seeds of pine, spruce, larvae and soft barks of berry-tree. Shy but moves in flock seeking dense leaf woods. Makes more than one nest. Eggs :—Feb.—March ;—white with dark or almost black lining spots on. Its songs are melodious but mild, to be heard most in February and March. Sound :—'zick —zick, chopp—chopp.'

(1) The gold finch is a very lively and an extraordinarily beautiful bird, to be found both in southern and northern parts of the country, generally on the side-trees of forests. In winter it moves in flock to parks and gardens, and lives mostly on seeds. It makes nest, on old trees, of mosses, straw and of same kinds of other materials. Eggs : white with brown dots on. It sings in different tunes. Sound :—'Stickelitt' or 'zidlitt'—all on a sudden changes to something like— si sjuhitt —hitt —hitt —hitt

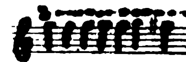
su su su

—sisi hi— keee

su u

Motive : (See note No. I.).





Musical notation of the notes of the Gold-finch and the Bunting

(2) The bunting is generally to be found all over the country—in open bushes and by the sides of forests. In winter it moves in flocks on open fields, gardens and towns. It is one of the best singing birds, and the tone is mild. Sound : 'usually simple' 'tsi'; otherwise tsi, tsi, tsi, tsi, tsi, sit-si—seee. Motive. (See note No. II).



The Bullfinch brings the message of spring and is to be found over the whole of the country

It makes rather loose nests of grass-straws on the ground under bushes, and lays eggs of different sizes in May. Egg :—grey white changes to red grey with fine lining black dots.

(3) The green wood-pecker is mostly to be

found in the woods of leaf-tree, both in the middle and the southern parts of the country. Sound :—' kliih, kliih, kliih ' or gjy, gjy, gjy.

It is bold but very careful—even comes down on the ground to catch ants. Usually it lives on larvae to be found on trees. Often visits gardens and parks. Makes nest of feathers—sometimes of itself.

(4) The great wood pecker is a very beautiful bird of bright colours, to be found both in coniferous forest and that of leaf-trees. It even visits willingly the gardens, and during winter is to be seen under boxes on trees. Lives on larvae and insects as well as seeds. Egg :—bright white.

Sound :—' kjick kjick '—even while picking trunks or branches.

(5) The long-eared owl is generally to be found in the forests of both south and middle Sweden. Willingly visits parks and gardens. Lays eggs—white and round—in the last half of April. Its soft sound ' uh, uh, uh ' is well known to all.



The white or snowy Owl is to be seen in the Alpine regions situated above the tree-limit

The various fauna regions of Sweden can be divided as follows :—

(*a*) The animals of *Alpine region,* situated above the tree-limit.

(*b*) *The birch region,* which borders the tree-less mountain region. There are only a few birds (occuring also in the upper part of coniferous forest), that characterize the region.

(*c*) *The region of the vast coniferous forest*—the range of which is very wide,—commencing on the mountain-slopes, below the region of birch, extends very far both south and eastwards, being interrupted here and there by



The common Wolf is to be found in the forests of Norrland but often occur in the mountains also



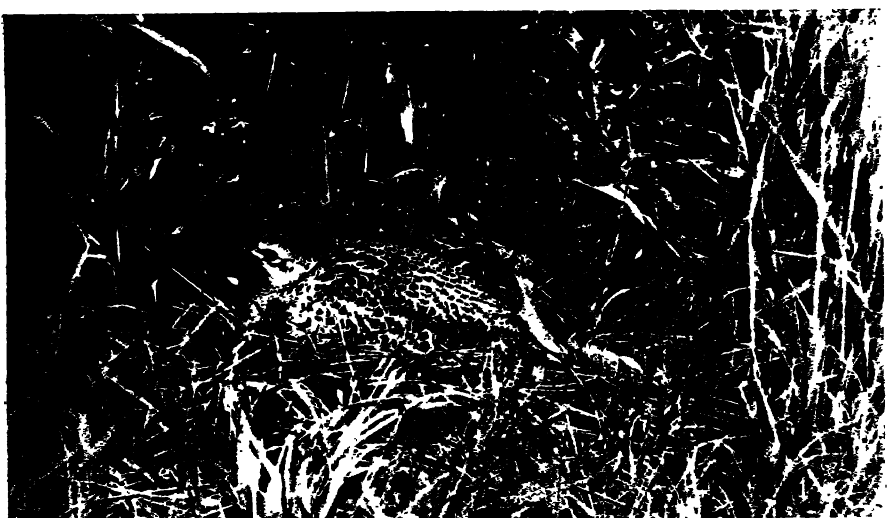
The baby Marten belongs to the great coniferous forests. To this region also belong the three greatest of Swedish beasts of prey, such as the bear, the wolf and the European lynx

SWEDISH WILD FAUNA





1. The Mallard or Wild-duck is one of the most common birds to be found on lakes and rivers
2. The beautiful mute Swan has its chief habitat in Uppland and the southernmost parts of Sweden
3. The long-eared Owl is to be found like the tawny or brown Owl on the level country-side









1. The Pheasant hatching. 2. The black-throated Diver belongs to the region of the vast coniferous forests in the marshes and lakes. 3. The Razor-bill, like the velvet duck, is to be seen on the eastern coast-islets. 4. The Eider-duck like the other characteristic birds—the common, the black-back and the herring gulls are found on the eastern and western coast-islets.





1. The mute Swan is beautifully flying over the lake 2. The Osprey, with its huge nest in forest-lake, is one of the numerous birds of prey like the goshawk, the sparrow-hawk, the common buzzard, having proper habitat in the region of the great coniferous forests







1. The rough-legged Buzzard is one of the wading birds of the Alpine regions
2. The common Viper, the only venomous snake of Sweden and that of Scandinavia, is in a resting mood
3. The arctic Dog is the most faithful friend and servant of the Lap-people



The Capercailzie or Wood-grouse, sometime called the cock of the wood, is a bird of the dense coniferous forest

the plains. To this region belong naturally most of the animals and birds as illustrated in this article. It is however the elk (L. alees alees) that predominates the Swedish forest.

(*d*) The level-country region, which includes the park areas, the isolated small wooded tracts and plains. A few of the most common fauna belonging to this region are also described, as well as some of the characteristic birds of the extensive clusters of coast-islets, by illustrations. The marine fauna is not treated here.



The common Hedge-hogs are taking food from the same plate. They belong to the level-country region

The fairyland of animals and birds is full of mysteries. When, after my acquaintance with the nature of the North and a little of its animal-world,—thanks to that boy of ten, I used to visit the art galleries to see the paintings of Bruno Liljefors, it was then that they revealed to me their realities and often carried my mind to the drama of nature I happened to witness.

K. N. DIKSHIT

Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit has been selected Director-General of Archaeology in succession to Mr. J. F. Blakiston. Mr. Dikshit joined the Archaeological Survey of India in 1920 as Superintendent of the Eastern Circle and was appointed Deputy Director-General for Exploration in 1930 and again Deputy Director-General of Archaelogy in 1935. He has successfully carried out important archaeological excavations at Mohenjo-daro, Paharpur, Mahasthan, Rangamati and a number of other places. He is not only an able excavator but also an expert epigraphist and numismatist. In 1934, he carried out an exteeive tour of archaeological studies in Egypt and the near East and visited all the main sites and Museums in the principal countries of Europe.



Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit

MAHASTHANGARH

BY ADRIS BANERJI

THE vast ruins of Mahasthangarh, on the right bank of the Karatoya, in the Bogra district of Bengal, has now become one of the most important historical places in Bengal. The ruins consist of a fortified citadel on the right or western bank of the river. Numerous other sites of considerable antiquity are scattered on all sides of the now deserted and ruined fortress. The place was visited and described by Buchanan Hamilton, O'Donnel, Beveridge, J. D. Beglar and General Cunningham. Many carved bricks, terra-cotta figures in *alto-relievos*, two metal images of Ganesa and Garuda, and a fragmentary inscription on a broken pedestal were taken by Cunningham from the place. Their present whereabouts are unknown.

IDENTITY OF THE SITE.

The actual site of Pundravardhanapura, the chief town of Pundravardhana-*bhukti*, a province of ancient Bengal, had for a long time remained a fruitful field of controversy. Cunningham with his unerring instinct was the first to suggest that Mahasthangarh represents the ancient city of Pundravardhana. He also identified the ruins of Bhasna-vihara, about 2½ miles south-west of Mahasthangarh, as the site *Po-chi-po* (vasheva) monastery, mentioned by the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen-Tsang. Many other sites in the neighbourhood of the city of Pundravardhana, mentioned by the pilgrim, were tentatively identified by him. But sceptics were not satisfied. All doubts about the identity of the fortress have been finally settled by the accidental discovery of a Mauryan brick inscription at Mahasthangarh, by a peasant named Baru Fakir. The purport of this inscription is that some Mauryan monarch, whose name is lost, had issued an order to his *Mahamatra* stationed at Pundranagara, with a view to relieve the distress caused by famine to a people called *Sainvaingiyas** who were settled in or about the town. Two measures were taken to meet the contingency. The first apparently consisted of advance or loan in *Gandaka* coins, and the second was distribution of paddy from government granary. A wish is expressed that these will enable the people to tide over the difficult times. They were further exhorted to return the paddy and financial loan on return of prosperity. The inscription is important for more than one reason. It is the earliest historical documents so far found in Bengal. Moreover, Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar rightly points out that the last line of the brick inscription unmistakably indicates that it was fixed on the walls of a granary which cannot be far from the place at which it was found. The granary was thus situated in the neighbourhood of Mahasthangarh, and as the granary is said to have belonged to the city of Pundranagara, there can be no doubt as to Mahasthangarh being identical with that city.

TOPOGRAPHY OF THE SITE

The ruins of Mahasthangarh consist of an oblong plateau of *garh* proper, about 5,000 feet in length from north to south and 4,000 feet broad from east to west. On the east flows the river Karatoya, as it did centuries ago when Pundranagara was one of the flourishing cities of ancient India. On the three other sides, the fort was protected by a deep and broad ditch. General Cunningham tells us that the local people spoke of four city gates on four sides; but he was of opinion that there must have been six gates, each of the longer sides having two. Even now an opening in the western wall of the fort is pointed out by local people as ताम्रद्वार (The copper gate). Outside the gate is a high mound called Parasurama's *Sabhabati* (the court house of Parasurama). From the top of the mound one can see on the left a small brick-built tomb, usually called Haripal's tomb, by the local people. A little farther on, at the south-east corner, is to be found the highest mound of the site, at the top of which stands the tomb of Shah Sultan Muhammad Mahi-Sawar Balkhi. The door of this shrine is on both sides supported by two upright stones on which are inscribed in ancient Bengali characters

श्री नरसिंह देवस्य.

To the north of the mound containing the tomb are three mounds called *Khodaipatharer-dhap*, u[illegible] which lies a large stone block with

* Dr. B. M. Barua has interpreted the passage differently; see *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. X, pp. 5—7 ff.

a lotus curved on it. On excavating a portion of it, a number of stone blocks were exhumed, one of which bore three images of Buddha. The next mound is called Mankalis and the third one Parasurama's palace mound. All of these mounds have been more or less explored by private and unauthorized persons and some of the antiquities thus found removed to the Museum of Varendra Research Society, Rajshahi. In their neighbourhood one meets with two other mounds, known as Narasingha's *dhap* and *Vairagir Bhita*. On the western bank of the Karatoya there is a big mound called Govinda's *dhap*. It is a noteworthy fact that one of the *Puranas* mentions two important shrines near Pundravardhanapura, the temples of Govinda and Skanda. The temple of Skanda has also been mentioned by Kalhana Misra in his *Rajatarangini* and Sandhyakaranandi, the author of *Ramacharita*. It is quite possible that Govinda's *dhap* represents the ruins of the temple of Govinda, whilst the famous temple of Skanda should be located at *Skander dhap*. The whole neighbourhood of the *garh* within a radius of four miles is full of ancient ruins awaiting the spade of the archaeologist who would care to go there.

Legends

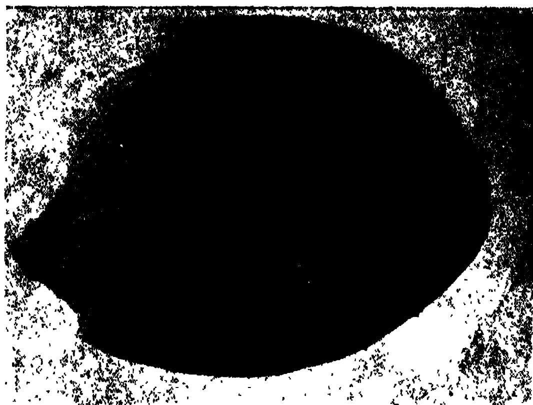
All ancient places have legends regarding their history, mostly concocted at a later date. Mahasthangarh is no exception. The *garh* itself is regarded as the fort of Parasurama, the sixth incarnation of Vishnu. According to another version, however, Parasurama was the last Hindu King of the fort, who is reported to have been overthrown by Muhammad Mahi-Sawar, a native of Balkh. The local people, mostly converted Muslims, still show the zeal of all converts in describing the exploits of the saint in defeating the heathen king. One morning, the story goes, the saint went to the court of the infidel monarch and begged for as much ground as could be covered with the skin kneeling on which the saint used to say his daily prayers. The unsuspecting king at once granted his request. But as soon as the saint began to utter the words of his prayer the hide began to expand. The king, fearing magic, called out his soldiers; in the battle that followed the Muslims turned out as victorious and the Hindu defenders were exterminated.[1]

1. Probably this is a perverted version of the Muslim conquest of Mahasthan. The person named Mahi-Sawar cannot be identified; but it is possible that he was a Khalj follower of Muhammad ibn Bakht-yar, if not the Khalj *Malik* himself.

We were further told that, after the capture of the fort, the Hindu king was put to death, but Mahi-Sawar was fascinated by the youth and beauty of the king's sister Siladevi, who was brought before him. But Satan had possessed her, and the wretched girl did not appreciate the honour that Shah Sultan had decided to confer on her by making her his mistress. The princess is reported to have killed the valiant saint as he was attempting to dishonour her and then, to save herself from all troubles, she jumped from the walls of the *garh* and drowned herself in the waters of the Karatoya. The sorrowing followers buried their leader amidst the ruins of the fort he had devastated, and his tomb is still worshipped by the local Muhammadan population. There is a flight of stairs on the western bank of the river which is still called Siladevir *ghat* in memory of the beautiful princes who preferred death to dishonour at the hands of her brother's murderer.

Excavation

In the working season of 1928-29 Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit attempted to excavate some portions of the extensive ruins. The operations commenced at a mound called *Vairagir Bhita* at the north-eastern sector of the ruins. The main discoveries at this site consist of the remains of two huge but fragmentary temples which were tentatively assigned to early and late Pala periods by the learned excavator. The older temple is 98 feet in length and 42 feet in breadth. No other details of this temple have survived, its southern part being obliterated by the later temple erected at the same site. The intelligent way in which the excavations at the place were carried on, has resulted in many interesting finds, throwing considerable light on the history of Bengal, during the post-Gupta period. Thus it is clear that the earlier Pala temple itself was built with the materials of an older structure belonging probably to the Gupta age. The evidence for this conclusion consists of a 36 feet masonry drain which runs from the centre of the sanctum and emptied its contents in a soak-jar. This drain which must have carried libation water from the shrine is made up for the most part of stones from earlier structures. Besides the stone piece at the discharge end, the two stones at the head of the drain are rectangular basalt pillars scooped out to a depth of 8 inches and placed lengthwise so as to form a channel 29 feet long and 8 inches wide. The sides of the pillars exhibit the square section with chamfered corners, the half-lotus medallions, *Kirttimukha* and scroll-work



Masonry drain in the ancient city of Pundranagara

mouldings in low relief, in the characteristic style of pillar decorations of the late Gupta period. According to Mr. Dikshit these are not the only evidences of the existence of still earlier structures at the site, but, the poverty of conception and design of early Pala craftsmen is apparent everywhere by their use of older materials in structures constructed by them in places for which they were not originally meant. These again bear eloquent testimony to the antiquity of the site.

The temple of the early Pala period fell into ruins by the 11 century A.D., when it was superseded by another stretching from east to west, about 111 feet in length and 57 feet in breadth. The existence of some exquisitely chiselled pillar bases and stone door jambs suggests the existence of a porch (*mandapa*) on the northern side. To the eastern end of the temple ruins the excavations reveal the remains of an inclined platform paved with brick tiles running along the entire edge of the temple. It was divided into compartments or panels, each measuring 3 feet 9 inches by 3 feet 6 inches and each demarcated by two lines of brick-on-edge masonry. Amongst many other minor remains discovered at this place, a peculiar kind of structures deserve notice. These are fine reservoirs (?) built with regularly paved bricks and lined with one or two rows of slanted bricks on edge. The largest of these is the rectangular one, at the north-east corner of the site which measures 10 feet by 5 feet. The Rao Bahadur tells us that at least seven trial pits were dug at various places of *Vairagir Bhita* to ascertain the nature of classification. In almost every case the trial pits have disclosed the existence of remains of at least two periods underlying the floor-level of the early Pala structure, which has been taken to be early and late Gupta. The excessive accumulation of debris between the Pala and the Gupta levels which renders the examination of the pre-Gupta remains practically impossible must have been due to the insecure conditions of life during the long anarchical period in Bengal from *c.* 650-750 A. D.

In order to lay bare the nature of the remains in the southern part of Mahasthangarh, trenches were dug, which reveal the existence of a temple assignable to the 10th or 11th century A.D.; and a solid square platform in the centre with a number of ring wells around. The temple in its present form is an oblong building 39 feet 6 inches by 34 feet with the plinth rising 5 feet above the level of the old street, access to which was provided by five masonry steps,



Five masonry steps to the temple at Mahasthangarh, all flagged with stones, mostly lintels and pillars from older buildings

all flagged with stones, mostly lintels and pillars from older buildings. Over 100 feet to the east of the temple was exhumed a solid brick platform 19 feet square and 9 feet in height. It was built of bricks measuring 12 inches to 14 inches by 10 inches to 2½ inches which indicate that it was built about the 8th century of the Christian era.

The nature of the city walls and bastions was ascertained by operations carried on at a high jungle-covered mound, locally known as the *Munir-ghon*. The main city wall was found to be standing at least 10 feet in height and no less than 11 feet in thickness. The construction of the present wall can easily be assigned to the Pala period, as the bricks used measure 8 inches to 9 inches in length and 5 inches to 6 inches in breadth and 2 inches in thickness. The place excavated was at a re-entrant angle of the wall. The outworks at the re-entrant angular projection consisted of semi-circular bastions both of which were









1. Mahasthangarh—Bairagibhita before excavation. 2. Bairagibhita after excavation. 3. Munir-ghon before excavation. 4. Ruins of city-walls of the Pala age at Munir-ghon.









1. Stone pillars of the Gupta age at Bairagibhita. 2. Mahasthangarh Gobindabhita before excavation.
3. Gobindabhita after excavation. 4. Brick altar of the time of the Pala Dynasty at Bairagibhita.

included in the superficial outer casings of brick work. The floor of the original bastion is 6 feet higher than the earliest level found at the bottom of the city wall, which shows that the bastions were erected at a later date.

GOVINDA BHITA

The most imposing structure discovered by the excavator at Mahasthan is the ruins of a huge temple at the mound locally called *Govinda Bhita*. Tradition places here the temple of Govinda or Vishnu which verged on the northern limit of the city, according to the *Karatoya-Mahatmya*. The excavations carried out at the site reveal nothing to confirm the Vaishnavite character of the temple. The buildings excavated at this place can be relegated to four periods of construction extending from late Gupta period (6th—7th century A.D.) to the Muhammadan occupation. The operations disclosed a huge enclosing wall. The area inside this wall appears to have been occupied by two sets of buildings which can conveniently be designated eastern and western. At least two periods of occupation were discernible in the western structures built of bricks strongly resembling in fabric the basement wall of the main temple at Paharpur. In the centre of this wall was found a porch 30 feet in length projecting 5 feet from the face of the wall and standing in close proximity to the compound wall which thus could not have been built when the porch was in use. The fine chemfered brick mouldings of the corners of this earlier temple corroborate the view that it was probably built in the 7th century A.D. and is thus a contemporary of the main temple at Paharpur. The enclosure wall and the later structure on the top of the earlier one may be assigned to the 9th century A. D. Some extremely delapidated ruins, probably built after the Muhammadan conquest of Bengal, were found above the fragmentary remains of the later temple.

The remains on the eastern side of the enclosing wall can easily be classified. (1) A fragmentary pavement just at the top of the mound belongs to the period of Iliyas Shah (1339-58 A.D.), an independent Sultan of Bengal. Eighteen coins of this king in an earthen pot were found on this level. (2) The next stratum is represented by some insignificant structures of inferior brick-work referable to the period between the first Muslim invasion and consolidation of Muslim rule in Bengal under the Iliyas Shahi dynasty. (3) The buildings in the third layer are to be dated in the 9th century A.D. (4) The earliest structure at this site belongs to the 6th or 7th century A. D.

Amongst the small antiquities found during the excavations a potsherd, bearing in low relief a scene in which a man riding on a chariot drawn by four horses is depicted as discharging an arrow at a herd of deers, deserves special notice. Terra-cotta plaques, toy and animal figurines, ornamental bricks, stone beads and pottery were found associated with the remains of the late Gupta period. The fragment of the figure of mother and child, rattles in the shape of a tortoise, a bird etc., are other finds worth mentioning. The broken Chandi image is a typical example of Pala art.

COMMENT AND CRITICISM

Meaning of "Jantar Mantar"

Mr. K. C. Philip in his most interesting article "The Jantar Mantar" in *The Modern Review* of December, 1936, says "The name Jantar Mantar means Magic instrument. It comes from the Sanskrit words Yantra meaning machine and Mantra meaning magic."

Mr. Philip has written a very learned article about Rajah Jaisingh's observatory at Delhi, and has explained the use of the various astronomical instruments, not known to many, and so deserves the thanks of every Indian who is proud of the achievements of his ancestors. But he has committed a mistake about the derivation and meaning of the words "Jantar Mantar." In fact the words taken together in their pure form mean nothing else than an observatory. The words ought really to be "Jantar Mandar" the corrupted Hindi forms of the Sanskrit words "Yantra Mandir." The word Mandir is further corrupted to Mandar and then to Mantar. Yantra means a machine, an astronomical instrument and also a table of astronomical calculations. In fact in many of the modern north Indian languages the word Jantri is used for the yearly almanac. Mandir means a house. So Yantra Mandir or the Hindi form of it Jantar Mandar or Jantar Mantar means the house of astronomical instruments, or astronomical tables, *i.e.*, nothing more than an observatory.

IMPRESSIONS OF GIRLS' EDUCATION IN ENGLAND

By Miss JYOTIPRABHA DASGUPTA, M.A., B.T., DIP. IN EDUCATION (London)

Introductory Remarks

THE Old-world idea that Drawing, Dancing and Deportment should form the main planks in the education of girls is nearly extinct. The report of the Royal Commission of 1865 that followed the publication of Herbert Spencer's "Education," condemned in strong terms the deplorable condition of women's education in England.

English Public Schools for Girls

The great foundations of English Public Schools for boys were seven originally,* but the movement in Secondary Education during the early sixties has raised many schools to the status of the Great Public Schools. Of the great English Boarding Schools, the most important ones are given the misleading title of 'Public Schools,' *i.e.*, schools governed by a body whose members have no financial interest in the success or failure of the schools and as such they are contrasted with private institutions. The public schools have a large proportion of boarders, who live in various houses under the direct supervision of the assistant teachers. The ages of their pupils vary from the age of entrance, 12-14, to leaving age, 18-19. The standard of living is high; the schools have close relation with the old University of Oxford or Cambridge.

In modern education the most remarkable development has been the foundation of public schools for girls. In these schools the tone of education is healthier, more independent, more productive of self-reliant judgment than their forebears of 50 years back.

The range of teaching in all subjects is almost the same as in boys' schools; great enthusiasm has made the pupils liable to overwork, the hours of study being restricted to the earlier part of the day from 9 A.M. to 1 P.M. and the rest of the day to callisthenics, music, drawing, art and crafts.

The Girls' Public Day School Trust was founded in 1872. The G. P. D. S. T. now controls 25 flourishing High Schools with about 700 staff mistresses and over nine thousand pupils. The Church Schools' Company maintains 8 schools and the Church Education Corporation 3 well-known public schools. Besides the above-mentioned Trusts Companies, etc., many girls' schools have been founded by the Church of England. In addition to these schools founded by corporate bodies, there are many very remarkable independent public schools for girls. Their number is large. There are moreover many well-equipped and efficient day schools for girls in all parts of the country. The standard type of English education for girls today provided by day schools—generally called High Schools, is on a level with education in most of the Public Schools for boys.

Time was when the condition of education of women was no better in England than it is now in India. Their assumed inferiority even affected their education. The boys' curricula of mathematics and classics were not for their sisters, because it was believed in those days that women had no brains for such things. Most of the teaching, if it could be so called, consisted in compelling the girls to learn things by heart. They had to memorise names and dates which meant nothing to them. There was no room in their time-table for physical exercise, drill or games, because so much attention was paid in those days to lady-like behaviour and accomplishments. Those girls were held in high esteem, whose manners were timid and reserved and who were capable of fainting at will. The English school girls of those days enjoyed fresh air and exercise only in the afternoon when they walked two and two for about an hour along the road as Indian school girls in certain schools do still. But in the English girls' school today such conditions are unknown. The change which has come over the life of women is chiefly due to their education. Physical health and strength of character are cultivated. The girls are modern and proud of their modernity. They laugh at the blushes and fainting fits of their grand-mothers.

Classes of Schools in England

Education in England today is more or less the same for girls as for boys. The elementary

* Winchester (1387), Eton (1440), Shrewsbury (1551), Westminster (1560), Rugby (1567), Harrow (1571) and Charter House (1701). These are all boarding schools while St. Paul's and Merchant Taylor's in London are day schools. Now the number of public schools is several times greater.

education between the ages of five and fourteen is compulsory and free for both the sexes. School life may be roughly divided into two periods *Primary* and *Post-primary*. Primary education again falls into three parts—*nursery*, *infant* and *junior elementary*.

PRE-SCHOOL EDUCATION—GENERAL REMARKS

Education of infants is a recent development; the pioneering efforts were due to private initiative. The first Infant Schools of Europe were associated with Oberlin, Owen and Froebel. A wide net of publicly supported infant schools as a branch of the Public School System came to be recognized by Governments much later. Great Britain and the Netherlands were the only non-Latin countries that shared this distinction. Belgium recognized *ecoles gardiennes* as a part of public education in 1833; France in 1837; Spain in 1850; Italy in 1860. In German-speaking areas, in spite of Pestalozzi, Froebel and other pioneers, the Kindergarten is still outside the State system. In the rest of Europe it is only during the post-war years that the attention of the State is being drawn to the significance of education during the pre-school ages.

The pioneers of Infant Education are England and Scotland. By 1870 Local School Boards were created and infants' schools were recognized as part of public education. In 1905, as a result of official investigations it was found that the want of special buildings and of specially trained teachers was a great handicap and that attendance of infants in the ordinary school premises was often detrimental to their mental growth. The act of 1918 made public grants available for special nursery schools, which must be distinguished from infant departments. In England the number of pupils in 1934 in the Pre-school Institutions was about $6\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs and this number forms 36% of pupils of ages from 3 to 6.

The present state of education during pre-school ages in other European countries may be very briefly stated. France has 2 types of such schools—*Ecoles Maternelles* under special inspectors for children from 2 to 5 years; for children between 3 and 6 years the *Classe Enfantine;* it is a Kindergarten attached to a primary school. These two types of institutions absorb 52% of all children between 2 to 6. In Italy there are in 1936, 10,000 institutions with about $7\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs of children, accepting about 31% of 3-to 6-year-olds. In Belgium the pre-school system is the most developed in the world; it caters for 70% of all children of ages from 3 to 6. The Netherlands have 28%, Switzerland 50%. In Russia there were only a few voluntary institutions before the last war; the number has increased with amazing rapidity since 1925; from 1146 Kindergartens with 60,000 children it rose to 27,151 Kindergartens in 1933-34 with over 13 lakhs of pupils. Germany had in 1931 about 7,300 Kindergartens with over 4 lakhs of children of ages 3 to 6 and had 14% of the children of those ages in school.

NURSERY SCHOOLS

There are now 65 nursery schools for England and Wales with over 5,000 children. Nursery schools are for infants between the ages of two and five. These schools are mainly for those whose mothers go to work. They cannot take their babies with them nor can they leave them alone at home. So they bring their babies at about 8-30 A.M. in the morning, leave them at the school for the day, fetching them back home in the afternoon at about four.

It was a great pleasure to visit these nursery schools. The *Mary Ward Nursery School*, Tavistock Square, opens at 9-30 A.M. The babies stand up with their palms folded, sing Grace with the teacher; at 10 o'clock they have their milk. The teacher pours it out, the children distribute the cups and afterwards wash them for themselves. Then they are taken out into the garden for about two hours if the weather permits. The teacher is there only to watch. The children run, jump, play hide-and-seek, do whatever they like. 12 o'clock is their lunch time. They must wash before eating. Each child has his or her own towel and tooth-brush. It is useless to write their names on their towel because some of them are so young that they cannot read even their own names. So different pictures (horses, cats, birds, etc.) are stuck over the pegs from which their towels hang. Each child knows his own picture and never makes a mistake. The parents who can afford to do so, pay 2 shillings a week for each child and this covers not only their mid-day meal but also morning milk, biscuits or cakes in the afternoon, and cod-liver oil or any other tonic that the child needs. The mid-day lunch is quite good. There was nothing much to see after lunch, when these little people were asleep on their little beds after their day's work. They get up at about 3 o'clock in the afternoon, and take milk and biscuits again. This is the routine which is followed in almost all the schools with slight variations here and there. In *Jelico Nursery School* it was delightful to see all the children in blue uniforms, singing their Grace with the food ready before them. The most

famous of the nursery schools is one at Deptford. The buildings of this school are one storey only and are grouped round a garden. The children are taught under open air conditions. The demand for nursery schools is increasing in England and as a result some voluntary nursery schools are springing up. Of these the *Notting Hill Voluntary Nursery School* deserves special mention.

But so far, very little provision has been made in India for the care of such young children. It is true that there are very few formal lessons in such a school, at any rate, hardly any. But these schools are most important from the hygienic point of view. A sense of responsibility is created by allowing the children to do things for themselves, to wash, to dress, to serve their food and to look after their pets. Not only for the children's welfare but for the mothers also the nursery school would be a very useful institution in India. As the first four years of the child is vitally determining, the fundamental patterns of conduct and personal relationship with the parents and other people at home are firmly set up by this age. Prolongation of infantile dependence and clinging to infantile attachments not only interfere with normal growth and emancipation during the childhood period but is prone to be carried over to later life with serious consequences to mental health. In the nursery schools the parents learn a great deal through the Mother's Guild or on visiting days when they come to visit them. Through the children the influence of the school would reach the home.

Infant Schools

No child is allowed to stay in the Nursery School after the age of five. Children then pass on to the infant school where they are to stay till the age of eight.

The writer was fortunate enough to visit two infant schools, one being at *Finlay Street* and the other at *Sigdon Road*. The latter is a very big institution. There are eight classes with thirty-six or forty children in each. An open-air class has been provided for the weak and unhealthy children, so that they can have more fresh air and light and receive special attention. The school opens at 9 o'clock in the morning and closes at 4. There are three breaks, one at 10-30 in the morning, one at 12 and one at 3 in the afternoon. It is a day school; so that both the teachers and the children go home at 12 for their lunch. The school opens in the afternoon at 2 and the children mostly play or do some hand-work then. They have their lessons proper in the morning. The teachers try to make the lessons as concrete as possible. It is neither purely a Froebelian Kindergarten nor a Montessori Institution. The teachers try to apply the best points of the two. The work that they do in the class is not necessarily collective; it is rather individual. In the Arithmetic class, for example, they are all working out different sums. Composition is taught on the same line. The little ones choose their own subjects. In one class different story books are given out and they read for themselves. The hand-work of this school, such as aeroplane, giant's castle, farm, and so on, deserves special credit, considering the age of the children. The drill lessons in the lower forms are so devised that they always have some meaning and that is why the children enjoy them instead of getting tired. It was interesting to watch the children of the infant department of *St. Alban's Girl's High School* while they were imagining themselves at first, the Everest expeditioners, then, the birds in the nest just waking up and trying to fly and then a gang of robbers at times running very fast or at times again lying flat on the ground as if trying to hear something. Of course, we must not forget that the piano is a great help to such physical exercises. At the age of eight the children are put through an attainment test on the lines of Dr. Ballard or Prof. Cyril Burt, and those who pass go to the Junior elementary school for a three years' course.

Junior Elementary Schools

The two types of primary schools, that is, the nursery and the infant schools, which I have just described, are always mixed. But the Junior Elementary School can be either mixed or separate. In the *King Alfred's School* or the *St. George's School*, for example, the junior department is always mixed. In some schools again the two departments (boys' and girls') are quite separate though in the same compound and even in the same building, only on different floors. The *L. C. C. Junior Girls' School* in Camden Town will serve as an example. This was the first school which the writer visited. It is a five-storied building, the infants' department being on the ground floor. The first and the second floor belong to the boys' department, and the third and the fourth to the girls'. The different departments have entirely different staff of teachers. But there is a very friendly relation between the teachers of the girls' school and those of the boys. They often have common meetings for the exchange of their ideas. On

special occasions or when there is a special lecture, the girls are invited by the boys, or the boys by the girls. One of the greatest disadvantages that most of the Old Junior Schools are suffering from, is the absence of the telephone and electric lighting. They have gas lights in every class room and the hall. In some classes there are two sections, one for the brighter children, and other for the dull and this division makes the teachers' task easier and the children also benefit thereby. The work done at the *L. C. C. Old Oak School* stands out. It has a mixed junior department, the number of children, both boys and girls being 500. The whole junior school has been divided into *three streams—the slow, the normal and the fast.* A child can be transferred from a slow group to the normal group or a child of the normal group to the fast group, if he or she appears likely to benefit by the change. This order can also be reversed, that is, the teacher can remove a child from the class of the fast group to that of the normal or from that of the normal to that of the slow. There are four classes altogether in the group of the fast children, three in that of the normal and two for the slow. There are two *remove classes* again at the top for boys and girls quite separate where the children who are not fit either for central or for secondary schools, are prepared for the next stage of their education. The school has a senior department as well which will be described below in connection with the Post-Primary Schools. The plan of organization is shown elsewhere. (For diagram see page 206).

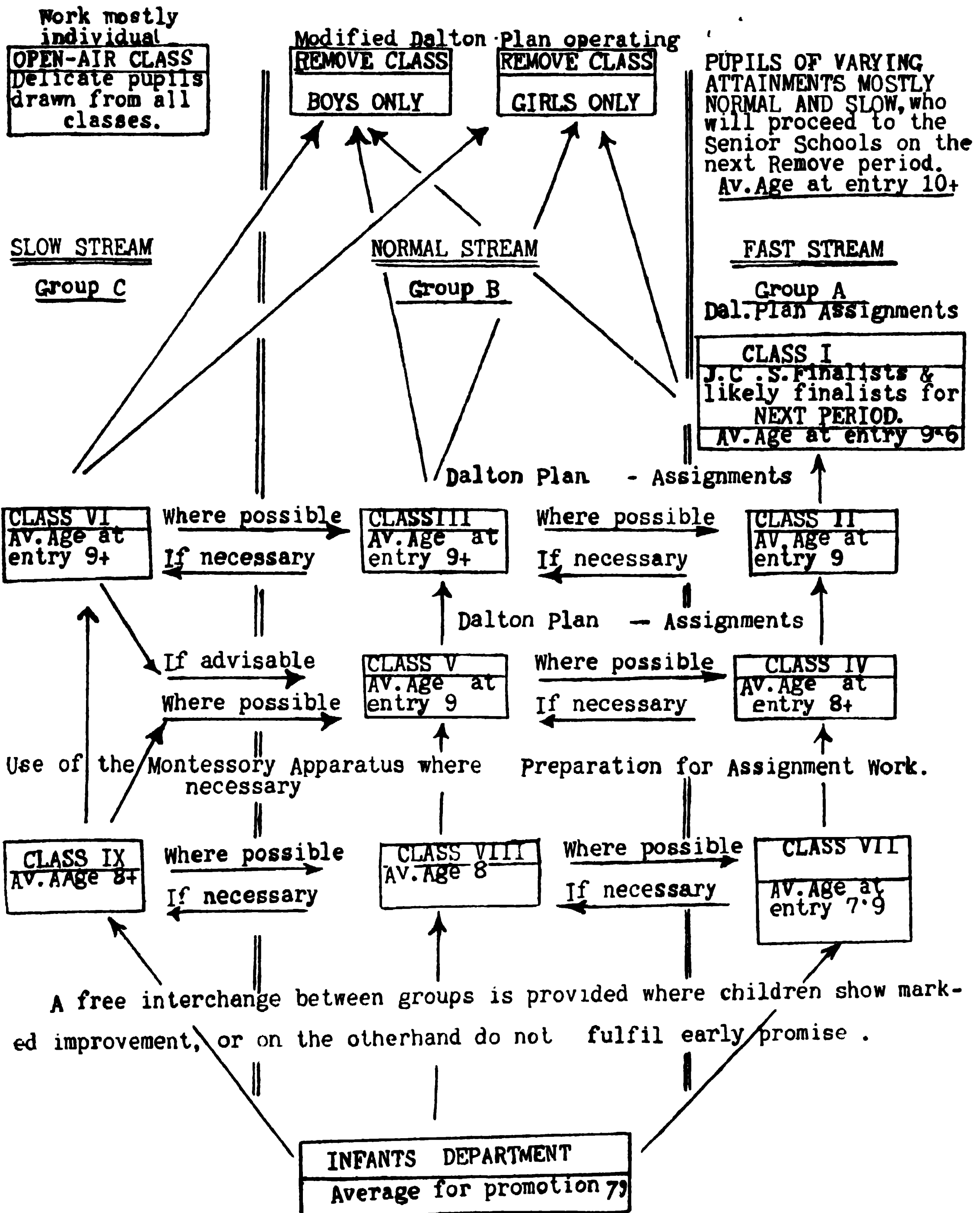
As regards the scheme of work again the whole school has been divided into four teams, St. George's, St. David's, St. Andrew's and St. Patrick's. Each has its own Crest or Totem. This grouping begets a healthy competition amongst children in games, recitations and work in other school subjects. The Headmaster holds an assembly in the afternoon twice a week, listens carefully to their recitations and decides which group has done the best. The morning assemblies also are held twice a week because the number of the children is very large and they have to share the hall with the children of the infants' department. The afternoon is reserved more or less for handicrafts. There are two kinds of manual instruction—geometrical and recreational, the latter comprising cane work, raffia work, card-board work and book-binding; some girls are exempted from geometrical hand-work altogether and from cane work and book-binding too. But special credit should be given to this school because ordinary formal lessons and the Dalton Plan are carried on simultaneously and this without any difficulty. The boys as well as the girls are given their assignments and it was very interesting to watch the children in the afternoon leaving one room and entering another when they passed from one assignment room to a different one. They carry always with them their little bags containing all their assignment requisites and different exercise books for different subjects. It is only when a room is too full that the teachers advise the child to do some other assignment, *e.g.*, History, Geography or Mathematics; otherwise they never interfere with the child's own choice, nor do they limit the time for a particular assignment.

Primary Education in India—A Company

Primary education in India is defective in many ways. First of all, the schools in many cases are located in houses which are not quite suitable. The problem of wastage also is very acute only about 15.5% of those pupils (boys and girls) who are admitted into the first class stay to reach the fourth; 84.5 per cent drop out. Naturally they forget even that little reading and writing which they learn during the short time. These percentages are for both sexes combined. If the girls are considered separately, the percentage of those who drop out while reaching Class V is 94 against 86 for boys. This defect cannot be removed unless means be found to make education compulsory. It is often said that there are too many subjects to be learnt. But when we compare the schools of India with those of England we find that this is not true. What the Indian children really suffer from is the method of teaching, the defective examination system and the system of prescribing text-books and not the multiplicity of subjects.

Post-Primary Schools in England

In England Primary education proper ends at the age of 11 and the education of the child after that age may be called post-primary or secondary. It ends at the age of 14 to 15 for the majority. Post-Primary Schools can be divided again into three distinct classes: Senior, Central and Secondary schools so called. All the girls of the primary school come up for an examination at the age of eleven which is known as the Scholarship Examination. The best girls are reserved for the Secondary School, the second best go to the Central; the Senior School is meant for those girls who do poorly in this examination.


OLD OAK SCHOOL, MELLITUS STREET, W. 12
CLASSIFICA-TION AND PROGRESS THROUGH THE JUNIOR MIXED DEPARTMENT.
Work mostly individual
OPEN-AIR CLASS
Delicate pupils drawn from all classes.
Modified Dalton Plan operating
REMOVE CLASS
BOYS ONLY
REMOVE CLASS
GIRLS ONLY
PUPILS OF VARYING ATTAINMENTS MOSTLY NORMAL AND SLOW, who will proceed to the Senior Schools on the next Remove period.
Av. Age at entry 10+
SLOW STREAM
Group C
NORMAL STREAM
Group B
FAST STREAM
Group A
Dal. Plan Assignments
CLASS I
J.C.S. Finalists & likely finalists for NEXT PERIOD.
Av. Age at entry 9·6
Dalton Plan - Assignments
CLASS VI
Av. Age at entry 9+
Where possible
If necessary
CLASS III
Av. Age at entry 9+
Where possible
If necessary
CLASS II
Av. Age at entry 9
Dalton Plan — Assignments
If advisable
Where possible
CLASS V
Av. Age at entry 9
Where possible
If necessary
CLASS IV
Av. Age at entry 8+
Use of the Montessory Apparatus where necessary
Preparation for Assignment Work.
CLASS IX
Av. AAge 8+
Where possible
If necessary
CLASS VIII
Av. Age 8
Where possible
If necessary
CLASS VII
Av. Age at entry 7·9
A free interchange between groups is provided where children show marked improvement, or on the otherhand do not fulfil early promise.
INFANTS DEPARTMENT
Average for promotion 7)

Senior School—Featuring Old Oak as a Specimen

The senior classes or departments have been started with the idea of giving a dull girl a fresh start at the age of 11 instead of continuing in the same class as her clever sisters. They are taught the same subjects as in the elementary schools with the addition of some fresh ones such as cookery or household management. In these schools much more attention is paid to the girl's individuality. If a girl, for example, is exceptionally skilful with her hands, she will get every opportunity of developing her special aptitude. Practical work is the most important feature of these schools. Senior schools may be either mixed or divided into departments for boys and girls, though in the same compound. Some junior schools, again, have senior departments attached to them for elder boys and girls. The *Old Oak Junior Mixed School* is of this type, the boys' department being separate from the girls'. The hall of this senior school has been divided into two by a wooden partition. It was a great pleasure to sit among the staff, facing all the boys and the girls on the Armistice Day with the wooden partition removed and to have the opportunity of telling these English children, as the present writer did, something about India, Indian children, Indian domestic life and so forth. At the *Old Oak Senior School* three hours are devoted to handicraft, three to English, three to Mathematics, one to History and one hour to Geography during the week. The girls also attend the domestic centre which is fifteen minutes walk from the school. There is a manual training centre, too, for boys, though not attached to the school. Ample provision has been made for physical exercises for boys and girls alike. The girls play net-ball, basket-ball and tennis. There is a swimming bath too, where they can go and swim in summer. The course lasts for three years from the age of eleven to that of fourteen. But some girls again appear at the age of thirteen for the Trade Scholarship Examination and if they prove successful they are transferred to the Trade School and continue their studies for another two years.

Central School—Featuring North Hammersmith Central School

It has been already stated that the central school is meant for those whose intelligence is superior to that of the senior school children. Its standard is higher and the curriculum is rather more ambitious. English, History, Geography, Mathematics, Science, Art, Domestic Science, Needle-work and Physical Exercise are subjects generally included. French has been added in some classes. Most of these schools have a definite *bias either commercial or technical*. In some schools again, we find that both exist but of course in separate departments. At the central school with a commercial bias *Shorthand* and *Book-keeping* are introduced and *Type-writing* is reserved for the pupil's last year. When these new subjects are introduced the girls cannot possibly continue all the previous subjects. So they drop some subjects as music or cookery. In the schools with an *industrial bias* a girl's last two years are devoted mostly to science, art, needle-work and other domestic subjects. The writer was so fortunate as to get a chance of visiting the *North Hammersmith Central School* at Bryan Road. It is a selective mixed school of 400 children. The school opens at 9-10 in the morning and closes at 4 P.M., the breaks being just the same as they are in other schools.

It is a school with a dual bias as described above. Specialisation begins at the end of the second year that is at the age of 13. If any girl at this age shows any special aptitude, perhaps for dress-making, she will be sent to the *Trade School* (Junior Technical School) about which we shall have to speak later on. For the rest also it is the time to choose whether to follow the commercial course or the industrial. Most of the girls whose aim is to gain a clerical appointment follow the commercial course. Mathematics and French are the compulsory subjects for those who follow the full commercial course in addition to *Short-hand, Type-writing, Book-keeping* and the like. Below that age all the boys and girls do imaginary drawing but above it drawing is specialised into commercial and technical drawing, the latter being reserved for boys only. Designs also for girls' embroidery or boys' wood-work are planned beforehand in the drawing class under the assistant master. In one room there are twelve or thirteen type-writers. Girls can go and practise there whenever they have leisure. Practical instruction in type-writing is given after 4 o'clock. In each class there is *a telephone box,* the head office being in the science room. Thus the children are taught from time to time how to use the telephone, how to deal with a call and so on. The science room is quite a large one and full of apparatus and charts. The girls do not usually have any lesson on advanced science as the boys do. There are

a small bedroom and a bath-room which are used by the girls in course of domestic instruction. The girls have their cookery lesson while the boys are engaged in wood-work. Those who do not go to the Trade School appear at the age of 16 for the *Senior Oxford Examination* which is equivalent to the First School Certificate Examination that will be discussed later on in connection with the secondary schools. The minimum number of subjects for this examination is five, of which English, one foreign language (usually French) and mathematics are compulsory. Two other subjects are optional. In addition to these subjects a candidate can take three more, the maximum being eight. After this examination successful candidates can go straight to Universities or to Technical colleges. The whole school has been divided into four houses—East, West, North, South, with masters and mistresses for each. Each house again has senior prefects as well. This division stimulates competition in games as well as in class work. The work of the whole school also is carried on with discipline and order. There were other points well worth mentioning in this school, if space allowed.

SECONDARY SCHOOLS—GENERAL REMARKS

"Secondary Schools," so denominated, are quite different from these two types of Post-Primary Schools. First of all the school life in the secondary school is much longer than that in the senior or central school. A girl is not obliged to leave school at the age of 16. She may have still two optional years if she likes. A foreign language is compulsory in a secondary school, whereas in the other types of schools it is optional. The curriculum is either literary or scientific and the standard of examination also is much higher. At the age of 16 the girls are examined in English, Geography, History, Mathematics, Science, Drawing and a language other than English. This is known as the *First School Certificate Examination.*

Those girls who do well in this examination are exempted from the Matriculation Examination and the certificate that is awarded to a successful candidate means the completion of general education. Those girls who do not leave school at the age of 16 follow the advanced course for 2 years more, at the end of which they appear for the *Second School Certificate Examination.* The examination is equivalent to the Intermediate. The successful girls after this examination can go straight to the Universities or Training Colleges or can stay at the school for one year more as student-teachers, devoting half of their time to teaching in an elementary school.

The aim of these Secondary Schools is to enable the pupils to develop all those qualities necessary for the citizens of a democratic state, through a comprehensive training for citizenship.

The qualities that are to be developed by a sound course of Secondary School Training, include on the moral side, a *sense of social responsibility,* a *will to sink personal and class interests in the common good* and to *take a full share in work for the nation* and a *love of freedom and tolerance.* On the intellectual side *an interest in the affairs of the modern world, some knowledge of modern history* and *of the political and economic affairs of the world of today* and *the habit of applying scientific methods of thought to public affairs,* are the objectives.

In all these Secondary Schools for boys and girls activities are so designed as to develop the corporate life at school ; the pupils are encouraged to recognise the value of freedom in which order and discipline are maintained in the common interest, to foster loyalty to the school itself and the team spirit, to give pupils the opportunity of choosing their leaders, and thereby give these leaders a valuable training in the discharge of their public responsibility. There are schools again planning school journeys to the slums of the city or to a distressed area. There are schools with progressive outlook which aims at giving through the history course a conspectus of the growth of the home country and of civilization itself along with the study of the local history. In Geography too, the study of the home country proceeds with the study of the people of the world as a whole. Languages, classical or modern, offer opportunities to direct attention of the scholars to the life, thought and problems of other nations. In Mathematics, specially in Arithmetic, the problems of every day life, *e.g.*—rates, rents, taxes, are linked up with the course.

Public affairs, economics, politics are attempted in some schools by teachers competent to teach *contemporary public affairs.* In many schools *dramatic methods* are being tried, such as *model parliaments, mock assemblies of the League of Nations,* to give scope for the pupil's free activity. Numerous experiments are being tried in the teaching of public affairs.

In some Secondary Schools the *Current Events* class of the elementary schools are followed up by a systematic course in recent history, politics or economics in order to avoid a spasmodic and superficial approach.

SECONDARY SCHOOLS FOR GIRLS

Public (*i.e., state-aided*) secondary schools for girls have always 25 per cent of seats free for the elementary school girls, whereas the private secondary schools (that is, schools which do not receive any Government grant or which are run by some voluntary body or Trust) have few free places, if any, and the fees there are also much higher. The *St. Alban's High School* and the *St. George's School,* for example, are private, that is they do not receive any Government grant. The girls' high school in *St. Albans* is mainly a day school which the writer visited. It has a small boarding house accommodating 20 girls. There are 6 classes altogether with sections in some of them. It has a big gymnasium with glass windows on all sides. There is even an observatory, recently opened with great ceremony. The science room is quite separate from the other class rooms and is full of necessary apparatus. The whole school again is divided into four houses—Mandeville, Paris, Julian and Verulam. Each "house" has its own peculiar badge, tie and uniform. Each house is under one teacher as in the *Old Oak School* or the *Hammersmith Central School.* They have a very extensive cricket ground at a short distance from the school where athletic competitions are often held. Each house tries to beat the other in recitations, swimming and school work. There is a big swimming bath to which the girls go on Friday or Thursday afternoon with their bathing outfits. It was really a novel experience to the writer to watch one afternoon their swimming competition and to share the joy of the Mandeville House which won it.

The *Birklands, St. Albans,* is another school of the type. It sits in a fine modern country house and stands on an eminence, with sand and gravel soil, in its own grounds covering eighty-five acres. The very sight of the school is charming. The compound has beautiful pleasure gardens and groves of trees, besides twelve tennis courts, excellent grounds for net-ball and Lacrosse* and a gold-course meadow. The whole landscape has a park-land scenery.

The school aimed at "securing a happy and useful school life for girl". "All the training is directed to develop character, physique, intelligent observation, alertness of mind and good manners which spring from kindliness of heart and consideration for others."

The girls are sent to town for sight-seeing, educational excursions, concerts, and films.

This is purely a boarding school for girls English and foreign teachers are all highly qualified; lecturers, masters and visitors from London attend the school daily and have inter-course with the staff and students and thereby raise the tone and level of education considerably. There are resident mistresses who supervise all games and physical exercises. To look after the health of the pupils one experienced Matron, an Under-Matron and a trained nurse are employed.

(*To be concluded*).

* LACROSSE :—A ball game imported from Canada played by 2 sets of 12; the ball has to be driven through the goal by a bent stick 5 to 6 ft. long (called Crosse).

THE ALL-INDIA WOMEN'S CONFERENCE—AHMEDABAD

THE 11th Session of the All-India Women's Conference was held from 23rd December to 26th December 1936 in Ahmedabad. This Conference is a unique institution comprising of women from all parts of India, holding all shades of opinion. One finds in its fold Congress ladies like Mrs Naidu, Mrs Cousins, Rajkumari Amritkaur as well as Maharanis of Baroda and Travancore, Rani Rajwade of Gwalior and Mrs. Hamid Ali.

The Conference concentrates its attention on women's questions as such and has thus been able to get sympathy from all workers in the same cause. The thirteen ladies who travelled all the way from Europe, America and Australia, joined the Conference with one view only—amelioration of womanhood. Dr. Miss Georgiana Sweet, Miss Agatha Harrison and Lady Proctor were the distinguished guests among these. Miss Woodsmall and Mrs. Howmartyn and Miss Van Vacht Wejt (Holland) were others. It is easy for workers in the same cause to see that after all women's problems are world problems.

The Conference was presided over by Mrs. Margaret Cousins. Her speech was an expression of her deep-rooted feelings for Indian women. She described vividly the social and political obstacles in the way of the Indian women's progress. A genuine desire to see Indian women rise to their proper place in the world permeated the whole of her Presidential oration.

Nearly one hundred and fifty delegates from all parts of the country attended the Ahmedabad Session. A corps of one hundred and fifty volunteers was enlisted by the Reception Committee to look after the guests, the pandal and the Exhibition. Eighteen Ahmedabad Women's Institutions presented a joint address of welcome to the president and delegates. The Gujarat College premises were the venue of the sittings. Along with the Conference a beautiful home-craft Exhibition was organized which was opened by Rani Rajwade of Gwalior. Rare old exhibits from Kathiawad and Gujarat which had never been exhibited before, specimens of beautiful hand-work from Bani Bhawan and Govind Bhawan of Calcutta were admired by all. Almost all Constituencies sent some work for the purpose.

The Sharda Mandir, an Infants' School of Ahmedabad



Mrs. Margaret Cousins,
The President-elect of The All-India Women's Conference,
Ahmedabad



Lady Ramanbhai Nilkanta,
Chairman of the Reception Committee of the Conference

entertained the delegates and others to a performance. The Ahmedabad Municipality and Mrs. Narrottambhai Lalbhai gave garden parties in honour of the President and delegates. A grand variety concert was produced. High class music—vocal and instrumental, exquisite dances and a pathetic realistic skit depicting Harijan Home formed the principal items of the concert and created perfect artistic effect throughout. A Garba song was sung on the stage by Harijan ladies, which was very much appreciated.

Resolutions concerning labour as far as it concerned women were passed. Educational Resolutions laying special stress on removal of illiteracy and separating University Matriculation and School Final Examination were also passed. In Social Resolutions appeal was made to legislatures to prepare a comprehensive Act in which women's disabilities could be remedied, in place of patch-work legislation. Appeal to amend Child Marriage Restraint Act was also made. Medical Inspection in Schools was urged for. Grievances of third class passengers were graphically described by speakers and authorities were earnestly requested to remove these as soon as possible.

Nearly 500 ladies had enlisted themselves as members of the Reception Committee. A special meeting was arranged to co-ordinate the work that lay diffused. The Yuv-Rani Saheba of Gondal presided on the occasion.

A pleasant picnic for all the delegat s, volunteers and members of the Reception Committee in the Victoria Garden concluded the three days' strenuous sessions of the Conference.

INDIAN WOMANHOOD

Begum Mir Amiruddin, wife of Mr. Mir Amiruddin, District and Sessions Judge, Mangalore, has been invited to deliver an address at the next World Congress of Faiths which will be held at Balliol College, Oxford, at the end of July this year. This Congress aims at promoting International Fellowship and has as its keen supporters Lord Halifax and Lord Zetland and Sir Francis Younghusband as its British National Chairman. Begum Mir Amiruddin travelled extensively in Europe, the Near East, Egypt, Syria and Palestine two years ago enlightening foreigners about India and India's womanhood. She is keenly interested in World Fellowship, the Women's movement and in Social Work. The Congress has offered to meet her travelling expenses.



Begum Mir Amiruddin



Miss Jyotiprabha Dasgupta

Miss Jyotiprabha Dasgupta, daughter of Professor G. C. Dasgupta, Vice-Principal, David Hare Training College, Calcutta, has just come back from England after completing her education there.

Miss Dasgupta is an M.A. in English of the

five words of the English language to our average students tools of verbal expression—the average addition of 1¼ words a year!

Here I must quote Dr. Learned, who in his massive report on the Study makes the following comments, which were certainly disturbing to many a parent and staggering to many a college professor. "This brings us face to face with the familiar poverty of the campus language, the absence of conversation on subjects of study, and the dearth of the general reading on the part of the students. A student out of the lower quarter of a senior group, in a paper completed with meticulous care and pains, recognizes only 23 out of the 100 words given in the test. She is ignorant of such words as: inert, lenient, baffle, and immerse, thinks that culpable means tender, that declivity means climate, and that demure means abject. Yet she is about to graduate from an accredited college, and is earning one of her senior credits in a course of American Drama. To a senior with the average score the word benighted means weary, recreant means diverting, spurious means foamy, assiduous means foolish, a parapet is a tropical bird, banter means a small rooster, Ivory is obtained from shell-fish, Columbus discovered America on purpose, Satire is a poem in bad taste, Edison invented the telegraph, Fuzzy-Wuzzy was a Persian kitten, Lowell wrote "Childe Harold's Pilgrimage," Oliver Wendell Holmes was a farmer, Gershwin was the waltz king, and 2|3 multiplied by 3|4 may equal 5|7 or 17|12 or 5|12 or 6|7, and so on and on. Out of one group of 431 seniors there were 43| or 10%| whose maximum score was 35 out of 100 words designated, a well submerged tenth."

The English Literature Test

Cinderella's carriage is made of: (1) an old shoe, (2) a pumpkin, (3) a coal-hod, (4) a mouse-trap.

Lowell wrote: (1) "Hiawatha," (2) "Childe Harold's Pilgrimage," (3) "The Vision of Sir Launfal," (4) "The Autocrat of the Breakfast Table."

Fuzzy-Wuzzy was: (1) an African savage, (2) a Persian kitten, (3) a rag doll (4) an American school-girl.

"Pendennis" was written by: (1) Meredith, (2) Emily Bronte, (3) Thackeray, (4) Scott.

The Renaissance in England chiefly affected: (1) painting, (2) literature, (3) architecture, (4) music.

Satire is: (1) a statement, (2) a cynical observation, (3) criticism by means of ridicule, (4) a poem in bad taste.

Penelope was: (1) one of the Muses, (2) another name for Athene, (3) an ocean nymph, (4) the wife of Odysseus.

A novel of theatrical life on the Mississippi was written by: (1) Edna Ferber, (2) Kathrine Mansfield, (3) Edith Wharton, (4) Margaret Deland.

Moses entered the promised land: (1) with the Israelites, (2) before them (3) after them, (4) never.

The most complete picture of social changes from the 19th to the 20th century is given in the novels of: (1) Hardy, (2) Meredith, (3) Conrad, (4) Galsworthy.

There were 450 questions in the whole English test. The average freshman could answer 227, the sophomore 218, the junior 211, and the senior only 221, a clear deficiency of 6 points of the average college graduates knowledge of English usage, the literature of England and America.

The examination in the General Science Test consisted of 290 items. It is the type of examination known as the True and False type.

General Science Test

1. Wood is an excellent insulating material for high tension currents.
2. Barometers are used for the measuring of humidity.
3. Iron rust is the result of oxidation process.
4. Darwin was the first person to propose a theory of evolution.
5. The chromosomes in germ cells are the conveyers of biological heredity.
6. Vitamins are necessary in small quantities for proper body nourishment.
7. Typhoid may be spread by persons who harbour the typhoid germ within their bodies, but are not themselves susceptible to the disease.
8. The local time of New York is several hours behind that of London.
9. A degree of longitude has the same length in miles anywhere on the earth.
10. A tornado generally sweeps over a wide swath of territory.

The results show that 39% of the freshmen knew more General Science than the average senior. To boil the whole matter down, the Study proved, that exactly 1|3 of the seniors knew less than the freshman, and almost 1|3 of the freshmen knew more than the average senior. This was true not only in the examined fields, but in Foreign Literature, Fine Arts, and General History, as well as in the special fields of Biology, Physics, Chemistry, and Social

Sciences. In as simple matters as Spelling (excluding present company, for I am already rather tired), Grammar, and Punctuation, the college course has left the student when ready to graduate, exactly where he was when he started.

If I were to enumerate the causes and the proposed remedies, there would be no end to this "abridged" elucidation. The three main causes are, however, (1) the absence of a "numerous clauses," a number of American girls and boys who ought to be in college and are not there, and on the other hand a great number of those who are there and have no business to be there, God simply never gave the latter college abilities. (2) The large number of our "instructors." An undue proportion of instruction is carried on by graduate students working for a higher degree. While among them is here and there a future Edison, Compton, Thorndike, Milligan, Moore or Langmuir, yet many of them are mere laboratory assistants, who could not by any stretch of generosity be called instructors or educators. (3) The third cause which is stressed, is the college curriculum, made up I should say, of numerous little packages of knowledge, each wrapped up in cellophane, lest it become contaminated with some other course or unit. At the end of each unit the student undergoes an examination of 5 or 10 questions, and if he can answer 60% of them to the professor's personal satisfaction, he has "passed" that point in his education, and can safely dismiss it from his mind and generally does. The word "passed" is, I think, peculiarly descriptive, since only the rare students ever expect to return.

And so with a jumble of unrelated facts one stops to wonder at answers as: Geometry teaches us to bisex angels, or that Acropolis was the she-wolf that nursed Romeo and Juliet. This happened in my own class.

Now I had better conclude; still I do believe that every student's education should be fitted to his individual capacities, interests and passions, from kindergarten to university, and not give him homeopathic doses of unrelated items of knowledge—few, if any, of which he can ever use as genuine agencies of living.

Prague,
20th Sept., 1936.

THE NEW TEACHER

By PASUPULETI GOPALA KRISHNAYYA, M.A., M.Sc., Ph.D.

In the old days teachers needed a great deal of direction. Courses of study were handed to the teacher; text-books were selected for him. Text-book in one hand and course of study in the other, all the teacher had to do was to carry out directions.[1]

This whole situation is rapidly changing Better-prepared teachers make such direction undesirable. The normal schools and teachers' colleges in progressive countries are, each year, sending into the school teachers ready, under guidance, to participate in the making of courses of study, in the selection of text-books, and in the solution of other problems of teaching.

Furthermore, since what should be taught and how it should be taught are more and more determined by what children are and how they learn, it is inevitable that the teacher should participate in the planning of the materials and methods of teaching. The teacher is on the ground. From day to day, he notes the children's activities, and therefore if he has the necessary background of preparation, he can say, better than any one else, what the needs are. Modifications in curricula should be made, very largely, upon the basis of the teacher's observation of the functioning of materials and methods in the class-room.

Leaders in education recognize, also, that a teacher can never develop a class-room upon the principles of pupil participation, encouragement of initiative, and independence of thought unless he himself, in his own personal and professional life, lives in accordance with these principles. There must be a thinking teacher before there can be a thinking child; a creative teacher if children are to create; a teacher full of spirit if children are to live in freedom. The teacher is the thinker and the creator in his own class-room. He lives there with the children and together they plan the way in which they shall live, the books they shall read, the trips they shall take, the skills they shall acquire, and the knowledge they shall need. They learn together and they grow together.

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1 The writer is aware that this system is still in vogue in India.

While the class-room is the teacher's immediate workshop, he is part also of a school and of a system of schools. He cannot work in isolation He cannot set up his own aims and purposes without regard for the aims and purposes of the larger educational units of which he is a part. If he attempted to do so, the education of his pupils would lack continuity. It would not grow out of what went before nor grow into what is to come later. It is necessary, therefore, that teachers work together to determine what is to be taught and how it is to be taught.

The acceptance of the above points of view is rapidly breaking down the distinct functions of teaching, supervision, and administration. As teacher and pupils plan together in the class-room, so administrator, supervisor, and teacher plan together for the school and the school system. The difference in function is one of degree and emphasis.

This is essentially an age of group effort. What a generation ago was done by an individual working alone is now usually done in group conference and in large associations. Co-operative effort is primarily the method of education. Hence, any one entering education should realize that he will be a member of a highly-organized profession. Frasier and Armentrout well express the place that organization has come to have in education:

> The public school has become too important an institution to be dependent upon more or less sporadic instances of individual leadership. In place of the great personalities standing alone and gaining in glory through their very solitude, have come the great permanent educational organizations in which all who are interested in education are associated.[2]

Patterson's *American Educational Directory* lists one hundred and twenty-seven educational associations and societies, exclusive of state and other local associations. These include such associations as the National Society for the Study of Education; national societies of teachers of English, science, mathematics, history, etc.; national associations for the promotion of various types of education—rural, vocational, physical, etc.

Every state now has its state teachers' association. At present, memberships in these associations number about 5,00,000. Many state associations employ full-time secretaries and publish their own journals. They usually have legislative committees which propose laws for the betterment of the schools and carefully scrutinize all proposed measures that affect education. They are a force in the democratization of the teaching profession.

The National Education Association is the all—inclusive educational organization in the United States and is the largest teachers' association in the world. It was founded as the National Teachers' Association in 1857 and assumed its present name in 1907 when it was incorporated under a special act of Congress. It was originally a gathering of a few educational leaders, but membership now includes all types of educational interest. The membership on January 1, 1935, was 2,15,000, including 4,135 life members. The Association is divided into nineteen departments besides the National Council: Adult Education, American Association of Teachers' Colleges, Business Education, Class-room Teachers, Deans of Women, Educational Research, Elementary School Principals, Kindergarten-Primary Education, Lip Reading, Rural Education, School Health and Physical Education, Science Instruction, Secondary School Principals, Social Studies, Superintendence, Supervisors and Directors of Instruction, Supervisors and Teachers of Home Economics, Visual Instruction, and Vocational Education. The Association publishes the Journal, Proceedings, year-books of various departments, and research bulletins on outstanding problems.

There are four hundred weekly or monthly periodicals on professional education in the United States. Many of these are issued by educational associations, such as the Journal of Educational Research by the American Educational Research Association, Progressive Education by the Progressive Education Association, the Journal of Vocational Education by the Vocational Educational Association. Many of the most important educational contributions are made through the pages of such journals.

Through organizations and journals, the profession is kept aware of current developments. Long before new procedures are perpetuated in books, they are spread upon the minutes of association meetings and broadcast through periodicals. Such channels are rich in opportunities for contacts with others and for professional leadership.

As the standards of the profession are raised, teachers generally are accorded respect by the desirable elements of a community. A teacher who participates in the life of a community shares its work, its play, and its worship—finds himself in a position of leadership. Such leadership cannot fail to bring a high form of social satisfaction.

A teacher must, however, be prepared to

2 Frasier and Armentrout, *An Introduction to Education*, p. 340.

be held to high standards of conduct. He is in the public eye and must expect his own personal affairs to be of considerable interest to the community. Often it will be necessary for him, out of deference to the prejudices of a community, to forego forms of amusement, innocent in themselves. The important thing for him is his ability to work effectively with the people. Therefore, he may sometimes be called upon to make sacrifices in his own inclinations.

The greatest social satisfaction of the teacher comes in his contact with youth. His own spirit draws refreshment from the spring of youth. The trust and confidence of devoted students strengthen the faith of the teacher in himself and in all humanity. From these he draws continuous urge to look forward and to go forward. He cannot lay down his work while youth looks to him for guidance.

The student looks to the teacher, the community looks to the teacher, and society looks to the teacher. If governments are turning to education as the chief means for national progress, heavy obligations are imposed upon the teacher. The school and the community in which he lives are his field for work. His wider contacts must be made from these, and he can hope for effectiveness in the larger relationships only as he is able to assume leadership on his own ground.

The need for guidance in the many human relationships in which the work of the teacher is bound has long been felt. In order to meet this need, the National Education Association of America worked for a period of five years upon the development of a code of Ethics. The report of the Committee was adopted at the meeting at Atlanta, July 1, 1929. Medicine has had a code expressed since Hippocrates formulated it in his "oath"; education has just produced its code. The code for medicine was formulated by one great leader and has remained unchanged for more than two thousand years, the guide and inspiration of all who have followed him. The code for education is the outgrowth of group thought, slowly evolving in committee meetings. It is not likely that it will remain unchanged; it will probably continue to develop in a changing world.

In order that those who are considering education as a vocation may know the standards which those in the profession have set up, the code is given in full:[3]

3 Reeder, Ward G., *Ethics of the Teaching Profession*. National Education Association Journal, Vol. XVIII. No. 67, pp. 260, 261, 1929.

Preamble—The term "teacher" as used in this code is intended to include every person directly engaged in educational work whether in a teaching, an administrative, or a supervisory capacity.

Article One—Relations with Pupils and to the Community

Section 1. The school-room is not the proper theatre for religious, political, or personal propaganda. The teacher should exercise his full rights as a citizen but he should avoid controversies which may tend to decrease his value as a teacher.

Section 2. The teacher should not permit his educational work to be used for partisan politics, personal gain, or selfish propaganda of any kind.

Section 3. In instructional, administrative, and other relations with pupils, the teacher should be impartial, just, and professional. The teacher should consider the different interests, abilities, and social environment of pupils.

Section 4. The professional relations of the teacher with his pupils demand the same scrupulous guarding of confidential and official information as is observed by members of other long-established professions.

Section 5. The teacher should seek to establish friendly and intelligent co-operation between the home and the school.

Section 6. The teacher should not tutor pupils of his classes for pay.

Article Two—Relations to the Profession

Section 1. Members of the teaching profession should dignify their calling in every way. The teacher should encourage the ablest to enter it, and discourage from entering those who are using the teaching profession merely as a stepping-stone to some other vocation.

Section 2. The teacher should maintain his efficiency and teaching skill by study and by contact with local, state and national educational organizations.

Section 3. A teacher's own life should show that education does ennoble.

Section 4. While not limiting his services by reason of small salary, the teacher should insist upon a salary-scale suitable to his place in society.

Section 5. The teacher should not exploit his school or himself by personally inspired press notices, or advertisements, or by other unprofessional means, and should avoid innuendo and criticism, particularly of successors or predecessors.

Section 6. The teacher should not apply for another position for the sole purpose of forcing an increase in salary in his present position. Correspondingly, school officials should not pursue a policy of refusing to give deserved salary increase to their employees until offers from other school systems have forced them to do so.

Section 7. The teacher should not act as an agent, or accept a commission, royalty, or other reward, for books or supplies in the selection or purchase of which he can influence or exercise the right of decision; nor should he accept a commission or other compensation for helping another teacher to secure a position.

Article Three—Relations to Members of the Profession

Section 1. A teacher should avoid unfavourable criticism of other teachers except such as is formally presented to a school official in the interests of the school. It is also unprofessional to fail to report to duly-constituted

authority any matters which involve the best interests of the school.

Section 2. A teacher should not interfere between another teacher and a pupil in matters, such as discipline or marking.

Section 3. There should be co-operation between administrator and class-room teachers, founded upon sympathy for each other's point of view and recognition of the administrator's right to leadership and the teacher's right of self-expression. Both teachers and administrators should observe professional courtesy by transacting official business with the properly-designated person next in rank.

Section 4. The teacher should not apply for a specific position unless a vacancy exists. Unless the rules of the school otherwise prescribe, he should apply for a teaching position to the chief executive. He should not knowingly underbid a rival in order to secure a position; neither should he knowingly underbid a salary schedule.

Section 5. Qualifications should be the sole determining factor in appointment and promotion. School officials should encourage and carefully nurture the professional growth of worthy teachers by recommending promotion, either in their own school or in other schools. For school officials to fail to recommend a worthy teacher for another position because they do not desire to lose his services, is unethical.

Section 6. Testimonials regarding a teacher should be frank, candid, and confidential.

Section 7. A contract, once signed, should be faithfully adhered to until it is dissolved by mutual consent. In case of emergency, the thoughtful consideration which business sanction demands should be given by both parties to the contract.

Section 8. Due notification should be given by school officials and teachers, in case a change in position is to be made.

What are the qualities requisite for success in teaching? Judging from the great number of answers proposed both on the basis of opinion and experience and after laborious research, the problem is insistent in its demand for solution. But the search is a baffling one, for though "outlines of teacher traits or ratings are perennial contributions,"[4] no satisfactory conclusion has been reached.

The results of the many attempts to find the qualities requisite for teaching success have been summarized in the Review of Educational Research. The summary has been made by listing the number of times any trait has been considered most important :[5]

7 studies : Fairness most important.
6 studies : Kindness and instructional skill.
5 studies : Good-natured or pleasant; good disciplinarian ; knowledge of subject-matter.
4 studies : Sense of humour; patience.
3 studies : Personal appearance; inspiring; sociability; interest in work; personality.
2 studies : Strong character; sympathetic; ability to make class interesting.
1 study each : Politeness; neatness; seriousness and dignity; interest in pupils; broad educational interest; efficiency in use of class time; intelligent; broad-minded.

Are not most of these qualities requisite for success in any field ? Certainly, fairness, the quality listed as most important by the greatest number of studies, is an essential to successful living in any vocation. Similarly, if one were to attempt to visualize an imaginary individual who would represent the sum total of all the above qualities, might there not be still lacking some illusive quality or might not even some illusive additional trait exist which would render the individual ineffective as a teacher? The whole individual is something other than the sum of his parts.

Frasier and Armentrout raise thirteen questions which they think an individual considering education as a vocation should ask himself.[6]

1. Do you have a sound body and an abundance of health and energy?
2. Do you find enjoyment in the society of children?
3. Do you have high moral and religious ideals?
4. Are you willing to make the necessary preparation?
5. Do you find happiness in such things as good books, good music, and beautiful pictures ?
6. Do you like people and can you live in harmony with an ordinary community?
7. Are you interested in community activities?
8. Are you open-minded and tolerant of the views of others?
9. Have you patience enough to listen to the endless questions that children ask?
10. Can you keep your head in times of stress and excitement as in a burning building or when an accident happens to a child?
11. Do you believe that human nature is disposed toward the good?
12. Do you have a desire for self-improvement?
13. Would you rather teach children than do anything else?

These questions have the merit of being linked closely with the things a teacher needs to do. Their emphasis on human contacts, perhaps the one great distinguishing characteristic of teaching, is particularly apt. The qualities described by Bagley and Keith are somewhat similar in their emphasis. They are developed at length, and therefore need only a summary given here.[7]

Good Health : Energy, vigor, vitality, good posture, alert movement, voice—clear, pleasantly-toned, evenly-pitched, capable of colour and modulation.

4 The American Annual, p. 268, 1931.

5 "Teacher Personnel." Review of Educational Research, Vol. I, No. 2, April, 1931.

6 Frasier and Armentrout, An Introduction to Education, Revised, pp. 345-349.

7 Bagley and Keith, An Introduction to Teaching, pp. 316-337.

Social Intelligence : A factor somewhat independent of " general intelligence " but having a close bearing upon personal qualifications.

Address : The way in which one meets people.

Tact : Ability to put oneself in another's place.

Sympathy : Power to feel as others feel.

Leadership : Older conception of teacher as autocrat turned to modern conception of teacher as leader, counsellor and guide.

Moral Qualities : Sincerity—no other virtue so fundamental and far-reaching; loyalty.

George H. Palmer sums up his ideal teacher under four qualifications :8

1. Aptitude for vicariousness—the ability to put oneself in another's place.
2. An already accumulated wealth—of scholarship and experience.
3. An ability to invigorate life through knowledge.
4. A readiness to be forgotten.

Once again, these are qualities which throw their emphasis upon human relations. They are suggestive of the breadth of teaching. They grow in meaning as one dwells upon them.

When one considers how varied are the opportunities in education and how all the attempts to locate the qualities requisite for success end in enumerating attributes of a good human being who would be effective in any walk of life, it would seem that any individual of normal intelligence, right in his attitudes, and possessing the desire to teach, can be prepared to do so.

There is no " teacher type." Many types are needed. The important thing is not the location of certain traits essential to teaching success, but, instead, a clear statement of the experiences a teacher needs in order to carry on effectively the work of any particular field in education. Granted that the individual has no physical, intellectual, or moral handicap which would disqualify him for any profession, the qualities requisite for success will be developed during the experiences of his preparation. Normal human beings who appreciate the responsibility of education, who have the desire to participate in its great constructive endeavour, who will analyse the things to be done in the particular field of their interests and will set about gaining the experiences essential to that field, can become teachers.

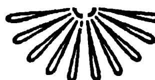
As many attempts have been made to measure teaching success as have been made to measure the qualities requisite for success, but these, too, are all more or less unsatisfactory. There are, of course, certain obvious factors in success, such as the knowledge and skill which the children acquire, the degree of co-operation which the teacher secures. So far, also, as the teacher's own personal success is concerned, increase in salary and promotion may be regarded as evidences of success.

In a larger sense, however, success cannot be measured by the immediate and the overt. Mastery of a certain amount of subject-matter, for example, may not mean that the children will continue to grow in that field. A surer measure of success is the extent to which the children continue, of their own accord, to reach out after more. This is more difficult to find out. Sometimes only the child and the teacher know when this happens. More often, only the child himself knows.

Teaching, in its essence, means causing others to grow. Growth is a slow process. The teacher must wait to know whether or not he has been successful. Often he never knows of his greatest successes. His success is essentially a vicarious thing. It lies in the achievement of others. He, who would be happy in teaching must, in the largest sense, be able to find his happiness in the unfolding of power in others.*

8 Palmer, George H., The Ideal Teacher, p. 8.

* This article is the outcome of a conference of American teachers which met in New York City recently, in which the writer had the honour to participate. As such the whole subject is tinged with the American view-point which is certainly far more progressive and advanced than ours. But the writer earnestly believes that the ideas herein discussed hold as true to India, as they are to America.



THE QUEST FOR BEAUTY

By CYRIL MODAK

II. In Life's Studio

Self-Transcendence

The soul of the true artist is so passionately in love with the Infinite-Beauitful that no sacrifice, no struggle, no suffering can daunt his desire. There was a French sculptor who had been working for many a long week with chisel and hammer, eager to see his dream take form in a block of marble. At last the statue stood almost ready to speak from the stone. That night it grew bitterly cold. The sculptor was distressed lest the frost and the biting cold should make the marble crack. So he took his cloak and his only warm blanket, and wrapped them around the stone figure with a tenderness only a mother's heart could feel. It grew colder. The sculptor lay in his lampless room. His teeth chattered in his head. He had nothing which could bring warmth to his shivering limbs. The next day the neighbours found the statue warm and safe and beautiful. But the maker, the sculptor, was stiff and cold and dead. Such dreamers of immortal dreams, who reck not of life itself to identify themselves with the ideal, can say to the world,

> "World-losers and world-forsakers,
> On whom the pale moon gleams;
> Yet we are the movers and shakers
> Of the world forever it seems."

It is horrifying to turn from such great men, inspired by a lofty passion, to those who traffic in sensuous and sometimes sensual gratification in the name of Beauty. This pseudo-Beauty cult has its ardent followers all over the world. They start from the premise that the beautiful yields pleasure. By a subtle turn of dialectical ingenuity they argue that everything that excites their senses and furnishes novel sensations yields pleasure, and is, therefore, beautiful. It becomes a contagious creed. It infects literature, art, and music, producing impressionism or hedonism, cubism or nudism, and jazz. The infection spreads. Naturalism and materialism become fashionable world-views. Discipline and order become irksome. These pale, neurotic devotees of a frail, erotic beauty religiously chase every phantom that promises stimulation, excitement, pleasure. What is the end? Rodin pictures it vividly, poignantly in "The Aged Courtesan." It is tragic remorse.

The lover of beauty strives to mount higher than his petty ego, for he knows that self-transcedence is required of anyone who would have his life transfigured by the Infinite-Beautiful. With all the assiduous discipline of the artist he endeavours to set his will in tune with Beauty's. Beethoven's music, composed on the apprehension of the approaching loss of hearing, a music wild and rebellious at first, then meditative and almost melancholy, then subdued, until the last note is one of self-mastery and not self-indulgence, graphically portrays the process of self-transcendence. The lover of Beauty does not say "Thy will be done" in a fatalistic resignation as a pious way of saying "I have given up the battle." Nor does he mean that he is throttling his will so that he can be *will-less* ever after. A volitional vacuum is a dangerous state, for the man who is too weak to have a will must yield to the impact of any strong will. He is a copyist, not an artist. He is a victim, not a saint. It is his full measure of vigour and vitality, not his emaciated weakness that the lover of Beauty learns to offer. In Tagore's words, "Give me the strength to surrender my strength to thy will with love," is his earnest prayer.

Self-transcending activity implies a clear understanding of the divine will. The lover of Beauty seeks to learn what the Beloved expects of him; and with this knowledge diligently subordinates all other desires to this one joyous end of fulfilling the Beloved's expectation. What does Beauty expect of us? Is it not that we think Beauty's thoughts and dream those dreams sublime; that we speak Beauty's tongue and sing those songs divine; that we will Beauty's will and do those deeds immortal? Is it not that we dedicate our time to the service of Beauty whose purpose is to regenerate the world? Is it not that we open our souls and allow the Eternal to permeate every atom of ourselves? Is it not, in short, that we adjust ours to the vision of the Infinite-Beautiful? It was Kant who said that one should so act that he shall be willing to have his action become a

universal law. In some form the Golden Rule was taught by Confucius, Buddha, Plato, and Jesus to the world.

Beauty has her golden rule. "Do unto me," she says, "as you would that I should do unto you." "The history of art, literature, and music establishes beyond dispute that those who have not understood the principle of self-transcendence have served the muse but feebly. Self-indulgence in the poet or painter or musician does not divulge its secrets on his face alone but betrays the artist when he thinks he is most secure in the sentiments, epithets, and direction of his verse, in the themes, mannerisms and descriptions of his art and sculpture, in the motif and construction of his music. Byron, Baudelaire, and Rupert Brooke are easily contrasted with Coleridge, Hugo and Bridges; Shelley and Chopin with Milton and Beethoven. Those who violate the tacit laws of Beauty forfeit her favours. She withholds her gifts from them and their work reveals their own spiritual paucity. She hides her face from them and their work reflects their own unsanctified souls.

Self-Expression

It is only when a man's will, his mind, and his heart are permitted by the Infinite that through the unfoldment of his self beauty can be expressed and revealed. Self-expression is inevitable. We express ourselves, wittingly or not, every moment of our lives, in the smallest detail of our dress, in our preferences, in our chance remarks, in our attitudes, in our anxieties, in our secret thoughts that peep out when we are alone, as well as in the sublimest works of art or the greatest deeds of love and sacrifice. The perturbing question is: What sort of a self do we express? Is it cultured or barbaric, slavish or princely, noble or base, beautiful or ugly? Does our self-expression envisage purposive love and directive truth? The artist's creation must lack the perfection of symmetry and proportion, harmony and unity, if his inmost self is wanting in truth and 'balance,' poise and purposive love. Art is self-expression. So is morality. Concealment is impossible. We may cloak ourselves from our fellow-men. We can never hide ourselves from ourselves, hard as we may try by saccharine rationalizations. Even when others had not detected Naaman's leprosy, he was perpetually miserable being unable to hide it from himself. So are we, many of us.

Nor does mediocrity in self-expression satisfy. Surely, the good life is an achievement. But the artist is satisfied with nothing short of a beautiful life. A good painting is an accomplishment, but the true artist longs to make more than a *good* picture: he wants to create a *beautiful* picture. A good work of art is the mediocre: the beautiful is superlative. Mediocrity is attained easily by rigid adherence to rules. Genuine excellence in art is achieved by merging the soul in Beauty when Beauty speaks through the artist. The good life is expressive of conformity to a decalogue or a centalogue of commands or taboos, extraneously imposed. The beautiful life is suggestive of fusion with the vital vision of Beauty, inwardly accepted. The merely good deed is done often because of some constraint, be the constraint that of a moral code, or religious injunction, or superstitious fear, or social taboo: and is invariably accompanied by a subtle reward-motive or a secret sense of self-righteousness. The beautiful deed, on the contrary, is done because nothing else will satisfy, because of an impulse to seize every opportunity to utter the one word "Beauty." The moralist works on a plane of necessity: the artist in a realm of freedom. It is only in rising from the level of restraint and fettering necessity to an altitude of joy and constructive freedom that we are in the presence of the Beautiful. Aristotle said that a deed is virtuous only when it is the expression of a completely virtuous man. So a deed is beautiful when it is expressive of a self entirely steeped in beauty-love-truth. And since life can soar to loftier heights of commissioned freedom than art, and since a deed can offer a more direct expression of beauty-love-truth than a representation of art, therefore art is the handmaid of the beautiful life.

Like a superb poem the beautiful deed is spontaneous. It is the song of the soul. It is its own reward. The moralist reacts to an inhibitive and censorious monitor. The moral-artist responds to the liberating and gracious influence of the Beloved. Merely an intellectual assent to the 'categorical imperative' produces ethical theory. Only a volitional consent to the moral 'ought' produces stereotyped goodness. Just an emotional fervour for the moral 'ought' produces evangelical ethics. It is only the unconditional acceptance by the whole personality of the 'ought' of purposive beauty which produces creative morality and noble art. Youth revolts against and age takes refuge in the hibernation of static morality. But the world calls for the constructive craftsmanship of the moral-artist who can turn evils into positive chances

"........................to make,
To build, to do, to sing, or say,
A Beauty death can never take,
An Adam from the crumbled clay."

The ugly nightmare of hate, greed, and crime sits heavily on the chest of a sad world. It needs the healing touch of beauty. It needs beautiful lives to fill its sadness with music. It needs a generation of moral heroes (and artists are heroes) inspired by the vision of the ideal to reinstate beauty on her throne now usurped by the heirs of darkness.

Self-donation

Beauty demands unreserved self-surrender. No man starts on the quest with an enlarged ego. The true lover of beauty knows that he belongs to himself no longer, that his life is like a flute for the Beloved to call forth music. He craves nothing so much as the touch of the Infinite-Beautiful. He cries out,

"Purge my self from self's pollution, burn it into life divine;
Burn it till it dies triumphant in the firespring whence it came."

The lover of beauty knows that the beautiful life is the only flower the universe desires to offer to its Lord and Maker. He strives after self-transcending creativity to articulate his mystical passion for beauty. He is no spendthrift with his opportunities. The thoughts of his solitary moments, the speech of his crowded hours, the acts of his brief span of life are garlands of devotion for transcendent and absolute beauty. He knows that complete self-expression is self-donation. One cannot express and yet hoard oneself. That is why any worthwhile self-expression is a costly business. Reservations impoverish expressions leaving them incomplete. The lover of beauty pours forth his soul in a song of sacramental morality and symbolical art. Criticism, in its feverish attempt to advocate a theory against some rival, has often lost sight of its own mission and has launched forth upon a chartless sea. Literary and aesthetic criticism and ethical theory can at best be innocently diverting and never eloquently prophetic if critics fail to treat the artist as the conscious agent for Beauty's sovereign will and his achievements as oblations to his deity. Saint-Beuve says, "A true classic, as I should like to hear it defined, is an author who has enriched the human mind and caused it to advance a step, who has discovered some new and not equivocal truth, or revealed some eternal passion in the human heart where all seemed known and discovered; who has expressed his thought, observation or invention in no matter what form, only provided it be broad and great, refined and sensible, sane and beautiful in itself; who has spoken to all in his own peculiar style, new without neologism, new and old, easily contemporary with all time." Saint-Beuve is a critic who never forgets his mission, who never 'murders to dissect,' who treats the artist as he thinks the artist should treat himself. An artist's self-expression can be 'broad and great, refined and sensible, sane and beautiful' in art and in morality only when art becomes symbolical and morality sacramental, and both a means of joyous self-donation to absolute beauty. Kabir, the weaver-poet of Hindusthan, says,

"I see with eyes open and smile to behold His beauty everywhere:
I utter His name and whatever I see reminds me of Him, wherever I go I move round Him:
All I achieve is His service."

Thus alone does the lover live the life of the beloved. Only thus does man have and find his being in the Eternal. Thus and only thus does the finite realize the Infinite. Through the purposive artistry of the conscious being beauty rescues the world from the clutches of the unreal and not beautiful. Then shall the world come to bear the signature of the Infinite-Beautiful. As Symonds says,

"New arts shall bloom of loftier mould,
And mightier music thrill the skies;
And every life shall be a song,
When all the earth is paradise."

Towards that paradise we move.



FOREIGN PERIODICALS

What is True Literature

Everything that appears in print is not literature. Charles E. Coe considers in an article in *The Inquirer* of London, what is meant by the term *literature* :

During 1935, in this country alone, there were published 16,678 books; of these 5,310 were works of fiction. This is an average of 45 per day, or 320 every week, and the current year's figures, like an Icelandic depression, will probably be more impressive—or oppressive—than ever.

When considered in conjunction with the details of library issues these figures prove highly satisfactory, for they attest, in a very striking fashion, to the rapidly increasing power of the printed word.

There is, however, an unpleasant aspect to them that it would be foolish to ignore : which is that they give added weight to Emerson's dictum "It is easy to accuse books, and bad ones are easily found." To "accuse books" in general is the unprofitable business of the enemies of light, amongst which we trust the writer of this article cannot be numbered. Indeed our purpose herein is to indicate the right use of books.

Nevertheless it has to be admitted that "bad" books are all too common—the less said about the majority of any year's publications the better. Unfortunately, there is every reason to believe that the percentage today is higher than say a century ago, and whilst from one angle readers are entirely responsible for this state of affairs, certain publishing firms, lacking the finer traditions of older houses, are far from blameless.

Viewing the stupendous stocks of books which the world possesses the British Museum Library alone contains about four million volumes and the large yearly additions thereto, we may pertinently consider why people read books. One very important reason, of course, is to acquire facts, but as our immediate concern is with creative works, we shall not consider this aspect of the subject.

"A work of literature is not an idle tale to entertain and relieve us during an idle hour, but the cry of a great soul at the spectacle of life as he sees it;" or as another writer has ably expressed it, "Literature is a life force, an outpouring of man's enduring spirit."

Here, then, in these two quotations we have the reply to our question; only those books which express the "enduring spirit" of man through the "cry of a great soul" constitute true literature; all else is of little value, and will not survive its day and generation.

Freedom of Speech in Nazi Germany

At the last year's International P. E. N. Congress held in Buenos Aires, Emil Ludwig, perhaps the most widely read of the living German authors, made his position as regards the attitude he took toward Nazi Germany in a speech in which he pleaded for freedom. We quote from *The Living Age* :

It is singular that almost all the German artists who are valued throughout the world are imprisoned or exiled today, while none of the authors who are acknowledged by the Third Reich is known outside its borders.

I think it is an enormity that in a great country, which in other times was perhaps the most cultured in the world, the writer has been severed from his functions, and has been reduced to the level of a bureaucrat or a hired troubadour.

At every Congress there are delegates who pretend that the P. E. N. Club has nothing to do with politics, and that we must confine ourselves to an academic discussion of our profession.

Where is the dividing line between literature and politics? The production of books in Germany has decreased about 45 per cent in the last two years. Is that an exclusively literary problem?

But perhaps there are great Nazi writers. Who are they? The man who occupies the highest place in the new literary hierarchy, a certain Herr Blunck, President of the Reichskulturkammer, has just published a book, according to which America was not discovered by a Spaniard or a Genoese, as you have probably believed until now, but by a certain Dietrich Penning, a Dane of German origin. So you should now replace your beautiful monument to Columbus with a monument to Mr. Penning.

Still more disturbing is the problem of Jesus. How can it be denied that He was a Jew? Why, quite simply. Another German Professor, Herr Franz von Wendrin, has demonstrated in a book that Jesus was really an Aryan, and was born in the vicinity of Mecklenburg. You see how low the followers of Kant have fallen. The noble Germany tradition has degenerated. Almost all of Goethe's books have been prohibited for school use. In the new German song books, they say of one of the most popular of German folk-songs '*Ich weiss nicht was soll es bedeuten*,' that it comes from an 'unknown author,' whereas the whole world knows that it is the work of Heinrich Heine. The German language, to us the most beautiful in the world, is in mourning.

What Roosevelt's Re-election Means

Roosevelt is a champion of the *people* in the real sense of the term and his re-election as President of the United States of America is an unparalleled popular triumph. *The Month* of London in its editorial comments says :

To us who see from afar only the main outlines of the President's policy and cannot rightly appreciate the minor issues, political and personal, that have their influence in America itself, the President's colossal victory

brings a renewal of hope for this fallen world. From the first he has boldly challenged the domination of the Money Power, the collapse of which originally put him in his high position. He stood for the "forgotten man" on whose thankless labour rests the stability of the social structure and even the permanence of the millionaire's wealth. He would prevent, as far as legislation can, those two sins "crying to heaven for vengeance"—oppression of the poor and defrauding the worker of his due reward. On their side, the Money Lords, when they understood that Roosevelt meant business—but not their business—put forth their enormous influence to prevent his re-election. Happily, in vain. The forgotten man voted in his millions for his champion, with the result that the American President is now the one ruler in the world who can order his policies without any improper compromise with finance, domestic or international. He had sapped the very foundations of that despotic economic dominance denounced by the Pope in "Quadragesimo Anno," and, if God gives him strength and prudence, may break for ever the power of Mammon in the country where that power has been most abused.

The Crown and Politics

We have witnessed an unprecedented stroke of destiny which has given the British Throne its third occupant within a year, and transformed a monarch of exceptional power and promise, in the course of a few days, into a private individual living in voluntary exile. Ex-King Edward's personal contact with the worker all through his public career made him immensely popular. The abovementioned London monthly writes editorially:

The Whig ligarchy at the "glorious revolution" of 1688 made Dutch William pay for the Crown of England by the surrender of its prerogative of rule, and since that date the supremacy of Parliament has been absolute. "The King can do no wrong," precisely because he can do nothing of himself to govern the country, but only assent to his Ministers' measures. Of course, indirectly, the Monarch has immense power—by his use of patronage, by his personal influence, by his giving or withholding favour—power which, of course, varies with character and personality. We have seen it hinted that the late King, who showed such continuous and genuine interest in the worker, was trying unduly to accelerate the wheels of legislation, and that, therefore, the Government was the less reluctant to lose him. We should be sorry to think that there was any real truth in the suggestion. The Government machine is so massive and unwieldy that it needs every locomotory impulse that public opinion can give it, and what our late King did was to stimulate and canalize public opinion, as no one less eminent could do so well, concerning the crying evil of unemployment, which to all seeming our bureaucracy continues to regard with too much equanimity. Our rulers should be allowed no rest until they devise some means—at whatever cost to vested interests and traditional economics—of removing from a civilized nation the gross scandal of multitudes of its citizens being unable to find a livelihood, though willing to work for it.

A King and the Marxian Theory

'Marx's discovery of economic forces did not elminate the play of other forces which have been at work since the beginning of the world.' The Chicago *Unity* has the following remarks to make on the tale of a king in love with a commoner:

That Edward's passion for Mrs. Simpson should have precipitated a first-class constitutional crisis in the British Empire is an amazing commentary on a lot of things—among others, on human nature. The old apocryphal seer said that there were four things he never hoped to understand, and among these were "the way of a man with a maid." Mrs. Simpson is hardly a "maid," but the ancient saying applies nonetheless. That such an affair should have broken forth in so violent a fashion at so critical a moment in the history of the world sets us to wondering what our complacent Marxian philosophers have to say about such an incident. How do they fit it in to their hard-and-fast doctrinē of economic determinism, or what is more frequently called "the materialistic interpretation of history"? According to the orthodox Marxian dogma, everything that happens is to be explained in economic terms. The forces at work making history are exclusively economic or material forces. It is the struggle for food and shelter which explains everything—wars, revolutions, the decline and fall of empires, the practices of religion, the conventions and customs of society, the trends and goals of human evolution. And now, into an age absorbed by Capitalism and Communism and Fascism as the dominating influences of the age, there comes crashing *love!* In an instant the Spanish war, the Chino-Japanese crisis, the German-Japanese alliance against Russa, the Buenos Aires Conference, all these tremendous events were swept from the front page, as by a flood, by the tale of a king in love with a commoner. This isn't economics, nor even politics—it's psychology, or, as men used to call it, plain human nature. We accept Marx's theory as one of the greatest historical generalizations of all time. It ranks Marx with Darwin and Newton as one of the three moderns who changed the whole character of human thinking and remade men's understanding of reality. But Marx's discovery of economic forces did not eliminate the play of other forces which have been at work since the beginning of the world. Still there remains the inner life of man, with all its complexities and vagaries. The Greeks were not so far wrong when they explained the Torjan Wars in terms of Helen and Paris.

The Psychology of Dictatorship

Dr. C. G. Jung, famous Swiss psychologist or rather psychiatrist, in an interview with a correspondent of the *Observer*, London, likens modern dictatorships to primitive tribes. The following extract is given from *The Living Age* which reproduces the interview:

Hitler, Mussolini, Stalin, yes, and Roosevelt, they are tribal rulers. England and Switzerland are still tribal. They preserve their local differences and distinctions. You have your Welsh, Irish, Scottish. You observe your ancient tribal customs—the ceremony with which the Lord Mayor greets the King when he crosses the boundary of the City of London, for instance.

I have just come from America, where I saw Roosevelt. Make no mistake, he is a force—a man of superior and impenetrable mind, but perfectly ruthless, a highly versatile mind which you cannot foresee. He has the most amazing power complex, the Mussolini substance, the stuff of a dictator absolutely.

There are two kinds of dictators—the chieftain type and the medicine man type, Hitler is the latter. He is a medium. German policy is not made; it is revealed through Hitler. He is the mouthpiece of the gods as of old. He says the word which expresses everybody's resentment.

I remember a medicine man in Africa who said to me almost with tears in his eyes: 'We have no dreams any more since the British are in the country.' When I asked him why, he answered: 'The District Commissioner knows everything.'

Mussolini, Stalin, and Roosevelt rule like that, but in Germany they still have 'dreams.' You remember the story of how, when Hitler was being pressed by other Powers not to withdraw Germany from the League of Nations, he shut himself away for three days, and then simply said, without explanation: 'Germany must withdraw.' That is rule by revelation.

Hence the sensitiveness of Germans to criticism or abuse of their leader. It is blasphemy to them, for Hitler is the Sybil, the Delphic oracle.

After the dictators? Oligarchy in some form. A decent oligarchy—call it aristocracy if you like—is the most ideal form of government. It depends on the quality of a nation whether they evolve a decent oligarchy or not. I am not sure that Russia will, but Germany and Italy have a chance.

Without the aristocratic ideal there is no stability. You in England owe it to the 'gentleman' that you possess the world.

Origins of the Reformation

The Reformation did not just happen. Its origins stretch back over several centuries of time and take their root in a great variety of causes. The following is an excerpt from an article on the subject from the pen of Hilaire Belloc in *The Sign*, Union City, New Jersey:

This woeful incident was the terrible plague, now called "the Black Death." The fearful disaster broke out in 1347 and swept the whole of Europe from east to west. The marvel is that our civilization did not collapse, for certainly one-third of the adult population died, and probably more As is always the case in great catastrophes, there was a "time-lag" before the full effects were felt. It was in the 1370's and the 1380's that its effects began to be permanent and pretty much universal.

In the first place, as always happens when men are severely tried, the less fortunate men become revolutionary against the more fortunate. There were risings and revolutionary movements. Prices were disturbed, there was a snapping of continuity in a host of institutions. The names of the old institutions were kept, but the spirit changed. For instance, the great monasteries of Europe kept their old riches but fell to half their numbers.

The important part of these effects of the Black Death was the appearance of England and southern Scotland as a country united by a common tie. The upper classes ceased to talk French, and the various dialects coalesced into a language that was becoming the literary language of a new nation. It is the period of *Piers Plow-man* and of Chaucer.

The Black Death had not only shaken the physical and political structure of European society. It had begun to affect the Faith itself. Horror had bred too much despair. Another direct result of the Black Death was the great schism in the Papacy. The warring kings of France and England and the rival civil factions in France itself and the lesser authorities of the smaller states took sides continually for the one claimant to the Papacy or the other, so that the whole idea of a central spiritual authority was undermined.

The growth of vernacular literatures, that is of literatures no longer generally expressed in Latin, but in the local speech (northern or southern French, or English, or High or Low German) was another disruptive factor. If you had said to a man one hundred years before 1347 "Why should your prayers be in Latin? Why should not our churches use our own language?" your question would have been ridiculed; it would have seemed to have had no meaning. When it was said to a man in 1447, towards the declining end of the middle ages, with the new vernacular languages beginning to flourish, such a question was full of popular appeal.

After such confusions and such complicated discontents, particularly the spreading and increasing discontent with the worldliness of the official clergy, came a vivid intellectual awakening; a recovery of the classics and especially a recovery of the knowledge of Greek. It filled the later fifteenth century—(1450-1500). At the same time the knowledge of the physical world was spreading. The world (as we put in now) was "expanding." Europeans had explored the Atlantic and the African shores, found their way to the Indies round the Cape of Good Hope, and before the end of that century, come upon a whole new world, later to be called America.

Accidents and their Prevention

In order to reduce accident frequency it is essential to study the human factor and make appropriate use of the knowledge so obtained. In an article on the neglect of human factor in the prevention of Industrial Accidents Dr. H. M. Vernon observes in the *International Labour Review*:

There can be little doubt that the systematic training of children in road safety and in other forms of accident prevention persists to a considerable degree when school life is over, and the children proceed to industrial occupations. But the majority of the risks met with in these occupations are quite different from anything of which they have had previous experience, so it is most desirable, that systematic instruction in these risks should be continued for the first year or so of industrial life. It was stated above that in certain coalfields the juveniles had, during their first year, 1½ hours' instruction per week in "safety," but, as far as I can ascertain, nothing similar to this has been instituted in factories, at any rate in Great Britain. Fresh entrants to industry may receive some brief instruction on the dangers of the particular machines to which they are assigned, but this is totally insufficient, as there are numberless other dangers which they are bound to experience sooner or later. The safety instruction ought therefore to be a comprehensive one, and be continued systematically for a considerable time. Subsequently the activities of the safety organization ought to be able to keep the idea of accident prevention always in the minds of the workers and promote the development of semi-automatic habits adapted to that end no less than of conscious efforts.

Mexico as a refuge for Trotsky

The New Republic in its editoral notes remarks:

Leon Trotsky is entitled to the unenviable distinction of being the world's number-one political refugee. In the last few years he has been harried from one country to another. Conservative governments fear him as a potential revolutionary; Left governments are usually friendly to the U. S. S. R., which is of course bitterly inimical to the exiled leader. His financial resources, so far as can be learned, are exceedingly slender and come mainly from his journalistic writing; his health is fragile. Norway, which finds his presence a grave embarrassment, has just notified him that he will have to leave when his passport expires on December 18. When Mexico, a few days ago, offered him a refuge, he revealed a state of mind that is easy to understand when he asked for assurances that the invitation was not a trick of his enemies to get him assassinated. These assurances have now been given. Mexico, in fact, is almost the one country in the world now willing to serve as a refuge for Trotsky; it has a Left government, but for some years relations with Soviet Russia have been markedly cool.

Trouble with our Civilization

Henry Seidel Canby writes in *The Saturday Review of Literature* :

Part of the trouble with our civilization today is that it is too openminded, too ready to lend countenance in life and literature to the wild and the visionary, the eccentric and the exaggerated. In a world which is watching--fortunately in America still from a distance—two philosophies of government at grips, each maintaining itself with similar tyranny, it behooves men to be open-minded of course, but it behooves them also to have a philosophy of their own......To be open-minded is a consummation devoutly to be striven for, but no more to be regarded as an absolute good than liberty which does not know how to stop short of license......The open mind must shut within itself definite standards before it can itself have power.

What Art was ever begotten of Leisure ?

Thomas Craven observes in the New York *American* :

What art was ever begotten of leisure? It is true that the old Italians encouraged and patronized their artists—but they would not allow them a moment's rest. . . . What the artist needs today is work and more work, the incessant pressure of active life, exorbitant demands on all his powers driving him onward to higher and harder problems. I do not wish to imply that the artist should be made to suffer from want of food; that dwelling in a garret or a subcellar is necessarily inspiring; or that uncongenial manual labor makes sensitive natures strong nd productive. My point is that no artist in any department will amount to a row of pins if his economic protection shelters him from the first-hand experiences which are the life-blood of art, all art.

Real University and Real Education

In the course of an article in *The Yale Review* Robert Maynard Hutchins observes :

If we can recure a real university in this country and a real programme of general education upon which its work can rest, it may be that the character of our civilization may slowly change. It may be that we can outgrow the love of money, that we can get a saner conception of democracy, and that we can even understand the purposes of education. It may be that we can abandon our false notions of progress and utility and that we can come to prefer intelligible organization to the chaos that we mistake for liberty. It is because these things may be that education is important. Upon education our country must pin its hopes of true progress, which involves scientific and technological advance, but under the direction of reason; of true prosperity, which includes the goods of the body but does not overlook those of the soul; and of true liberty, which can exist only in society, and in a society rationally ordered.

Mass-mentality

The Catholic World quotes Nicholas Murray Butler :

Mass-mentality, with its waves of unreasoning emotion and its quick turning hither and yon in pursuit of an end which it neither sees nor understands, is one of the greatest forces now at work for weakening the basis on which our civilization rests. If we can call our fellow-citizens up to the heights of independent-minded, freedom-loving individualism, we shall be on the way to the creation of a truly corporate state, because it will be composed of co-operating individuals who are free to know, to understand and to express themselves concerning everything which comes into their lives......The surest way in which to build a barrier against the rising tide of compulsion, whether it take the form of Communism, of Fascism or of Dictatorship, is to make free government really work on the highest possible plane of effectiveness and solely in the largest public interest.

Domination of Men by Men

Walter Lippmann writes in *The Atlantic Monthly* :

We belong to a generation that has lost its way. Unable to develop the great truths which it inherited from the emancipators, it has returned to the heresies of absolutism, authority, and the domination of men by men against which the progressive genius of the western world is one long increasing protest. The spirit of man is rent, and those who by their deepest sympathies seemed destined to be the bearers of the civilization tradition have turned against one another in fratricidal strife.

The Spaniard's Spanishness

The London *Observer* writing on the civil war now raging in the Southwestern Peninsula of Europe speaks of two irreconcilable Spains :

Salvador de Madaraga's lament for the fate of his country puts outside partisans to shame. This Spanish scholar and patriot respects and sympathizes with both sides, asking how the heroism and endurance of either can be dismissed with a contemptuous reference to "Red rabble" or "Rebel bullies." He sadly admits that between two irreconcilable Spains such impartiality is the road to complete isolation for the Spaniard. "The Spanish tragedy would have occurred if neither Lenin nor Mussolini had existed," he reminds us. "Its forms are genuinely national......of that untranslatable residue of 'Spanishness' which knows neither fascism nor communism. Above all,......the issue in Spain has nothing to do with either democracy or liberty."

Negro Music and Poetry

A decade or so ago there arose in Harlem a group of Negro writers and poets; but those literary efforts go much further back. James Weldon writes in *The Christian Registrar* of Boston :

There was a slave on Long Island whose name was Jupiter Hammond, and in about 1760 he published in broadsheet an eighty-six line poem, the first poem ever published by a Negro; but in a strict literary sense we would mark the beginning with the little girl who was landed from a slave ship in the harbor of Boston in 1761. Probably her chief importance lies in the fact that she was the second woman in America to publish a volume of poems. But to come up to our day, the outstanding Negro poet is one with whom the reading public in America is familiar—Paul Lawrence Dunbar; but not many would know that between Phyllis Wheatley and Paul L. Dunbar there were more than thirty Negro poets who published volumes of poetry. Dunbar stands as the first Negro American poet of literary distinction. He was the first to combine poetic talent and a mastery of poetic technique. He did not start as a Negro dialect poet. He wrote a large number of poems that are not in dialect. It is nevertheless true that his reputation rests upon his poetry in the Negro dialect. His fame as a dialect poet, to put it in just a word, rests upon the fact that he wrote it better than anyone else. He brought to Negro dialect poetry talent and a thorough workmanship. He added a deeper tenderness, a higher polish and a more delicate finish. I should say, however, that Dunbar's best bid for permanency rests with a half dozen or so of his lyrics in straight literary English, in which he expresses the aspirations and hopes of his own people.

The new poets broke away entirely from the tradition, and in particular from the tradition of the dialect. They wrote to voice what the masses of Negro Americans were feeling and thinking at that time. Probably no group came out of the war so disillusioned as the Negro American group. They felt that if they did their part, both here and in France, there would be many changes for the better in their conditions, but they were doomed to disillusionment. The outstanding man of that group is Claude McKay, a poet of great power. For the past ten years or so he has been living in Europe, but is now again living in New York City. More recently, there are three or four outstanding names—Countee Cullen, Langston Hughes and Sterling Brown. A list of others not quite so well known could be added. These younger poets broke away from what might be called obvious racial propaganda and strove only to be poets. I do not mean that they got away entirely from race, but their approach to what we may call race differed from that in McKay's school. The newer approach was indirect, not frontal. It thereby gained in subtlety and probably in power. Take for example the poetry of Hughes, and note the satire and irony with which he handles the racial and social situation. Countee Cullen is an outstanding member of this school, and I should add that both he and Mr. Hughes are not only outstanding Negro poets but have achieved their place among American poets. Mr. Cullen is one of the finest of American lyric poets.

The Pan-American Conference in Buenos Aires

The *Unity* of Chicago comments editorially on the above conference :

This whole business of the Pan-American Conference pleases us immensely. We think that President Roosevelt and Secretary Hull have done not only a fitting but a noble thing in going personally to South America and thus lending the whole weight of their potent influence to the business of peace in this part of the world. It is well for us to remember that this part of the world is half of the whole. In one complete hemisphere of this troubled planet, the nations are learning to live together without violence and fear. Thus it is already inconceivable that there will ever be war again in North America. Canada and the United States will no more fight than New York and Pennsylvania, and the same may surely be said of the United States and Mexico. These three nations have definitely and finally moved out of the war period of history. In Central and South America there may still be areas where Mars will stride abroad, but these are few, and Mars' steps are hobbled and will soon be tightly bound. The fact is that the Americas are as peaceful as Europe and Asia are bellicose. Even jealousy and fear of the United States by the other lesser countries are disappearing. We can remember the time when Pan-American work was almost hopelessly handicapped by the feeling that what the United States was really trying to do was to establish a sovereignty over all the western hemisphere, and thus reduce the Central and South American republics to the position of mere dependencies. Now we feel that this suspicion is gone. If any of it still lingers anywhere, it will be dispersed by the persuasive presence of a President and a Secretary of State bent upon establishing between the nations in this part of the world the enduring relationship of "good neighbor." What it may mean to the rest of mankind to have the Americas at peace, no man can say. Perhaps the raging imperialisms of Europe and Asia must fight it out to the bitter end! But what it may mean to us, and to the future of the race upon this earth, is incalculable. May the President be triumphant on his great mission!

INDIAN PERIODICALS

Scientific Curiosity

We reproduced in our January issue from the *Visva-Bharati Quarterly* an except from the last chapter of *A Diary of the Five Elements* by Rabindranath Tagore. A further extract is given below:

Said Samir: "The great wall of natural law that surrounds creation may be ever so much bigger and stronger than the Great Wall of China: but there is that little rift in it, somewhere in the nature of man. Looking through this, we have made our grandest discovery,—we have had a vision of the boundless freedom beyond. With this realm, through this rift, we have been holding loving communication; through it beauty and joy keep flowing in to us. That is why, for all its endeavour, science has never succeeded in encompassing within its formula this Beauty and Joy."

At this point Srotaswini came in, saying: "Can you guess the fate that has overtaken Dipti's music book, which she made you hunt all over the place for?"

"No," said Samir, "I give it up."

"It's a rat," exclaimed Srotaswini, "that's the culprit. He cut it up into tiny pieces with which he has littered the piano strings. What good this disinterested destruction has done him, I can't imagine."

"The rat who did it," replied Samir, "is evidently a rampant scientist of Ratdom. His prying inquisition must have led him to suspect some connection between musical notation and pianoforte wires, and so he spent a wakeful night testing his theory, trying to get to the bottom of the wonderful melodies that now and again invade his ears. His keen teeth exhaustively analysed the paper, while his restless paws eagerly experimented with its pieces, putting them into various juxtapositions with the wires. Now that he has finished cutting up the music book, he will start on the piano strings, and end with the sounding board, whereupon through the gaps of his own make, he will insert the tip of his nose and the edge of his curiosity, little recking how he is thrusting all hope of getting at any melody further and further away."

"At length," I concluded by way of summing up, "some neorats, afflicted with modernism, may perhaps found a school of thought proclaiming that paper is paper, wire is wire, and that the tradition of certain sensitive creatures having contrived to create a joy-giving connexion between the two, is an absurd old myth originally invented by the Hindus. The only good result from it, they will concede, has been the impetus given to our toothful scrutiny into the specific hardness of paper, wire and wood.

"And yet, while these sceptic rodents are as busy as ever with their indefatigable gnawing, strains of disturbing melody will continue occasionally to assail their ears,—for the moment giving them wistful pause. What on earth can it mean? They will deliberate. A mystery? Be it so; but, after all, a mystery that is bound to be unravelled with the incessant increase of our gnaw-ledge!"

The Abdication of King Edward

The following editorial note on the abdication of Edward VIII appears in *The Theosophist*:

The abdication of His Imperial Majesty King Edward VIII is of no mere local concern. It must needs affect the whole of the British Empire and the fundamental relations between monarchies and peoples. Personally, I deeply regret the abdication. I am of opinion that it need not have been necessary, for a way might have been found, and should have been found, for a reconciliation between the King's personal happiness and his royal duties. I feel that there need have been no incompatibility between the two, and that it should have been possible for a democracy to harmonize the King's democratic rights with his royal and imperial duties. That this has not been achieved must inevitably cause a weakening of the Sovereign's usefulness in constitutional government.

The King has had to give way. Before what? That we do not altogether know. We do not know how the peoples of the Empire would have answered any crucial question which either the King or the Government might have put to them. We know he has given way to a party Government, but we do not know if he has also given way to the Nation, which a party Government only partially represents. In any case Kingship has been weakened, and the possibility of dictatorship has been strengthened, for the Government has acted as a dictator however much it may have consulted the Governments of the Dominions. The peoples of the Empire have certainly not been consulted. And if in such a crisis as this they have been ignored, how much more are they likely to be ignored when future crises arise. Everywhere, it seems to me, not only the British Empire but the whole world has lost by this abdication. The Empire has lost a great man, a great friend of the poor, a man of strong will and resolute independence, who only asked that personal happiness might go with the arduous duties he had never been desirous of shouldering.

Since writing the above I have read with deep regret the broadcast address by the Archbishop of Canterbury regarding the abdication of our late King Emperor. It seems to me that the Archbishop, in his ruthless denunciation of the late King's decision, has been guilty not only of deplorable taste and want of delicacy but also of a lack of that Christian charity in which every Christian would expect him to set a great example.

A Critique of Pandit Nehru's Views on Religion

In several places in the Autobiography of Jawaharlal Nehru, one comes across trenchant reflections on religion. In an article under the above caption *The Vedanta Kesari* has dealt with his estimate of religion as expressed in the Autobiography:

It will be interesting, in the first place, to enquire what it is that lies at the root of Mr. Nehru's antipathy towards religion. A reader of the Autobiography would at first be inclined to find reasons for it in what appears as Mr. Nehru's scientific turn of mind and Occidental habits of thought. Mr. Nehru himself seems to think so when he criticises the "usual religious outlook" as the "enemy of clear thought," as something based on the acceptance of certain fixed and unalterable theories and dogmas, and as a product of "sentiment, emotion and passion," or when he bemoans his inability to "enter into the spirit and ways of thinking of my countrymen." But in both these respects, one can show, on the basis of the Autobiography itself, that Mr. Nehru is not what he seems, nor even what he apparently thinks himself to be at times. He is as much a creature of feeling as any religious man, and at times he is very well aware of this. In one place he says by way of criticism of Mahatma Gandhi: "But I am becoming more and more convinced that in vital matters the mind by itself does not carry us far. 'If your heart does not want to,' said William James, 'your head will assuredly never make you believe.' The emotions govern the general outlook and control the mind. Our conversations (convictions?), whether they are religious, political or economic, are really based on emotion or instinct. As Schopenhauer has said: 'Man can do what he wills, but he cannot will what he will will.'" In this general reflection on the nature of human thought Mr. Nehru must include himself also, and as we shall show presently, both his criticism of religion and his positive conviction in socialism are sprung from a deep strain of feeling in him.

Is Mr. Nehru fundamentally un-Indian in thought, and is there in him any constitutional incapacity for religious feeling ?

The intellectual garb of Mr. Nehru gives a wrong impression of the real stuff of his personality. He may at times think that his thought and approach to life are more akin to what is called Western than Eastern, and yet, as he says, "Behind me lie, somewhere in the subconscious, racial memories of a hundred, or whatever the number may be, generations of Brahmans. I cannot get rid of that past inheritance . . . . . ." That these "generations of Brahmans" do actually operate within him powerfully, keeping him true to his Indian heritage in his heart of hearts, is revealed by a little incident in his early life. He says how, after his return from England, *shikar* used to be one of his few diversions, but even here his reputation was "singularly bloodless;" and what was more, "an incident with a little antelope damped even the little ardour that I possessed for *shikar*. This harmless little animal fell down at my feet, wounded to death, and looked up at me with its great big eyes full of tears. Those eyes have often haunted me since." A reaction of this kind is characteristically Indian, and is the result of a spiritual refinement coming down the stream of time from a distant past—of "the racial memories of a hundred . . . generations of Brahmans." It reveals that Mr. Nehru is endowed with a plentiful reserve of sensitiveness—a quality which is so dominant a feature of Indian character, and which is at the root of India's religiosity. Mr. Nehru is therefore typically Indian, and seems to be endowed with a nature that should, under ordinary circumstances, be highly susceptible to religious influences.

Why then is he cold towards religion ?

A study of his Autobiography leads us to think that it is due to two reasons—one a prejudice and the other a type of metaphysical indecision. To consider the first of these, the prejudice is not merely the result of a revulsion from the excesses, abuses and corruptions of organized religion. Indeed, Mr. Nehru is impatient with religion of this type. He says, "The spectacle of what is called religion, or at any rate organized religion, in India and elsewhere has filled me with horror, and I have frequently condemned it and wished to make a clean sweep of it. Almost always it seems to stand for blind belief and reaction, dogma and bigotry, superstition and exploitation, and the preservation of vested interests." As if religion is the solitary criminal in this respect among institutionalised human ideals! An impartial and judicious critic cannot but subject the cherished loves of the modern mind—science, industrialism, democracy and also Mr. Nehru's favourite 'ism,' socialism—to the same criticism. But as fond parents always hope to see greatness and glory come even out of the wickedness of their erring children, our moderns expect the perversities of their favourite institutions to be rectified in course of time, and hope for the dawn of the millennium through their offices. Only religion, the orphan boy, does not merit any such indulgence, and deserves the capital sentence of being 'swept away'!

It would seem Mr. Nehru has not thought out the question of religion as clearly and as deeply as he has done several other problems treated in his Autobiography.

Progress of the American Woman

"Like man, woman's sphere is in the whole universe of matter and mind, to do whatever she can, and thus prove the intentions of the Creator." Dr. Sudhindra Bose of the Iowa University, U. S. A., writes in the *Prabuddha Bharata* :

American women are said to be more ambitious, more progressive, and more competent than those of Europe; or more courageous, more self-reliant, more independent, and less submissive, if you prefer another set of adjectives. Women in America have now all the rights and opportunities life can give. While women in modern India have made considerable progress in recent years, a study of the position of women in the United States cannot but be of interest at this time.

It is significant that it was only yesterday that women in this country won a voice in the making of the laws under which they live, and the opportunity to choose their occupations as freely as men. Today women physicians, artists, artisans, lawyers, judges, legislators, Presidents of Colleges and Universities, and even Governors of States (Provinces) are accepted as integral parts of the American population, rather than as freaks or isolated geniuses. Women, within the last few decades, have widened their horizons amazingly. The range of their interests is as great as that of men, the chief difference now being only one of emphasis.

The women of the United States need not, however, feel too "upish" toward their less favoured sisters in India. Consider, for instance, the position of woman in this country only a hundred years ago. Everywhere she found herself discriminated against and circumscribed, whether she laboured at home or attempted to earn a living "in the world".

The American women of the early nineteenth century were all for domestic life.

They surrendered to men all occupations outside the home, and confined themselves to marriage and the bearing and rearing of children. Wifehood and motherhood were

the only careers approved of for women. The husband was the dictator of the family—a position frequently exercised harshly by domineering men.

Women were, as a class, disfranchised and their part in the church was limited to passive acceptance of rites and creeds. The "weaker sex" plays a wholly secondary role in the *Bible*. St. Paul, the man who put Christ over to the masses, said: "Wives submit yourselves unto your husbands as unto the Lord." He continued austerely: "Let your women keep silence in the churches: for it is not permitted them to speak." The Cannon Law held women as subspecies of the human race. It translated into practice and precept of legislation the spirit of St. Paul: "The head of every man is Christ, and the head of the woman is the man."

Even Martin Luther wrote in the sixteenth century: "Let women bear children till they die of it; that is what they are for." Man was not created for woman, but woman for man

In the United States, a century ago meekness and submissiveness on the part of the wife were required.

At present most of the State universities are co-educational. But there are also several privately endowed women's colleges of note, such as Mt. Holyoke, Vassar, Wellesley, Smith, Bryn Mawr, Barnard, and Radcliffe. Miss Grace Abbott, Professor at the University of Chicago and a distinguished social worker, remarks that the prophets of disaster were wrong: "College has helped to bring a new standard of health for women. And long hours of intellectual work are no more fatiguing to the girl than to her brother seemingly less so—but he has felt freer to complain than she who has been regarded as more or less on trial in intellectual pursuits, down even to the present day."

In the United States, where the Founding Fathers taught that self-government was the ideal, women had no political rights.

After long and painful delay, it dawned on the American masculine leaders that vote for woman was in itself of great importance as well as useful in effecting other reforms in which they were interested.

So it came about that women achieved their enfranchisement in 1920—seventy-two years after the organized woman suffrage movement had begun in the United States and after twenty-six other countries had given their women the vote.

Since the winning of suffrage, American women have gained political recognition and political power. Women have now a hand in deciding the public policies with reference to education, labour, and social welfare. Women have also made gains in federal government. The present Congress boasts of nine feminine members.

The United States now has its first woman Cabinet member, its first woman Ambassador, and its first feminine Director of the Mint.

Lincoln and the World Crisis

In the establishment of the American Republic the rights of man were safeguarded. When these rights were vitally threatened, Abraham Lincoln arose to safeguard them once again. "The United States as he [Lincoln] came to see it, had been founded as the first great experiment, in the world, of a widely extended democracy." It was to preserve this democracy that Lincoln went to the uttermost length—armed force. A tremendous principle was at stake. Unless all who undertook to sustain the Republic remained loyal to its foundations, unless those who had accepted the Declaration of Independence, which was born as a result of Paine's words, were made to recognize their moral responsibility to it, the cause of liberty and democracy was doomed. Is it not the disregard of this very principle that has given such a knock-out blow to the League of Nations? In the War of 1914-1918 there was much talk about ideals, but those who fashioned the Treaty of Versailles and those who are facing the baffling situation of today have been without the clarifying power of love. Mr. James Truslow Adams, an eminent American historian, writes in *The Aryan Path*:

The United States, as he came to see it, had been founded as the first great experiment, in the world, of a widely extended democracy. The Greek city-states had been tiny organisms. Ther wasself-government in England but only for the homestaying people of a small island. On the North American continent, for the first time, self-government "of the people, by the people, for the people," in Lincoln's phrase, was being tried out. If the entire nation could be disrupted by the opinion of either a minority or majority, then the process would extend further, and every serious cleavage in opinion would continue the disintegration until the Union would be broken into many small hostile states.

The problem which faced the simple backwoodsman in the White House, with little experience of national affairs or of the world was one of the most momentous ever set for solution to any statesman. If the Southern States seceded, as was threatened and as they did, and if they were allowed, as many advised the President, to go in peace, then the Union would be broken with the effect on the future of self-government and the future of the world which we have noted above. The cause of self-government and of individual liberty would be certainly set far backward in development and possibly irretrievably ruined for centuries. On the other hand, if no agreement could be reached and if peaceful secession were not allowed, and force had to be used to preserve the Union, with which the future of democracy and self-government was linked, what would become of the theory of self-government? If approximately five million free white citizens were to be coerced by about nineteen million, each group occupying different sections of the country, could it be claimed that real self-government continued? Could force and freedom be reconciled?

Lincoln was essentially an almost over-kindly and peace-loving man, but when he chose the alternative of force and war it was because, in one of the great decisions of history, he saw the larger truth, the truth of the whole. *In his mind, at that fateful moment in the history of mankind, the fundamental problem was that of the future of the freedom of the human spirit, not simply the freedom of one section or the other or the freedom of the negro slave, but the future of freedom for all mankind.*

But force,—armies, battles, all the incidentals to revolution and civil war, the suspension of Habeas Corpus, partial control of the press, the treatment of traitors, and so on,—how reconcile all this with freedom and democracy? At this point we begin to glimpse *the immense moral stature of Lincoln which lifts him to a level infinitely above most of the leaders of the world today*. He resolved this seemingly insoluble problem by a synthesis in the moral rather than the legal or intellec-

tual spheres. From the beginning Lincoln not only preached but felt love for all the people, on whichever side, whether for or against him. In his first Inaugural address, when war still held in the balance, he said to the South as to the North: "We are not enemies but friends. We must not be enemies. Though passion may have strained, it must not break our bonds of affection. The mystic chords of memory, stretching from every battle-field and patriot grave to every living heart and hearthstone all over this broad land, will yet swell the chorus of the Union, when touched again, as they surely will be, by the better angels of our nature."

He fought not to impose his own will, to exalt himself, to establish a particular economic system, or to place one class above another, but solely for freedom, for the maintenance of the Union for the sake of that freedom, and always with the thought of eventual peace and harmony at the end. *There is not, through the entire struggle of years, a single instance in which he showed injustice, spite hatred or revenge toward friend or foe.* He had, as he said in one address, "malice toward none."

"We must extinguish our resentments if we expect harmony and union," he declared only a few days before his assassination. He had never fought for power or prestige or to make Abraham Lincoln a great man. *He had fought solely for the freedom of action and spirit of the human race, from the most exalted to the most lowly, whom he genuinely loved.* He looked forward to restoring the rebels, whom he recognized as honest, chivalrous and worthy citizens, to their full share in the freedom of the Union with a minimum of ill-feeling. The bullet of a fanatic assassin ended that hope, and the life of the President.

The Gestalt Theory in German Psychology

Towards the beginning of the present century a band of young German scholars, while experimenting with the psychological problems connected with our perception of movement hit upon a new interpretation of the facts of mental life. The new theory has since been known throughout as the Gestalt Theory. Dr Suhrit Chandra Mitra, Lecturer, Calcutta University, writes in the *The Calcutta Review*:

The English equivalent of the German word *Gestalt* is shape or form. Titchener in America suggested the term *configuration* to be used in connection with this school of psychology but it seems that none of the terms are necessary inasmuch as the original German term is freely used now and understood by all interested in psychology. The word itself presents the fundamental note of this school of psychologists. In opposition to the elements that are postulated by the structuralists as the basis of all our mental experience the Gestalt school posits *pattern* or *Gestalten* as the original forms of our experience. In 1912, Wertheimer had been conducting a series of experiments on the perception of movement and, on grounds of the experimental data collected, he came to the conclusion that perception of movement is really a unique form of our experience and that it defies all attempts at analysis into constituent elements. Whenever the stimuli are arranged in a certain pattern or Gestalt we perceive movement and even stationary stimuli may under certain conditions create in our minds the illusion of movement........All of you, I am sure have noticed the electric light advertisement of Lipton's tea at Chowringhee. You distinctly get the impression of movement but does anything move there? No. The fact simply is that one light burns after another. What then creates the illusion of movement? Neither light No. 1 nor light No. 2 will explain the observed phenomenon of movement between them but you have to take the whole situation, *viz.* light No. 2 following light No. 1, after a certain interval into account, *i. e.*, the whole pattern constituted by light-interval-light has to be considered in order to explain the perceived movement. Perception of movement in this case therefore is generated not by the two lights themselves but by the two lights arranged in a particular temporal and spatial order

Getting their inspiration from these experiments, Wertheimer, Kohler and Koffka, the three recognized pioneers and leaders of th school, extended their fields of enquiry and subjected all our other modes of perception, qualitative, spatial and temporal, to new experimental tests. Nowhere they found could percepton be explained as a combination of elements, of sensations and images. The so-called elements may remain the same in a situation yet the perception of the whole may differ. Similarly elements may differ yet the percepton may remain the same. *The whole has always properties of its own which cannot be explained in terms of those of the parts.*

In the sphere of perception Gestalt psychology maintains that *pattern* is given immediately and is not resolvable into elements. This can easily be demonstrated by simple experiments. Observe, for example, the following figure:



Do you perceive eight lines or four pairs? I am sure most of you will accept the latter alternative. This tendency to grouping is independent of experience and the pattern of the pair is presented as soon as the lines are presented. It is not a fact that the lines are first observed as lines and then are combined into pairs. It is only sophisticated persons whose minds have been debauched by too much psychological learning of a particular type, to paraphrase a Miltonian expression, who will be inclined to put forth such a statement......If some one suddenly asks you on which side of the head your friend parts his hair you will perhaps find it difficult to anwer immediately and the reason according to these psychologists is obvious. You have all along been guided, as all men are, by the whole impression and this impression of the whole you have not formed in your mind by adding together impressions of the parts. It is only when necessity arises that we proceed to divide the whole into parts and then it is the necessity that dictates the principle according to which the division is to be carried out. Parts therefore have no meaning by themselves but derive their significance entirely from other considerations.

Sculpture in the Far East

There is a close affinity and spiritual kinship between the arts of India and Japan of the early centuries. Writes G. Venkatachalam in the *Triveni*:

Nature is alive and continually moving, controlled and governed by an unerring law of rhythm, and when man's creative genius gives form, shape and material expression to it, it becomes sculptural art.

The material may be stone, wax, metal or wood—and it is generally of minor importance—but what is of vital value is this rhythmic significance of form which a sensitive artist is able to reveal in his great works.

China, India, Korea and Japan have produced in the past striking masterpieces of sculptural art which are still

the admiration of the world. Indian sculptors have worked wonders on stone; Chinese bronzes are marvels of perfect craftsmanship and artistic skill; and Japanese artists are such supreme masters in wood-work that they carved a giant Buddha with as much ease and delicate finish as they did the petal of a flower or the wings of a bird.

Japan is a vast store-house of sculptural masterpieces. Its museums and temples present a rich and varied collection: works of masters of the Suilo Period (A.D. 552-645); the Nara Period (A.D. 646-793); the Heian Period (A.D. 794-893); the Kamakura Period (A.D. 1186-1333); and the Muromachi Period (A.D. 1334-1573).

The Suiko Period represented the classical age of Japanese art, and was distinctly Indian in inspiration but with characteristic Chinese and Korean influences.

The Kamakura Period, like the Gupta age in Indian history, marked the higest development of Japanese sculptural art. The art of the Suiko Period was spiritual and symbolic while that of the Kamakura age was more realistic and representational.

One of the finest examples of the Suiko Period sculpture is the statue of Maitreya (formerly known as Nyoirin-Kwannon) in the nunnery of Chugu-ji in Horyuji near Nara. This image is carved in wood and is attributed to Prince Shotaku, the Asoka of Japan. It is still in a well-preserved condition and is undoubtedly one of the greatest works of art of any age or people.

The figure is seated on a lotus-pedestal, with the right foot over the left knee, in meditative posture, the right elbow gently resting on the left knee, and the middle finger touching the chin, to suggest deep contemplation. The knotted hair on the top of the head and the lock of hair drooping over the shoulder are stylistically treated. The expression of the face is gentle, calm and compassionate, with a smile around the eyes and mouth.

In the Kamakura Period, Japanese sculpture began to break away from both Indian and Chinese influences and take a definite national character, and a beautiful example of the art of this period is 'Jizo,' the Bodhisattva of Mercy, to be seen in the Joshinji temple at Omi. He is sculptured in both sitting and standing postures, with a clean shaven head, a *tilak* on his forehead, a radiant face, loose flowing robes, a pilgrim's staff in his right hand and a round jewel on the palm of his left hand, suggesting the riches of bliss, mercy and wisdom.

The most famous and conspicuous work of art of this period is the well-known bronze image of Amida Buddha (Dai Butsu), at Kamakura, measuring 50 feet in height and seated on a lotus-pedestal, with perfect repose and a calm and serene expression, as beautiful as any in India or Ceylon.

Prison Reform

Through a Criminal's Eyes

H. E. Degras in his illuminating article on prison reform throws a flood of light on criminal psychology. He writes of himself in *The Aryan Path*: "Born in 1910, criminal environment. Both parents served sentences of imprisonment for theft. My first appearance in Police Court, 1919. Subsequent convictions 1920, '21, '24, '27, '30, '31, '33. Educated, Industrial School, Borstal, Chelmsford Convict Prison. First book, an analysis of my criminal career, to be published by Peter Davies, under the title of 'Low Company' and the pseudonym 'Mark Benny'."

With the authority of an intimate knowledge of thieves and the effects of imprisonment upon thieves and other criminals he is convinced that there can be no efficient reform system in this country until the classification of criminals is made upon a psychological basis:

Quite early in my criminal career—which began officially at the age of six and ended unofficially with my release from penal servitude six months ago—I noticed a strange discrepancy between the actual consequences of my felonies and the consequences I had hoped for. Crime has always been for me a means of resolving the difficulties I found in adjusting myself to people. As a child, seizing upon the most obvious aspect of social relationships in a slum community, I was impressed by the cash-nexus and stole to acquire money. In adolescence, when sex became important, I stole to facilitate passion. Later still, when I perceived the social advantages of culture, I stole to obtain leisure for educational development. Always, behind the crude fact of the theft, was a warm, vague impulsion to get on more mutually satisfying terms with my fellows. Now that seemed to me a perfectly good motive. And when I found that my felonies only served to estrange me further from society, I was hurt and deeply perplexed. The central fact of my life was a sense of loneliness, of alienation. There were barriers between me and the rest of men, not of my making. I had committed crimes in order to break down these barriers, and the laws of my being could not allow me to comprehend how an effort to achieve closer relationships with men may be wrong. But that lack of comprehension itself constituted a further barrier, and by rendering fellowship less realiasble made it all the more precious. So I was driven to the underworld to find intimacies, where the barriers are not so strong. That again alienated me further from general society.

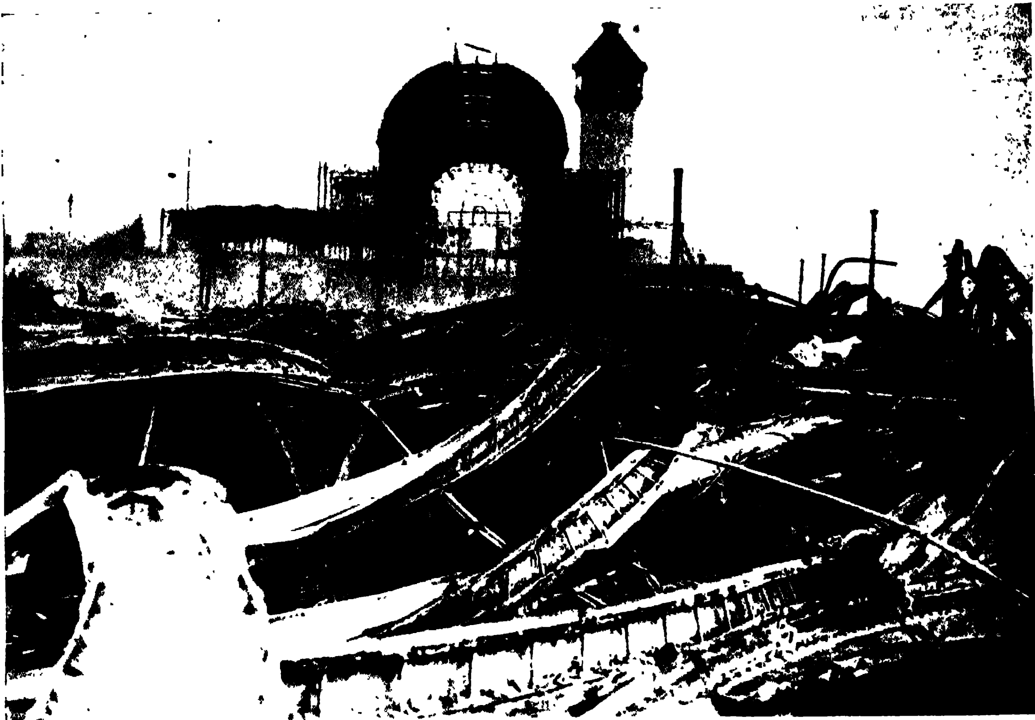
In my periodical appearances before the courts, I came into contact with several very sincere social workers. But from the first I found that, sincere as they were and I was, such contacts were almost wholly useless. I felt fundamentally that, whatever excuses there were for society, I was right in my crimes; they felt fundamentally that, whatever excuses there were for me, I was wrong. Their judgment was based, articulately, on my crime. My judgment was based, inarticulately, on my motives. It was a deadlock; and I passed through an Industrial School, a Borstal Institution and three prisons without the deadlock being resolved. It is only by the most fortuitous of accidents that I am not a burglar still.

I preface my article with autobiography in order to emphasise what I consider to be the central verity concerning criminals. *Subjectively crime is essentially a straining towards social communion.* The criminal is, while he remains a criminal, never conscious of this; but for all that it is his root-motive. Once this is realised, it becomes clear that the task of reform lies not in changing the criminal's motives, but making him conscious of his motives, and helping him to find a more satisfying mode of expressing them.

My experiences in penal institutions, and my readings in criminology, have shewn me that the failure to realise this fundamental axiom is at the root of the failure to deal successfully with criminals. Officials approach the prisoner with legal preconceptions; reformers approach him with socio-ethical preconceptions. Both attitudes prevent an understanding of the prisoner, whose modes of thought and feeling are quite foreign to these. Before an effective reform system can be established, there must be readiness to see the prisoner, not as an *object* of reform, but as a *subject*.



Ireland falls in line
DeValera keeps his vow. First flight with Col. Lindbergh in Irish Free State



Ruins of Crystal Palace, London
There is a press report that this famous land-mark was 'removed' because of its being a guide for enemy aircraft



New premises of Mysore Emporium opened by H. H. The Yuvaraja of Mysore

From Left to Right : Marshal Chang Hsueh-liang, Mrs. Chang, Mrs. Chiang and Generalissimo Chiang Kai-Shek
(Photo taken before the Generallisimo was imprisoned)

Notes

Calcutta Convocation Address in Bengali

At the next Convocation of the Calcutta University Rabindranath Tagore will deliver his address in Bengali. Our greatest litterateur could not have fittingly chosen any other vehicle. It was not expected, therefore, that he would not write his address in Bengali. There may, of course, be an English translation.

Neswpapers in India

The *Daily Gazette,* an Anglo-Indian (old style) newspaper of Karachi, writes :

> Mr. Matters, who claims to have had 40 years of experience of journalism, drew certain comparisons between the British press and the Indian press, much to the advantage of the latter. Whilst we accept the compliment, and, as regards the 'popular' press of Great Britain, feel that it is in no way misplaced, in justice we must conclude that Mr. Leonard Matters' experience has not lain with provincial journalism in Britain, for the provincial press of Britain maintains standards at least as high as any in India. But the responsible newspapers of India have gained their standard without the background of literacy of the British newspaper press, and it must stand to the credit of newspapers in India that having the opportunity to degenerate —with probable financial advantage—into a yellow press pandering to the ignorance and emotions of the uneducated, it has staunchly resisted that temptation. When we who are in the newspaper business pause to reflect on the astounding drawbacks to the profitable production of newspapers we have to encounter in the circumstances of India, and of the difficulties which have to be overcome in the mechanical and editorial spheres before a daily newspaper can be put in the hands of its readers, we are astounded not only that newspapers in India should maintain such a high standard of journalistic conduct, but that they should continue to exist at all. In no other country in the world does the newspaper reader obtain such comparative value for his money as does the newspaper reader in India—and this goes for all of the daily newspapers printed in English, whether they are pro-Government, anti-Government, or, like ourselves, independent, and so relying on no financial assistance but what we earn as a business concern. Only the metropolitan newspapers, and the large-circulation newspapers of State capitals in the United States can compare with Indian-English language newspapers. Newspapers in other countries of the standing of the two leading newspapers of Karachi, for example, would not dream of carrying the amount of expensive cabled and telegraphed news that we carry. Their news would be entirely localised. And in respect of editorial comment the Indian press is outstandingly superior; the problems and matters it deals with and the knowledge and cleverness with which it deals with them are far and away above anything which a newspaper press of similar standing elsewhere can show.

Not only the larger dailies in India conducted in English but those conducted in the vernaculars also, like the Bengali *Ananda Bazar Patrika,* deserve the compliments paid by Mr. Matters and the *Daily Gazette.*

Monthly Reviews in India

What the Karachi daily says of the newspapers of India reminds us of the difficulties of illustrated monthly reviews of our country. We can speak only from our experience in relation to the three Bengali, English and Hindi monthlies we conduct. They have been pronounced by competent critics as the best or, at any rate, among the best of their kind in India. The standard of articles and illustrations published in them and the amount of good reading, from the pens of Rabindranath Tagore and others, provided by them, do not bear unfavourable comparison with similar publications in Europe and America. Yet they circulate only in thousands whilst similar publications in the West have hundreds of thousands of purchasers. Nevertheless, very many among our English-educated countrymen prefer the class of British magazines containing trash to the best Indian monthlies !

The Communal Decision : Suggested Compromise

Some newspapers outside Bengal appear to have taken it for granted that the settlement of the communal problem created by the Communal Decision, so far as it affects Bengal, suggested in the correspondence between Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi and the Maharajadhiraj

of Burdwan, has been approved by all or most Bengalis, or, at any rate, by all or most Bengali leaders who count. That, however, is not a fact. The consensus of opinion is against the suggested settlement.

Rabindranath Tagore has simply welcomed the desire and move for a settlement, but has pronounced no opinion on its terms. He has left it to the 'leaders'—whoever they may be, to accept or reject them. Acharya Praphulla Chandra Ray, who took the leading part in the inauguration of the Congress Nationalist party in Bengal—a party which came into existence because of the original invertebrate attitude of the Congress in relation to the Communal Decision, has roundly condemned the terms of the settlement. Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose and Dr. B. C. Roy of the Congress party have made statements which cannot by any means be construed into even partial acceptance or approval of the terms. Those who can speak officially for the Bengal Provincial Hindu Sabha, the provincial body affiliated to the Hindu Mahasabha, have publicly written against the settlement. And that Sabha itself has subsequently condemned the terms officially. But it is not necessary to lengthen the list of those who have not approved of the terms.

As regards the press, we are not aware of any important and influential daily or weekly owned and conducted by Bengalis which has supported the proposals.

The editor of this journal edits a Bengali monthly called *Prabasi*. In it some two weeks ago he adversely criticised the terms of the settlement.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru has been unjust to the Hindu Mahasabha in criticising it in this connection. For neither the Mahasabha nor any provincial Hindu Sabha affiliated to it has approved of the terms or even considered them. With perhaps one exception, namely, Professor Dr. Radha Kumud Mookerji, all those connected with the Hindu Mahasabha who have pronounced any opinion on the suggested settlement—Raja Narendranath, Bhai Parmanand, Dr. B. S. Moonje, etc., have condemned it. It is true, no doubt, that the Pandit has spoken in the midst of his whirlwind election campaign. But a leader in his responsible position ought to speak only after careful ascertainment of facts—particularly when he feels called upon to condemn any person or organization.

The whirligig of time has brought about a strangely ironical situation. The Congress at first took up a very unsatisfactory attitude with respect to the Communal Decision, neither accepting nor rejecting it, and even now its attitude is not completely satisfactory. The Hindu Mahasabha on the other hand and all those connected with it directly or indirectly, had from the first condemned it. And now the Congress President condemns the Hindu Mahasabha, on a wrong assumption of course, for approving of the proposed unacceptable settlement of the communal problem!

The So-called Communal Settlement in Bengal

The terms of the suggested communal settlement in Bengal are:

1. "The Communal Award to remain, subject to revision at the end of 10 years or unless and until the Communal Award is modified by the mutual agreement of the communities affected by it.

2. "The Cabinet to contain an equal number of Hindu and Muslim Ministers.

3. "All the services under the Provincial Government to be recruited from now in equal numbers in the proportion of 50—50 from the Hindu and Muslim communities in Bengal subject to the reservation of an agreed percentage thereof for members of the European, Anglo-Indian and Christian communities of Provinces and subject to the candidates of all the communities satisfying a test of minimum efficiency to be formulated by a Provincial Commission."

The acceptance of the proposal on the Muslim side must be understood to be subject to the proviso that all agitation against the Communal Award except in the manner agreed upon must cease as soon as this settlement is put through; otherwise it will be inoperative and of no effect.

What is wanted is not any 'revision' of the Communal Decision but its entire annulment. That decision does not recognize the existence of any Indian people or nation but divides the people into various groups according to race, religion, caste, occupation, sex, etc., and tells them to elect their representatives in separate electorates. This goes against national unity and makes for national disruption and disintegration. Such a decision cannot be allowed to stand. Separate electorates must go and joint electorates must take their place.

There is nothing in the proposals which seeks to remedy the grave injustice done by the decision to the Hindus of Bengal. Even if the Bengal Hindus got half the seats in the Cabinet, they would have to be subservient to the unalterable non-Hindu majority in the Bengal Legislature.

The meaning of the first proposal is not clear. Does it mean that the decision is to be positively unalterable during the next ten years and will be certainly revised after ten years? Or, does it mean that it may be changed earlier if the communities concerned agree? Or, again,

does it mean that if the communities do not agree, it will not be revised even after ten years? Nothing, again, has been said as to the lines along which the decision is to be revised. As we have already said, it is not any revision of the decision but its annulment that is wanted.

Assuming that mere revision will do, who is to do it? Supposing some agreement is arrived at by some prominent men of Bengal, how is one to ascertain that they represent all or most of the people of Bengal ? There are no accredited representatives of the people of Bengal. But supposing that there are, what guarantee is there that the Government of Bengal, the Government of India, the Secretary of State for India, the British Cabinet and the British Parliament will accept the agreement and give effect to it? There are two main parties in Indian politics—Indians and Britishers. The Britishers are the dominant party. If they want—and there is no reason why they should not want—that the communal decision should remain, it will always be possible for them to set up some Mussalman or other and his followers or so-called followers as representatives of the Mussalmans of Bengal and make them say that they represent all or most of the Muhammadans of Bengal and do not accept the agreement. That will be sufficient argument for the Britishers to reject the agreement.

Therefore, in order to make any agreement on the Indian side prevail, the indispensable condition is to so strengthen the people as to make it certain that the voice of the people will be respected. In other words, British predominance must go. Otherwise there will never be a satisfactory solution of the communal problem.

As regards recruitment of men for the services, no mechanical fixation of the percentage of posts to be given to different communities can be satisfactory. Appointment of candidates who have satisfied a test of minimum efficiency can never be just to those who possess the highest or higher efficiency, even if, not the whole people, but the different communities were considered separately. For example, if some Muhammadan candidates who have satisfied a test of minimum efficiency were appointed, would that not be unjust to those Muhammadans who had higher efficiency ?

The appointment of candidates, belonging to any community, on their satisfying a test of minimum efficiency, takes away the incentive to acquire higher efficiency, and thus goes against the progress of that community and of the people as a whole. It also cannot but lead to the deterioration of the entire administration of the country.

The last paragraph in Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi's letter contains the proviso "that all agitation against the Communal Award except in the manner agreed upon must cease as soon as this settlement is put through: otherwise it will be inoperative and of no effect". "Except in the manner agreed upon"—What is or would be the manner agreed upon? And agreed upon between which parties?

There is no chance of "this settlement" being put through, and so agitation against the communal decision will continue, as it should. But supposing it were put through, who has or have the power to stop all agitation against it? There are no leaders, Hindu or non-Hindu, Muhammadan or non-Muhammadan, who can by their fiat stop all agitation against the communal decision. It can and will end only when that decision itself ceases to exist and operate. No doubt, if agitation against it were made a penal offence by legislation, it *might* diminish to some extent—though one cannot be sure. But even legislation of that description will not bring about the entire discontinuance of all agitation against it. There are penal laws against so-called "sedition" and other "offences"—many of them merely of a technical character. But people continue to commit such "offences" and get punished.

The communal decision affects communities other than Hindus and Muhammadans also. Hence, in order to arrive at a satisfactory settlement, these other communities also ought to be consulted. The decision is for the whole of British India, though, no doubt, Bengal has been hit hardest by it. Therefore, leading men of all provinces ought to be consulted when any formula for a settlement is suggested. Some Muhammadan leaders—not all, outside Bengal appear to have been consulted by Sir Halim Ghuznavi, but the Maharajadhiraj of Burdwan does not appear to have consulted any non-Bengali Hindu leading man outside Bengal.

The negotiators have been blamed for devoting attention mostly to the division of the "loaves and fishes." We have no proof that they did it with any selfish object. Nor do we blame them for what they have done. It is with the bait of a "lion's share" of the loaves and fishes that the British imperialists have tried to tempt sections of the people and wean them from the national cause. Perhaps for that reason the negotiators had to try to lessen the seductive charms of that bait. And perhaps, too, they expected that, a beginning

having been made, they would succeed in extending their formula in other directions also. But though we do not impugn their motives, we do not find any of their proposals acceptable. Nor is the formula as a whole such as would automatically end in the complete disappearance of the communal decision.

Rural Housing and Health

Fortnightly News, published by the Information Section of the League of Nations, Geneva, states that for some time past the League's Health Organization, assisted by various schools and institutes of hygiene, has been making an enquiry into the living and housing conditions of rural populations.

We are not aware that any such enquiry into the living and housing conditions of the rural population of India has been made. No enquiry is needed to inform *us* that these conditions are a disgrace to those who have the final power of administration of the country in their hands, as well as to its educated and propertied classes.

Fortnightly News says further :

It has now been decided that the first results of this enquiry shall form part of the 1937 Paris International Exhibition of Arts and Technique in Modern Life. This Exhibition will consist of a series of national exhibits, each country being left free to plan its contribution as it sees fit, subject, however, to conformity with a general scheme. It is expected that this Exhibition will consist of three main sections : (1) the dwelling-house; (2) its dependencies; (3) its surroundings—that is, the rural community of which each farm and dwelling forms a component part, or in which it participates in general activities for the promotion of public health and welfare.

The section on dwelling-houses will lay emphasis upon the following points : model plans for houses according to country, region, climate, local customs and agricultural activities; *building materials*—foundation, walls, roofs, floors, partitions, surfacing, etc.; *internal layout*—kitchen, larder, cellar, living-rooms, bedrooms, hall, stair-case, attics, etc., size of rooms, windows, lighting arrangements; *equipment and fittings*—furniture, heating, lighting, washing facilities, water supply, various systems of sanitation and garbage disposal. All these details require consideration for the housing both of the farmer's family and of the agricultural labourer.

The Exhibition will not, however, be confined to consideration of farmhouses. It will be designed to show the rural dwelling in its setting as one unit in a community. Thus there will be models of the whole community and the services and facilities provided to improve well-being and to contribute to higher social and health standards. These will show, for example, the general water-supply service, sanitation, health centres, preventive medicines, dispensaries, rural hospital services and maternity homes, churches and schools, playing-fields, social centres and hostels, libraries, cinemas, wireless and other amenities for the employment of leisure.

The whole display will be designed to show the efforts required to combat the isolation of the village and its inhabitants, as well as to provide against the attraction of the town and the consequent depopulation of the countryside. In this way, it will seek to demonstrate and promote the improvement of rural life in both its technical and its social aspects.

The Secretary-General has recently (November 10th) forwarded a preliminary scheme for the International Rural Housing Exhibition to the various Governments inviting them to consider how they may take part in this demonstration of rural living.

We can neither hope nor not hope that the Secretary-General of the League of Nations has invited the Government of India to consider how they may take part in the International Rural Housing Exhibition. For, if any *faithful* exhibition of India's rural dwelling-houses and town slums and their dependencies and surroundings were made, that should surely make its rulers and its Haves and Intelligentsia ashamed to the extent of their surviving capacity for being ashamed.

It should be borne in mind that in India there are millions who are literally homeless, not having even hovels to lay their heads in.

Communication from H. M. Haile Selassie

Fortnightly News writes :

In a communication addressed to the Secretary-General of the League of Nations, H. M. Haile Selassie recalls that, in October 1935, after the Italian Government had invaded Ethiopian territory, the Council of the League had announced that an aggression had been committed upon a State Member of the League. He further points out that, in July 1936, the Assembly proclaimed its resolve not to recognize any territorial acquisition brought about by force.

H. M. Haile Selassie then referred to the recent action of the Governments of Austria and Hungary in announcing the recognition of the occupation of Ethiopian territory by Italy as lawful and permanent and protested against this "new violation of the Covenant and international conventions of which the Austrian and Hungarian Governments have been guilty."

The communication asks that Members of the League be reminded of the solemn undertaking given to every other Member by Article 10 of the Covenant.

Poor Haile Selassie, and poorer League !

Haile Selassie's Response to Christmas Greeting

The following message was sent by the Emperor of Abyssinia in response to the Christmas greeting presented by 'The Friends of Abyssinia (Ethiopia) League' with over 1,000 signatures from 27 different countries :

"We are deeply touched with the kind Christmas message signed by the Members of the Friends of Abyssinia (Ethiopia) League, and with the beautiful symbolic design accompanying it.

"We send to all the members of your League our greetings and good wishes for a happy Christmas and prosperous New Year, and sincerely hope that a day may dawn in the coming Year which will enable the Friends of Ethiopia and all lovers of Right and Justice to rejoice at the good fruit of their righteous efforts."

The original is in Amharic, the language of Abyssinia, of which the above is an English translation.

Interprovincial Royal Marriage

His Highness the young Maharaja Scindia of Gwalior is to marry Princess Kamala-prabha Devi, sister of His Highness the Maharaja of Independent Tripura in Bengal. This is to be the second marriage between Maharastrian and Bengali royal houses. The first was when the late Maharaja of Cooch Behar married the Princess Indira Raja of Baroda, now the Dowager Maharani of Cooch Behar.

The royal house of Tripura has been noted, for generations, for its patronage of literature and arts. From his speech at the recent educational conference at Gwalior, the young Maharaja may be expected to advance the cause of culture.

Extension of Telegraph & Telephone Services to Villages

The Goverment of India have resolved to spend 80 lakhs of rupees for extending telegraph and telephone services to rural parts. This is perhaps meant primarily for facilitating the work of administration and furthering British commercial and industrial enterprise. But Indian trade and industry also may with profit take advantage of these services. They will also bring about closer contact and quicker communication between rural areas and the wider world outside.

Campaign in Japan against Degrading Films

It has been ordered by the Government in Japan that from the beginning of the current Christian year all scenes depicting kissing and dancing with sexual appeals are to be omitted from films exhibited in Cinema houses there.

Egypt's Eagerness for World Contact

Egypt has become eager for establishing political relations with foreign countries since the signing of the Anglo-Egyptian treaty. The Egyptian parliament has sanctioned the appointment of ambassadors and consuls in oriental countries. An Egyptian embassy will soon be established in Cabul. In India an Egyptian consulate will be opened at an early date.

India, being a subject country, has no embassy or consulate in any foreign country, though it is a large country and though its civilization, culture and commerce can stand favourable comparison with most smaller countries which are free and independent.

Chronology of Nepal

The chronology of Nepal given by Dr. K. P. Jayaswal in his "Imperial History of India" is based on Fleet's chronology. The data of Fleet's chronology have been examined in detail in the last issue of the *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*. Bendall also has accepted Fleet's chronology.

Indians Ignored in Burma Public Service Commission

The Burma Indian Association has sent the following telegram to the Secretary of State for India-in-Council and the Viceroy, and a copy of the same to the Governor of Burma :

"The Burma Indian Association, voicing the Burma Indian opinion, is gravely alarmed at the flagrant discrimination against Indians displayed in the Burma Governor's *communique* published on January 9, announcing the personnel of the Burma Public Service Commission to consist of a European chairman and two Burman members. The proposed personnel is particularly objectionable as amounting to definite discrimination against Indians *vis-a-vis* Europeans, whereas both of them have been placed on an equal footing by the Burma Act and have been promised equal treatment in future. In wholly ignoring the Indians, the *communique* seeks to obliterate the class of public servants who have largely contributed to make the non-imperial Burma services what they are today.

"The Association further stresses the facts that Indians form 10 per cent of Burma's population, that a large number of Indians are employed in Government departments, and a large number of Indians educated, or being educated in Burma, are fit for public services. Entire absence of the Indian element on the Commission, besides being discriminatory against the Indian community, will create a grave sense of insecurity among Indians existing in, or entering, public services regarding their openings and prospects in future.

"The Associaiton earnestly urges His Excellency the Governor of Burma to be authorized to appoint one Indian on the Commission."

Dr. T. C. Khandvala's American Impressions

Dr. T. C. Khandvala writes in the course of one of his articles relating to his American impressions in *The Subodha Patrika* :

In my three years' stay in U. S. A., I did not come in contact with the lower strata of the American Society, but I had contacts with liberal Christians, especially the Unitarians, the Universalists and the Congregationalists, and with the members of the International Houses at New York, Chicago and Berkeley, and with students of both sexes in the Universities of Berkeley and Chicago, and of the Pacific School of Religions, and the Pacific School of Theology for Ministry at Berkeley, and the Theological

Seminary and the Meadville School of Theology at Chicago and with Brent House and its roll of distinguished visitors, both Americans and others, and the Membership of Oriental scholars.

The purity, quietness, serenity, harmony and peace of the home-life of these people, and the freedom, associated with honourable and dignified behaviour of the student world of both sexes during their fellowship in the class rooms, mess-rooms, and in sports, struck me as solid contributions to my disillusionment, and as grounds for my reverence for their good lives.

I do not wonder that their sexual lives are above reproach, for it is a common saying that idle hands find mischief to do, and idle minds, to conceive evil; and this holds good in all societies, wherever located; but American students have always plenty of mental work, assigned to them in the course of the day, and have large scope for physical exercise in Tennis, Base-Ball, Foot-Ball, Swimming, Drills and Gymnastics, and hill-climbing, skating and riding. Their organizations of Boy Scouts and Girl-Guides contribute largely to keep them physically fit, and endow them with a proper sense of discipline, team-work, mutual helpfulness, and self-respect, the *sine qua non* of a healthy moral life.

Record Japanese Budget

The Japan Chronicle, weekly edition, dated December 3, 1936, writes:

Lumped together, the defence estimates make an aggregate of Y.1,400,000,000. If Dr. Baba had not moved to increase taxes, the army and the navy would be taking, between them, 87.5 per cent of the national revenue. As it is, the cost of defence amounts to 46 per cent of the total budgetary expenditure, and the Services claims take 70 per cent of all the new commitments agreed by the Departmental conferences.

Congress Programme & Goal

That India is not free and independent appears to sum up, according to the Indian National Congress, all or most of her woes and the cause of all or most of woes which have a human origin. This conviction and the attitude born of it perhaps account for the fact that Congress concentrates attention on gaining the ultimate object and does not enumerate in detail India's woes, disabilities, grievances and the like. Therefore Congress resolutions deal mostly with ultimate goals, passing over the reforms which require to be immediately achieved. Not that Congress is entirely oblivious of the immediate task. In its opinion that work is how best to fight a foreign government with a view to wrecking the coming constitution or at any rate to the preventing of that government from further entrenching and strengthening its position.

The National Liberal Federation of India

The resolutions passed at the last session of the National Liberal Federation of India, held at Lucknow, reiterates India's principal grievances and urges measures of reform all round.

A Self-contradictory Resolution?

The following resolution on the coming constitution shows that even the Liberal party, popularly known as the Moderate party, strongly condemns this child of British imperialism. The resolution runs:

(1) (*a*) The National Liberal Federation reiterates its considered opinion that the Constitution embodied in the Government of India Act of 1935 is extremely unsatisfactory and altogether unacceptable. It is not merely utterly inadequate but is retrograde in many respects and includes features obnoxious to Indian nationalist opinion.

(*b*) Nonetheless, the Federation repeats that it has to be utilized to the best advantage of the people for the amelioration of their social and economic condition and for accelerating the pace to further constitutional advance towards Dominion Status. Therefore it expresses the earnest hope that in the elections to the new provincial Legislatures the electorate will return nationalist candidates who will neither attempt the impossible nor be subservient to authority nor prefer sectional interests to national, but will do their best for the well-being and advancement of the people as a whole.

(*c*) The Federation is strongly of opinion that, in the constitution of Ministries and in the actual working of Government, the Governors of provinces should not further whittle down such meagre concessions as the Act has made to Indian demands; but if the Governors use their powers so as to impede the political or economic progress of the country the Ministers should resign their offices.

(*d*) The Federation urges that no concession should be made to the Princes in the course of the negotiations now going on between them and the agents of the Viceroy, with regard to the establishment of the Federation, which is calculated to increase still more the powers of the Princes at the expense of the Federal Government.

The Liberals' condemnation of the coming constitution is quite justified. But should a constitution which *can* in their opinion be "utilized to the best advantage of the people for the amelioration of their social and economic condition and for accelerating the pace to further constitutional advance towards Dominion Status," to however small an extent—should such a constitution be characterized as "*altogether* unacceptable" and "*utterly* inadequate"? Can it be correctly so characterized? To put the question in another way: Can a constitution which is "*altogether* unacceptable" and "*utterly* inadequate" be utilized for the purposes mentioned in the resolution?

"Nevertheless," we shall not grieve if the Liberals can successfully "attempt the impossible" and be not "subservient to authority."

We do not find in this resolution any

indication of the means and methods to be adopted by the Liberals for making satisfactory an extremely unsatisfactory constitution, for making acceptable an altogether unacceptable constitution, for making adequate an utterly inadequate constitution and for making progressive a constitution retrograde in many respects. Nor is there anything to show what the Liberals will do if their attempts, if any, in the directions indicated above, fail. In their opinion, to try to wreck the constitution would be to attempt the impossible. Assuming that it cannot be ended and seeing also that it cannot be mended by Indians, what else would remain but to be "subservient to authority?"

Liberals on Reform in Indian States

(*a*) The National Liberal Federation reaffirms its complete sympathy with the natural and perfectly legitimate aspirations of the people of Indian States for civic and political liberties.

(*b*) The Federation deeply regrets that no provision has been made in the new Government of India Act for the election of representatives of the States in the coming Federal Legislature or for the recognition of the people's fundamental rights of citizenship. This Federation, however, hopes that the Rulers of Indian States will allow their representatives in the Federal Legislatures to be returned by election.

(*c*) The Federation strongly urges once again that the Rulers of States should without further delay concede to their subjects the rights of security of person and property, liberty of speech and of the press, freedom of association, and an independent judiciary, as well as representative Government as a prelude to responsible Government.

We hope at least some Rulers of States will do what the Liberals have urged them to do.

Poverty and Unemployment : Suggested Measures of Reform

(*a*) Keenly alive as the National Liberal Federation of India is to the distressing poverty of the mass of people in India and to the acute state of unemployment, specially among the educated middle class, the Federation is convinced of the necessity of bold and far-reaching measures of social and economic amelioration which would recognize the legitimate rights of all classes. Such measures alone can ensure ordered progress and avert anything in the nature of a resolution disastrous to all.

(*b*) The Federation emphasises, as it did at earlier sessions, the imperative need of the widest diffusion of education, agricultural improvement, industrial development, and commercial expansion.

(*c*) In particular the Federation urges—

1. a reform of agrarian laws which will secure the tenantry in their legitimate rights, principally fixity of tenure and fair rents;
2. the embodiment in legislative enactments of the main principles of land revenue assessment in provinces where this has not yet been done;
3. the relief of agricultural indebtedness by means of Debt Conciliation Boards, Land Mortgage Banks and the extension of the co-operative movement;
4. the adoption of measures to check further fragmentations and facilitate the consolidation of agricultural holdings;
5. substantial State aid in the development of industries, big and small alike;
6. a fiscal and a monetary policy wholly in the interests of this country;
7. legislation for the more adequate protection of the labouring classes both in urban and rural areas;
8. the early introduction of free and compulsory elementary education for both boys and girls;
9. such reform of the system of education as is indicated by the great and increasing difficulty experienced by educated young men in getting employment, without prejudice to the wider diffusion of liberal education but with special regard to the training of larger numbers for wealth-producing occupations by increase of facilities for technical education;
10. adequate provision for medical relief and the promotion of public health, particularly in rural areas;
11. an active policy of Temperance reform which will subordinate considerations of revenue to the welfare of the people.

Unemployment among all classes and poverty cannot be ended unless fresh avenues of employment are opened. That cannot be done if India has to feed both Britishers and Indians. As, unless self-rule is attained, India must feed Britishers, unemployment and poverty must remain so long as self-rule is absent.

Curtailing Opportunities for Higher Education

While welcoming a reorganization of the educational system so as to take account of different aptitudes and provide vocational courses at each stage of education, the National Liberal Federation views with concern the tendency manifested in certain quarters to curtail the opportunities now available to Indian youths for receiving higher education. It is strongly of opinion that nothing should be done to restrict arbitrarily admission to the Universities or check the growth of higher education which has played a large part in the awakening of India.

Military Policy and Expenditure

(*a*) The National Liberal Federation of India again condemns the continued unresponsiveness of Government to the repeated demand for the nationalization of the army in India by a rapid increase of facilities for the training of Indians as officers and a gradual but steady reduction of the British garrison. The Government's unfavourable attitude is the more objectionable as the advance of India to self-government is held up on the plea of the unreadiness of Indians to assume responsibility for the defence of the country—unreadiness for which the whole of the responsibility lies on the British Government.

(*b*) The Federation urges that recruitment to the army be thrown open to all provinces and all communities.

(*c*) The Federation urges a wider expansion of University Training Corps wherever there is a demand therefor.

(*d*) The Federation strongly objects to the exclusion of Indians from the Auxiliary Force and urges the amendment of the Auxiliary Force Act to remove this disability.

(*e*) The Federation reaffirms its grave concern at the continued maintenance of military expenditure at a level

which is neither just to the Indian tax-payer, nor within his capacity to bear, and which further accounts for the present very high level of taxation and the lack of funds for financing schemes of social reform and economic development.

Deprivation of Civil Liberties: Arbitrary Proscription of Books: Sending Political Offenders to the Andamans

6. (*a*) The National Liberal Federation records its strong protest against the Criminal Law Amendment Act and the several provincial Special Powers Acts, which continue on the Statute Book and perpetuate or prolong the extraordinary powers taken by the Executive, virtually free of judicial control, first in the form of Ordinances and next in the form of Legislation. The legitimate liberty of the Press and the public is seriously menaced by these Acts, and the Federation, therefore, urges their immediate repeal.

(*b*) The Federation also protests against the arbitrary use of the Sea Customs Act for the proscription of books.

(*c*) The Federation also protests against the continued detention of suspected persons without trial, leading to widespread dissatisfaction and urges the release or judicial trial of the persons so detained.

(*d*) The National Liberal Federation of India records its emphatic protest against the Government's policy in reviving the Andamans as a penal settlement for political offenders despite the assurances given by the Government of India in this regard. The conditions prevailing in that penal settlement have caused great hardship and u necessary suffering to the political prisoners who have been transported there, and the Federation, therefore, urges upon the Government the necessity of an immediate reversal of its present policy in this matter.

Prevention of Abortive or of Successful Attempts at Revolution

Abortive attempts at revolution would bring misery on the people of India—at least for some time. A successful attempt at revolution would cause suffering to Britishers—at least for some time. Neither can be prevented without thoroughgoing reforms somewhat on the lines suggested in the Liberal Federation's resolutions printed above.

In any case, it would be the part of wisdom for Britain to be prepared betimes to do without proprietary right over India. India cannot for ever or even for long remain a British possession.

Mr. Baldwin on Political Freedom

Some three years ago Mr. Baldwin said in the course of a broadcast address to the schools of England on the subject of "Political Freedom":

"That freedom did not drop down on us like manna from Heaven; it had been fought for from the beginning of our history, and the blood of men had been shed to obtain it. It was the result of centuries of resistance to the power of the Executive, and it had brought us equal justice, trial by jury, and freedom of worship and freedom of opinion, religious and political. That freedom was mirrored for us and crystallized in the House of Commons itself."

The foremost leaders of political thought and action in India have repeatedly declared that they are for a non-violent, bloodless struggle for freedom. They have set their face against the shedding of blood. Yet the reading and publication of the Independence Declaration or Pledge has been banned. Literate men and women in India know what the Independence Day and the Independence Pledge are. But it may be necessary to inform foreigners that the Independence Day is only the anniversary of the day on which in 1930 Independence was declared to be the goal of India's struggle for freedom. And since that day every year on the 26th of January that declaration has been repeated all over India in the midst of peaceful gatherings, the national flag has been hoisted and processions taken out. That is India's Independence Day. Nobody knows when India will win independence and when her children will celebrate the first actual Day of Independence.

Independence Day in India

On account of the Independence Declaration or Pledge prescribed by the Congress having been banned by Government, it was not read in public gatherings but a simple vow was taken that people would continue their efforts to win independence so long as it remained unattained. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru had advised that this should be done.

CAWNPORE, JAN. 24.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Congress President, has issued the following statement through "United Press":

"I find that some Provincial Governments have banned the publication of the Independence Pledge. So far as I know, this is the first time that this pledge has been banned, although it has been used and repeated often during the past seven years. It is evident that the tremendous mass enthusiasm for the Congress which is evident everywhere has upset the nerves of these Governments.

"For the present it is not our policy or desire to commit breaches of such orders and so where there is a ban it is desirable not to use this particular pledge or form of words but Independence Day meetings must be held widely and a brief pledge reiterating the old pledge should be taken."

Since the Congress President wrote the above, other provincial governments have banned the publication and reading of the Independence pledge.

Wherever Independence Day was celebrated, there was great enthusiasm.

Indian Independence Day in London

The special correspondent of the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* in London has sent the following exclusive cable to that paper:

LONDON, JAN. 25.

A well-attended luncheon of Indians and Britishers was held this afternoon under the Chairmanship of Mr. Ben Tillett, the Veteran Trade Union leader, at the Trade Union Club to observe the Indian "Independence Day."

Speeches supporting the Indian National Congress to fight for complete independence and establishing an independent democracy in India was made by Viscount Churchill, the Earl of Kinnoull, Mr. Reginald Bridgeman, Mr. P. B. Seal and Dr. C. B. Vakil.

Mr. Ernest Thurtle sent a message conveying his good wishes to the Indian people in their struggle against British Imperialism.

Mr. Tillett suggested that the following resolution be sent to Pandit Jawaharlal which was passed unanimously.

"We Indians and British comrades in London, assembled to observe the Indian National Independence Day, identify ourselves with the Congress programme and assure you of our whole-hearted sympathy and solid support in the struggle for an Indian independent democracy."—(Copyright).

Reuter's telegram runs as follows:

LONDON, JAN. 26.

Half a dozen British Trade Union labour leaders attended the luncheon of the Indian Political Group to celebrate the Indian "Independence Day" at the National Trade Union Club, London.

Mr. Ben Tillett presiding said that they wanted to see in India one democracy.

Mr. M. Sen said "we are determined to throw off the chains binding us. We refuse to live as slaves in our own country."

Viscount Churchill declared that they wanted to see a free and happy India.

The Earl of Kinnoull also spoke.—*Reuter.*

The Banning of the Independence Pledge

The original independence pledge had been allowed to be published and read all these years—and even when civil disobedience had not been revoked by Congress. That shows that in the opinion of the Government there was nothing unlawful or objectionable in it. This year the Congress secretariat issued it in a revised form. We read it when it was published. We found it to be argumentative. It criticized British rule. The criticism to be found there was a thousand times told tale, told by various persons and parties in somewhat different language, but the substance was the same. The wisdom of Government in banning such a document at a time when there is no civil disobedience and when Congressmen are contesting elections in a parliamentary mood, cannot be appreciated. Every politically-minded man, woman and child in India knows why independence is desired. The mere banning of a declaration or a pledge cannot extinguish the desire for freedom. On the contrary the ban may fan the flame.

What Civil Liberties Indians Enjoy

The Servant of India is the organ of the Servant of India Society, founded by Gopal Krishna Gokhale. It is the leading Liberal weekly of India and gives expression to well-considered views in a sober manner. It writes with respect to the confiscation of Mr. Masani's passport:—

The confiscation of Mr. M. R. Masani's passport by the Government is a typical instance of their suspicious attitude towards political workers in general. In every act of a political worker they apparently scent danger....

We do not enjoy Mr. Masani's confidence and have not the least idea as to his movements in the near future. But if he wants to leave India, we fail to see why the Government should at all stand in his way. Should he not be allowed the liberty of deciding for himself where to stay—whether in India or abroad—and how long? Should his intentions not be presumed to be harmless till experience proves them otherwise? To restrict his liberty of movement by an arbitrary deprivation of his passport is to reduce even such small modicum of civil liberty as is still left to the King's Indian subjects to a nullity. We hope the Government will know better than to withhold the passport from Mr. Masani.

Another instance of the deprivation of civil liberties is the Bangalore district magistrate's order forbidding Mrs. Kamaladevi Chattopadhyaya to address any public meeting. The Poona weekly writes:

In the course of an election propaganda tour Mrs. Kamaladevi Chattopadhyaya was due to address a public meeting at Bangalore on Saturday last. But the District Magistrate issued an order forbidding her to address any public meeting not only in Bangalore itself but within a five mile radius thereof for six months . . .

So far as the prohibition goes, it will be universally condemned as being most ill-advised and unjustifiable. Mrs. Chattopadhyaya's mission to Mysore was perfectly constitutional and peaceful and there was no reason to fear that her speeches in the State would have resulted in any disaster to it. Nothing untoward is known to have happened in any of the places visited by her before reaching Bangalore and need have been anticipated by the authorities of the State. The District Magistrate was, however, apprehensive that her speeches might bring about hostility between different classes of people in the State. This opinion must obviously have had for its basis ill-informed, prejudiced and one-sided police reports. It is greatly to be regretted that arbitrary official action based on such unreliable evidence should have been taken in a progressive State like Mysore.

The Servant of India next writes a note on the work of the Civil Liberties Union. It observes:

We are glad to find that the Civil Liberties Union of Bombay has started its work in right earnest. It has just brought out a small pamphlet in which is given a collection of concrete instances of ill-treatment of political prisoners as distinguished from detenus in some jails

in Bengal. The information contained in the pamphlet is either first hand or supplied to Mr. S. N. Tagore, who was responsible for its collection, by political prisoners who had personal experience of jail life in Bengal. It covers five important jails and its compilation must have caused the compiler no end of trouble and inconvenience. He has doubtless rendered a distinct service to the cause of civil liberty by the publication of the pamphlet.

Again:

The publication is to be welcomed for the reason that it places before the public certain facts which its author knows to be true. These facts, even if a fraction of them were true, are doubtless very damaging to the reputation of the Bengal Government as a civilized and justice-loving Government. There are no vague allegations in the pamphlet, but it brings to light some instances of maltreatment by prison officials in sufficient detail to render an inquiry possible, and even to facilitate it, if the Government are so minded. In face of such damaging and pointed disclosures the Bengal Government simply cannot afford to sit quiet. They must institute independent inquiries into all the incidents referred to in the pamphlet and make the results public. If they choose to turn a blind eye to these revelations, they can do so only at their own risk, leaving the public to draw unfavourable inferences from their silence.

It is to be noted that Mr. Masani, Mrs. Chattopadhyaya and Mr. S. N. Tagore are all socialists. Therefore, even the enemies of *The Servants of India*, if any, cannot suspect it to have written these notes in a partisan spirit; for it is not a socialist organ.

"Women in Legislatures and National Politics"

The *Bulletin* of the National Council of Women in India writes:

It has been emphasized during decades of political agitation in India that the national political organizations of this country are out and out champions of fair play and progressive politics of the most democratic variety. It has also been stressed that the rise of the political movement in India has been caused by the urgency of putting every man in his rightful place in the political life of the nation. On the eve of the coming elections we find, and we notice it with regret, that our national organizations, Hindus as well as Moslems, are treading the path of "policy" rather than that of fair dealing and high democratic principles. Thus among women candidates for the Legislature we find women of outstanding merit and with fine records of political and social service being deprived of the support of these national organizations. Not only that, candidates are being put forward to oppose these prominent workers, who are comparatively unknown in the political and social fields of work. This is a regrettable state of affairs and, perhaps foreshadows a political life for India which will not be entirely free from "policies" of doubtful merit and from intrigues, cliques, power-snatching at any cost and a spirit of undemocratic behaviour with a view to create "leaders" rather than accept those who are natural leaders by virtue of ability and service. We therefore take this opportunity to warn our sisters against these harmful features of "Man's Politics" and we hope that women will not fail to prefer the higher principles of political life to what may be referred to as party politics.

This paragraph reminds us of the utterly unjust treatment of Miss Jyotirmayi Ganguli, M.A., a tried and staunch Congress worker, by Congress.

Women Workers and Poidih Colliery Disaster

The same organ of the National Council of Women in India writes with reference to the Poidih Colliery disaster:

Sixty-eight women died with their men co-workers and this has increased the horror of the incident. It is sad enough that men have to meet with sudden death in the course of work which brings to them only a few annas a day. But men are by nature inured to struggle and strife and are traditionally and, perhaps, temparamentally prepared to risk suffering, pain and even death. Women, on the other hand, have their own peculiar sorrows and painful duties which they can face and perform in endless progression without flinching. But the thought of women being suddenly blown to bits or buried alive, somehow unsettles the strongest of stoics. That in our country women have to risk their lives to earn some ridiculous wage, is a shame on our economic life. With millions of unemployed and half employed men living in a state of semi-starvation, we have to send our women out of their homes to work in dangerous occupations! The reason, is that unless they do this, they have nothing else to do. Such a state of affairs only point out a fundamental lack of national economic organization. Surely, women can turn out some other goods, instead of hauling coal, and yet survive as useful members of society. The idea that sending women out of the coal mines is a good solution of the problem is all wrong. Conditions must be created in which it will not be necessary for women to take up underground work. If this cannot be done, the offer of "Safe" starvation as a substitute for a dangerous living is an eye-wash and not true economic reform. It is necessary that mining should be made safer for all and unnecessary for women. May we expect a move in this direction?

Congress, and Working the "Reforms"

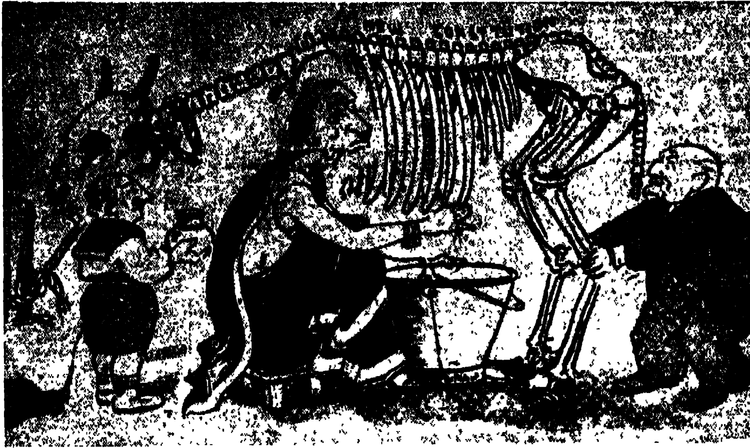
Whilst the Liberal Federation is for working the "reforms" for whatever advantage they can extract from it, the Congress is all for a policy of wrecking the constitution. President Jawaharlal Nehru knows, however, as he has said in his Faizpur presidential address, that

"The constitution cannot be wrecked by action inside the legislatures only. For that, mass action outside is necessary, and that is why we must always remember that the essence of our freedom struggle lies in mass organization and mass action.

"Whether we are in a majority or in a minority [in the legislatures], the real thing will always be the organized mass backing behind us. A majority without that backing can do little in the legislatures, even a militant minority with conscious and organized mass support can make the functioning of the Act very difficult."

Not only can the constitution not be wrecked by action inside the legislatures, Congress activities inside the legislatures can-

MILK OF HUMAN BLINDNESS



"We must extract the best out of a bad constitution."
—Sir Chimanlal Setalvad, President of the Western India Liberal Federation.

—From Hindustan Times.

not be entirely mere attempts to wreck it if Congress members are to try to redeem the pledges given in the Congress election manifesto. Hence both Congressmen and Liberals may have to act in the same way. This has been pointed out in our Note on the Congress Election Manifesto in our last September number, page 353, where we said :

Congress activity in the Legislatures will not, as it cannot, be confined to mere opposition and resistance and prevention of the further curtailment of the civic and other rights of the people. As Congress wants to tackle the problems of poverty, unemployment and indebtedness, it will have to go in for constructive work, too, in the Legislatures, so far as may be practicable.

The Congress manifesto holds out some hope to industrial workers. The improvement of their condition would require constructive legislation in many directions. The improvement of the condition of the peasantry also would require legislation relating to land tenure, land revenue and the like. The giving of protection to large industries with due regard for the producers of raw materials would also necessitate some legislation. The removal of sex disabilities cannot be effected, at least in some directions, without legislation.

If members of the legislatures belonging to the Congress party were to bring in Bills for the purposes indicated above, that would be working the Act and a kind of co-operation. When we say this we do not suggest that Congressmen should not work the Act and co-operate in this way. Our object is only to point out that the fulfilment of the promises implied in the manifesto would require some constructive work to be done in the legislatures—mere opposition and a negative sort of work will not do..

Current Politics

There is a lesson in politics in the flight of those immense flocks of birds which traverse the skies with changes of season in different parts of the globe. These are great communities which have their problems of existence and sharply contrasted choice between life and death, peace and strife, danger and security, starvation and plenty, health and disease, from the endless variety that Nature provides in her storehouse of good and evil. The great flocks move along, apparently in an aimless way; but close observation enables one to discover that there is purpose, method and organization in their movement. The birds have their leaders, who by unerring instinct or, perhaps, intelligent planning, take the flocks along paths that are least dangerous, easy to negotiate and abound in suitable halting grounds. Faulty leadership would no doubt land these bird communities in endless trouble and suffering or perhaps exterminate them. But these great pathfinders are leaders by right of wisdom and ability and they seldom fail their followers as guides or in making quick decisions, strategic moves, and foraging for food.

In human communities the duties of leadership, of course, no longer generally include actual pathfinding in unknown territories. But the problems of existence are daily becoming more and more acute. Problems of defence, problems of health, of education, employment, housing, production, transport, conservation and utilization of resources, internal peace and security, justice, rights and obligations, exchange and finance, moral and mental progress; are ever present riddles—only to mention a few of man's everyday problems. The duties of human leaders are, therefore, more onerous than those shouldered by the vanguards of bird society. In the humans, mere natural ability does not usually suffice to make a sound leader. Prolonged training and culture alone would lend that tone to man's natural talents which would serve to guide a human community along the complex paths of modern existence.

But the methods adopted by men to select their leaders are often faulty. In some communities idealistic fads have attained the force of fanaticism and a false sense of human values overrides facts and common sense. In such communities the most prominent exponents of the established fads are being looked upon as

leaders. They are naturally leading these communities deeper into some morbid "ism" or other.

In other communities, a way of thinking somewhat atavistic is glorifying what may be called the strong man cult. Mere strength to do *anything* is hardly to be admired. It is only when strength expresses the ability to do good and assure permanent progress that one may safely applaud it. Strength in a leader must be backed by a great *moral* purpose and the knowledge and ability to achieve it; or it would, sooner or later, drag everybody down into endless misery.

In yet other communities leaders are chosen by the multitude. As in a market the most advertised goods may surpass all others in sales, at least for some time, so in democratic communities the most advertised men come to be recognised as leaders. As in a market the most popular shop can foist on the buyers the worst of commodities, at least for some time, so in a democracy the most popular viewpoint can often enable a worthless pretender to come to the forefront as the false symbol of a truly great ideal.

In the choice of leaders men should first of all decide about their destination. Having done so they should judge each prospective leader in the light of ability and honesty of purpose alone: ability to guide men to that destination. Incapable leaders turn a Cause into a Creed. A Cause suggests an ultimately realisable effect. A Creed only produces immobile devotees who do nothing but chant their catch phrases without any reference to a purpose or any intention to achieve it.

A. C.

Removal of Bengal's Historical Records to Delhi

Sir Jadunath Sarkar, whose right to speak on a subject bearing on historical research need not be dwelt upon, has written the following letter to *The Statesman*, which has published it :

Sir,—May I, as the last remaining foundation member (1919) of the Government of India's Historical Record Commission, crave a little space for explaining the effect of the proposed removal of the East India Company's old historical records from Calcutta to Delhi? The other two original Presidencies, Madras and Bombay, have their Proceeding-books in which have been copied every letter sent out by them to the Government of India (ever since the creation of the post of Governor-General in 1773) and received from the same Central authority, besides many relevant letters from and to the sister Presidencies. All such documents concerning the old Bengal Presidency from its creation down to 1856, when Bengal was removed from the direct rule of the Governor-General and placed under a ruler of its own with his separate Record Office—or, in other words, every record relating to the history of Bengal for its first and most interesting century,—can be found preserved only in the Proceeding-books of the old Council of Fort William and are therefore claimed by the Government of India (now removed to Delhi) as its own property.

If the proposed removal of these old historical papers is effected, then Bengal, the earliest nursery of the British land empire in India and the feeder of the expansion of that empire with men and money, will remain the only Presidency that does not possess any original historical materials about its contribution to that expansion. Have the sons of Bengal shown such incapacity or lethargy in historical studies as to deserve to be thus penalized ?

It is admitted that the old E. I. Co.'s records are no longer "live issues" for the modern British administrator; their interest is purely historical. I suggest that the Political and Secret Proceedings of the Council of Fort William down to 1818 (which include everything concerning Bengal), and also the old Military Department papers for that period, be left in Calcutta. No other province can legitimately object to it, because Bombay and Madras possess their own records in full *ab initio*, and the other Provinces came into being only after the Marquis of Hastings's re-shaping of the map of India, or later. (Even the old N.-W. P. was actually organized long after 1804).

If the Government of India is determined, on grounds of economy, to withdraw every assistant and duftary of its Records Department from Bengal, then the Proceedings volumes down to 1818 may be left at the discarded capital in the charge and care of the Bengal Government, and the Bengal public will see to it that the extension of the Bengal Government Record Office that will follow in consequence is sanctioned by its legislature. In the rare event of the Central Government requiring any of these old volumes for reference, they can be easily borrowed from the Bengal Record Office, and the proposed wrong to Bengal avoided.

Yours, etc.,
JADUNATH SARKAR,
Hony. M. R. A. S. and Corresponding Member, Royal Historical Society.

Calcutta, Jan. 24.

Nothing need be added to Sir Jadunath's letter to show how unjust it would be to remove the East India Company's old historical records from Calcutta to Delhi. Bengal and Calcutta would not complain of this injustice if it could be shown that the records in question would be utilized to a greater extent and to better purpose elsewhere than in Bengal and Calcutta, waiving the right which they have to these valuable historical materials. But it has not been shown that they would be better used elsewhere.

It is the duty of the Government of Bengal to see to it that these records are not removed from Calcutta. The Calcutta University, the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, the Bangiya Sahitya Parishad and other bodies and institutions which have anything to do with historical research, ought to move in the matter. The press of Bengal should also take it up.

British and Russian Treatment of Turbulent Border Tribes

In a letter to the *Manchester Guardian* Professor Gilbert Murray of Oxford University has expressed the opinion that Russia's method of establishing peace, prosperity and mutual amity among previously turbulent tribes on her Caucasus border is superior to the British method of dealing with similar tribes on the North-West Frontier of India by means of "punitive expeditions."

The Soviet method is to wean such folk from their ancestral habits to civilized ways of living by developing the natural resources of their country, building schools and establishing effective health services. The professor writes further that public care for women and children would be more sensible and profitable in the long run and more creditable to the Government that uses it than "the British method of relying upon terrorism." He holds that the Soviet method carries a lesson for the British Government. There is the underlying assumption that the Soviet Government and the British Government have the same object in view. Have they?

Complete List of State Prisoners

Giving reply to a question of Pandit Govindballabh Pant in the Assembly on the 26th January, the Home Member gave a list of persons against whom orders of deportation issued under section 3 of Act III of 1864 were still in force. The list includes :

Messrs. Natvarlal Tapishanker Pandit (Chote Udopur),
Manharlal Rajaram (Wadhwan),
Lavanprasad Fulchand (Nawanagar),
Trikamlal Mansukhlal (Limbdi),
Valjibhai Govindhbai Desai (Jetpur),
Snivnandji Chaturbhuj (Wadhwan),
Mathalal Mansukhlal (Limbdi),
Fulchand Kasturchand (Wadhwan),
Ramashanker Jagannath Pandit (Baroda),
Virchand Bhikhabhai (Vanod),
Chhaganlal Nathabhai Joshi (Baroda),
Gouramma, wife of Venkatamaya (Mysore),
Narayanrao Sanjivarao (Mysore),
S. Venkatapathaiya (Mysore),
Audambar Vishwanath Bhimaji (Aundh),
Waman Vithal Salgaonkar (Savantvadi),
Parbhatsang Gumansang (Rajpipla), and
Dalpatram Dahyabhai Desai (Sachin).

The following is the complete reply to Mr. Amarendra Nath Chattopadhyaya's question dated the 11th February, 1936, regarding the number of State prisoners detained since 1905, province by province together with the period of detention :

The Hon'ble Sir Henry Craik : I lay on the table a statement containing such information as is available on the matter.

Statement showing number of persons dealt with as State prisoners since 1905 and period of detention.

(1) Released.

Year, Province concerned, Number detained, Approximate duration of detention :—

1907 Punjab—2 (6 months).
1908 Madras—1 (3½ years).
Bengal—9 (14 months).
1912 Madras—7 (6 months).
1914 Madras—4 (4 months in 3 cases and 3 years in one case).
Bombay—7 (10 years in two cases and 2½ to 3 years in 5 cases).
1915 Madras—4 (1¾ years to 5 years).
Bengal—10 (6 months to 4½ years).
1916 Bengal—63 (3½ months to 4½ years).
Punjab—3 (6 months to 2 years).
1917 Bengal—47 (6 months to 4 years).
Ajmer-Merwara—2 (2 years and 2¼ years).
1918 Bengal—18 (6½ months to 2¾ years).
1919 Bengal—8 (4½ months to 1 year).
Central Provinces—2 (7 months).
N.-W. F. P.—12 (5 months).
1920 N.-W. F. P.—2 (1 year and 10 months to 2 years).
1923 Bengal—17 (1½ years to 4½ years).
Punjab—1 (10 months).
N.-W. F. P.—1 (9 months).
1924 Bengal—32 (2 months to 4½ years).
N.-W. F. P.—1 (8½ months).
1925 Bengal—1 (1 month).
1927 Punjab—1 (1½ years).
1928 Punjab—2 (1 year and 2½ months).
1930 Punjab—3 (3 years to 3½ years).
1931 Bengal—1 (1 year and 10 months).
Punjab—2 (3½ months and 3 years).
N.-W. F. P.—4 (2½ years).
1932 Bengal—4 (1 year to 4 years).
Bombay—2 (4 months and 2½ years).
Punjab—1 (10 months).
1933 Delhi—2 (1½ and 2½ years).
Punjab—1 (1 year).

In addition, approximately 245 Moplahs were detained as State prisoners between 1922-24 in connection with disturbances in Malabar involving forcible conversions. These persons were all released gradually between 1924-31. They were detained for overt unlawful acts.

(2) Under detention at present :

Year, Province concerned, Number detained, Approximate duration of detention :—

1931 Bengal—11 (23rd to 25th November, 1931).
Punjab—2 (10th February and 21st May, 1931).
1932 Bengal—5 (1st & 2nd January, 1932).
Delhi—1 (26th April, 1932).
1933 Punjab—2 (4th April and 3rd October, 1933).
Burma—1 (30th April, 1933).
Delhi—1 (13th August, 1933).
1934 Madras—1 (10th September, 1934).
Punjab—1 (18th July, 1934).
1935 Punjab—1 (14th December, 1935).
Ajmer-Merwara—1 (23rd September, 1935).
1936 Punjab—1 (17th March, 1936).
Bengal—1 (8th April, 1936).

The above figures exclude political refugees

and ex-Ruling Chiefs detained as State prisoners for reasons other than those connected with the maintenance of law and order in British India.

It is to be noted that all these State prisoners, except perhaps the Moplahs, have never been brought to open trial in connection with their alleged offences.

Bengal has been the heaviest sufferer. Are Bengalis the most turbulent people in India? Or are they the most—? What?

The First Village Congress

The vast majority of the people of India live in villages. We are a preponderantly rural population. It is the villages which produce food and feed the towns. From that point of view the urban areas are so many parasitic growths. Our civilization, too, is more rural than urban. Therefore, if our villages continue to be neglected, as they have been for decades past, that would mean death to the nation.

Our social activities and our politics, too, must take root in our villages as well as in our towns. If villagers are roused from their apathy, if the villages are made centres of living interest, if their inhabitants live to some high purpose, then alone can the nation live and grow from strength to strength.

The idea of holding a Congress session in a village, conceived by Gandhiji, was commendable from all points of view. The power of organization, capacity for tireless work and devotion and sacrifice of Maharashtra combined to make the idea a concrete reality at Faizpur. It was a new experiment, and naturally there were some defects in the arrangements, as there were even when previously Congress sessions had been held in cities and towns. But taking all the circumstances into consideration, including the unprecedentedly large crowds which flocked to the place, the first village session of the Congress was a remarkable success.

The conveyance, a *rath* drawn by oxen, which carried the president Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru from the railway station to Tilaknagar, the improvised Congress town, was wholly in keeping with the idea of a village session.



Jawaharlal Nehru,
President-elect, driving in a cart drawn by six pairs of oxen

Dr. Bipinbihari Sen

The province of Bengal, particularly the district and town of Mymensingh, have

lost a most influential and selfless worker and leader by the death of Dr. Bipinbihari Sen. He was the most prominent leader of all national movements in his district and worked unceasingly for their success with great devotion. He was influential and popular with people of all classes, creeds and castes, from the poorest to the most wealthy. As dictator of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee, he suffered imprisonment in 1932.



Dr. Bipinbihari Sen

He was one of the foremost medical men in the province and had an extensive practice. Even the poorest section of the community could count upon and actually received his help at all times in the form of free advice, medicine and diet. He was a member of the Bengal Council of Medical Registration for three successive terms, having been elected by medical graduates practising outside Calcutta.

He was a municipal commissioner of Mymensingh for about 30 years and elected chairman of its municipality for three terms. He rendered invaluable service to the town in these capacities in diverse ways, doing good to all classes irrespective of creed or caste. During the recent small-pox epidemic in the town he exerted himself vigorously in spite of protracted ill-health and visited the affected areas every day, to the incalculable benefit of the sufferers.

His beneficent activities as a healer continued almost to the last minutes of his life. Only a few minutes before his death, he was engaged in giving medical advice to some ailing persons standing by his bedside.

He was inspired to and sustained in his manifold strenuous activities by his living faith in God. He was a member and secretary of the local Brahmo Samaj. He drew his last breath listening to one of his favourite hymns and lisping with his hands folded in prayer the sacred syllable "Om."

The vast concourse of people who followed his body to the cremation ground, the spontaneous closing of local shops, business houses, educational institutions and cinemas, and the immensely large condolence meeting testified to his popularity. Meetings for a similar purpose have been held in Calcutta and other towns also.

Acharya P. C. Ray on Famine in Bengal

Acharya Sir Praphulla Chandra Ray has issued a remarkable statement, with a map, on last year's famine in Bengal, which has not yet completely disappeared. He begins by stating:

> There was widespread famine in Bengal. It affected, according to Government report, 11 districts in Presidency and Burdwan Divisions and the population in its grip amounted to thirty lakhs, correct official figure being 30,81,951. The total population of these eleven districts is 175,58,684 and therefore population affected by famine comes to 17.5 per cent of the total population of the two divisions.
>
> Murshidabad, Birbhum, Bankura, Hooghly and Burdwan were severely affected. In the latter districts the drought came in the wake of a terrible flood. The Government of Bengal had to move in the matter of famine, or scarcity according to Government euphemism. Mr. O. M. Martin was appointed Additional Commissioner for relief operations. We do not at all envy his position. He was called upon to make bricks without straw.

Having been for years and still being at the head of a big and active relief organization, he knows his subject thoroughly well. He proceeds:

> The word "Famine" is anathema to our rulers. You may call it by some other name, call it "scarcity" or "acute distress" due to failure of crop or bad harvest. But "Famine" there cannot be.
>
> Rudyard Kipling, the Poet of Imperialism, has it:—
>
> "Take up the White Man's Burden
> Fill full the mouth of Famine
> And bid the sickness cease;
> Take up the White Man's Burden
> No tawdry rule of kings."
>
> But famine, epidemics and pestilence have become permanent factors in our land these days and there is an inborn and instinctive inclination to make light of acute distress by the authorities when the question of relief is concerned.

He then refers to the causes of the famine and says how Government faced the situation.

Due to repeated bad harvest year after year and to non-remunerative price of their produce, the cultivators are at the end of their resources. The condition is such that they cannot stand a single failure now. Consequent upon the two successive failures of crops in 1934 and 1935 we were in the midst of a disastrous famine the like of which we have not seen for a long time. The misery of the people passing through a slow process of death due to starvation could better be imagined than described. Cases of actual death were also reported in the press from different affected areas.

The relief that Government gave was neither thorough nor systematic, and the method of distribution was often very perfunctory.

The Acharya goes on to give a detailed account of the inadequate and unsatisfactory Government relief measures in his own district of Khulna. The work done by non-official private organizations and individuals is also briefly described.

He compares the measures taken in similar circumstances in the United States of America and England with those in our country.

In contrast with the state of affairs in India, the measures taken in England and America for the relief of distress may be cited. Thus a recent calamity in the United States was announced by Reuter in the following terms:—

> There are a few signs of abatement of the heat wave in the United States. The death roll has reached the grim total of 421. The Government are faced with a colossal relief task. It is estimated that over 20 million dollars are required to meet the food requirements in North and South Dakota and parts of Nebraska alone, while 95,000 families in Kansas will need assistance before the end of winter (*Reuter*, New York, July 11, 1936).

The outstanding feature being that immediately after the devastation what may be called "the first aid" was devised whilst in England the doles to the unemployed have become a prominent feature in the budget.

He then turns his attention to Britain.

With the nature of relief as stated above, pecuniary help administered to the unemployed in Britain may be well compared. We got the following statement from an well-informed writer :—

> "There are two millions of unemployed in England, and of them perhaps a million can never hope to get jobs again; but not only is the thought of revolution an absurdity, but a good portion of the unemployed vote for Conservative instead of Labour. One reason is the fear of the middle classes that Labour is not "experienced" enough to form a successful Government. Another is the social insurance and paternalistic legislation of modern England, the country buys off unrest by paying £2,000,000 per week to support the unemployed."

Then again ex-King Edward himself visited the scene of acute distress of the unemployed some time ago in South Wales. Reuter wired from London on the 19th November, 1936, regarding the visit thus :—

> "The second day of the King's tour of the distressed areas in South Wales was marked by the same absence of formality and facility for the exchange of friendly remarks between the monarch and his subjects as yesterday.
>
> "The derelict steel works, idle coal pits and display of brave cheerfulness of the unemployed population obviously deeply impressed the King, who in typical remarks at Blaenavon this morning declared : 'Something must be done to find work for willing hands.' . . . .
>
> "Before his departure His Majesty said : 'I have had a most interesting two days. Now we must see what we can do.' "

The Acharya's observations follow:

In a distress like one through which we have just passed it is only the State aid extended lavishly that can save the people from utter ruin. And if the peasantry is saved the State is benefited. But the help that the people got was utterly inadequate and not at all commensurate with the requirements of the situation. Cries of distress filled the air. Wail was raised from the remotest corner of villages in different districts. Philanthropic and humanitarian organizations rushed to the scene and carried succour as best as they could.

It was inevitable that he should contrast the state of things in our country with those in countries which are free, where the government exists for the people, not the people for the government.

The point is that in free countries where the people are really the masters and the Ministers, as the etymological meaning goes, are the servants, adequate help is rendered simultaneously with the commencement of distress. But here in India the people exist for the rulers. Thus the members of the Executive Council as also the Ministers take good care that their Rs. 64,000 a year and the huge cost of migration to the hills are secured at the expense of the miseries of the people. It should also be remembered that this highly paid staff are immune from the salary cuts, though the miserable grants to the schools have to submit to a cut of 10 per cent.

The fact is that the top-heavy administration swallows up the major part of the revenues. Thus in Bengal while the total revenue amounts to about 36 crores, the Imperial Government alienates more than two-thirds, leaving barely one-third for the province; in other words, the elastic portion, *e.g.*, Customs, Income tax etc., are seized upon by the Central Government and the non-expansible portion *e.g.* land revenue, excise, amusement tax etc., are earmarked for the needs of the people and of the 10 to 11 crores, about 2½ crores fall to the ever increasing demands of the Police Department in the name of "law and order" and after meeting the inordinately high salaries of the high officials, very little is left for the people's needs.

If we advert for a moment to the taxation system in this country, we find that the Imperial Government comes first, then the Provincial Government and lastly the local self-government bodies.

The philanthropic man of science concludes:

Today the whole peasantry are over head and ears in debt. They are bankrupt. A single failure of crop or a flood requires relief operations, to such a hopeless pass they have come to. Distribution of agricultural loan or gratuitous relief or opening of relief centres in the affected areas may be stop-gap measures. But this must not be the permanent feature. They cannot be saved

unless the existing order of things is changed and the people are given facilities to stand on their legs.

Claims of British Shipping Rebutted

A powerful rejoinder to the claim of the British shipping interests that trade negotiations between India and Japan should be used not for the benefit of Indian shipping but for the benefit of Empire shipping, which virtually meant British shipping, was made by Mr. Gordhandas Morarji, the incoming Vice-president of the Indian Merchants' Chamber, at the annual general meeting of the Chamber held recently.

Mr. Morarji, making a survey of the transport and industrial problems with particular reference to Indian shipping, said :

"Indian shipping has no position whatsoever in the overseas trade of India and while the Government of India in spite of their repeated assurances have not taken a single step to assist Indian shipping securing entrance in the overseas trade of this country, it is amazing that British shipowners like Lord Essendon and Mr. Shaw should demand that the trade negotiations between India and Japan should be used not for the benefit of Indian shipping but Empire shipping which really means British shipping in this case. The necessity for utilising the bargaining and purchasing power of a nation for strengthening its shipping industry, not only as a matter of profit to individuals but as a source of economic strength, for a nation, is more and more recognized in important maritime countries. It is, therefore imperative that the bargaining power of Indian shipping should not be used for strengthening the hold of British shipping over India at the cost of its economic and shipping interests."

After pointing out how British shipowners often denied space for cargo to Indian shippers, how their anti-Indian policy sacrificed India's yarn trade with China to suit their own selfish interests and how the P. & O. Company, largely patronized by the people and the Government of India, have systematically refused to employ a single cadet of the training ship "Dufferin" as an officer on their steamers, Mr. Morarji described the rate-cutting and other methods of unfair competition of the British Companies in Indian waters. He observed that all important maritime countries of the world had recognized that the coastal traffic of a country belonged to its nationals by right, and concluded :

"Mr. Shaw will have to realise what India needs and what India demands both as a matter of right and for the development of her national interests is the direction that the ownership, management and control of its shipping shall be in the hands of its own nationals—whether it is in the coastal trade or in the Overseas Trade of India—and you will all agree with me that it is the duty of the Government of India not to yield to the interested cry of the British ship-owners that Empire shipping is in danger and not to take any steps which may retard directly or indirectly the development of national shipping actually owned, controlled and managed in the contemptuous phrase of Mr. Shaw 'by the native-born Indian.'."

The committee of the Indian Merchants' Chamber also have protested against Mr. Shaw's proposal that "the Government of India should be pressed in its negotiations with Japan to use its bargaining power to the full in support of Empire shipping," which practically means British shipping, not Indian shipping.

Ph. D. for a Thesis in Bengali

The Ph.D. degree has been conferred by the Calcutta University on Prof. Biman-bihari Majumdar of B. N. College, Patna, for a thesis, written by him in the Bengali language, which embodies a historical and critical survey of the materials for a biography of the Vaishnava prophet Sri Chaitanya to be found in works written before 1757 A.D. in Sanskrit, Bengali, Assamese, Oriya and Hindi. The thesis is a bulky volume of 900 pages. This is the first time that any scholar has received a doctorate for a thesis in Bengali.

Oxford Shakespeare Prize Won by an Indian

For the first time in the history of the award, an Indian student has won the Charles Oldham Scholarship here.

He is Mr. G. J. Padmanadh of St. Catherine's Society, Oxford, who received the Scholarship for 1936.

The Scholarship, which is by open competition, is awarded each year for the study of some aspect of Shakespeare. In 1936 the subject was a special study of the Sonnets.—*Reuter.*

Mahatma Gandhi's Award in Ahmedabad Mill Dispute

As arbitrator Mahatma Gandhi has given his award in the Ahmedabad dispute between mill-owners and labour. He has recommended that no cut in wages of labour should be made till the mills have ceased to make any profit and are obliged to fall back upon their capital and till the workers have reached a level of renumeration adequate for maintenance. It is an eminently equitable principle that Gandhiji has laid down. It is to be hoped that both the parties—particularly the capitalists, will accept his recommendation. The capitalists sometimes make huge profits, which they do not share with the workers. And the workers generally live from hand to mouth at the best and are half-starved at the worst. On the other hand, the capitalists live luxuriously. So there is no case for reducing wages when profits go down to some extent.

Congress Victories in Elections

We wrote in our last December number :

"On the whole we should be glad if the Congress were able to capture the majority of the seats in the provincial legislatures, and, in due course, in the central or federal legislature also. Congress members are likely to fight for India's freedom more strenuously and courageously and in a more organized manner than the followers of any other party or parties. And it is freedom —political and economic—which matters more than anything else." P. 705.

It gives us much pleasure to see the Congress candidates winning most seats in all provinces where the elections have been already held and the results announced. It is hoped in the remaining areas also the results will be similar.

We wish to repeat, what we said in the December number, that we do not think every Congress candidate is preferable to every non-Congress candidate.

Discipline and Justice

It has been reported that at Cawnpore, on the 24th January last,

Addressing a huge meeting held at the parade grounds, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru trenchantly criticized the growing spirit of indiscipline in Congress ranks and expressed his determination to root it out at all costs, irrespective of personalities. Even if Mr. Gandhi was insubordinate to the Congress dictates, said Pandit Nehru, action would be taken against him as well. All Congressmen should abide by the decision of the governing body of the Congress, however unpleasant and difficult it was to follow in individual capacity. The weakness of the Congress heretofore, Pandit Nehru remarked, was that no action was taken for insubordination to Congres mandates or for indiscipline.

Mr. Gandhi has declared that he is not a Congressman—not even a 4-anna Congress-member, as he put it. Hence, Mr. Nehru's minatory words do not affect him in any way. The mention of his name only serves to give a heroic cast to them. But if ex-officio membership of the Congress be inescapable by past presidents of that body, the words may furnish occasion for a characteristic smile in the wizened face of the Mahatma. Though it may seem an incongruous freak of fancy to connect the name of the de facto dictator of that body with insubordination to it, we do not say that it is impossible for him to disobey the Congress. For the man who dared to be 'civilly' disobedient to the mighty British Empire may not be afraid of starting a similar movement against its would-be rival, if necessary.

If ex-officio membership of the Congress be inescapable by past presidents of the Congress, such membership is also their inalienable right. We say this not merely in order to lay down an abstract proposition. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya is an ex-officio member of the Congress because he had been its president more than once. Now, he has actually done that for doing which some other members of Congress have been deprived of their membership—he has supported the claims of at least one candidate not nominated by a provincial Congress Committee against those of a rival candidate chosen by that Committee. As Mr. Nehru would punish even an insubordinate Gandhiji, he might not hesitate to punish an insubordinate Malaviyaji. Hence arises the question whether an ex-officio member of the Congress can be deprived of his membership.

And there is, of course, a previous question —whether an ordinary member can be deprived of his membership for going against a decision of the Congress Parliamentary Board or of a provincial Congress Committee with regard to nomination of candidates for election to legislative bodies. Can this be done according to any article of the Congress constitution ? If so, we should like to know that article. And are these decisions mandates ?

Discipline is a good thing. But it is good both for individual Congress members as well as for Congress Committees. If Congress Committees have been guilty in connection with the selection of candidates for election—we know of at least one such instance, should not disciplinary action be taken against the offending party or parties ? Discipline should be based on justice. It is absurd to take disciplinary action against persons who have been sinned against.

The 'insubordination' which Mr. Nehru spoke of is not confined to any particular province. 'Disciplinary action' appears to have been taken in most provinces. What is the cause of this epidemic of 'insubordination'? Are the 'rebels' to blame ? Are they alone to blame ? Or are the Congress Committees also to blame ?

Indian Sculpture

Mr. K. N. Dikshit, whom we congratulate on his elevation to the office of Director-General of the Archaeological Survey of India, gave a very informative broadcast talk on Indian sculpture on the 23rd January, beginning with the earliest example discovered at Mohenjodaro and Harappa, about which he said :

Of all the fine arts, sculpture is one in which the degradation and decadence of modern Indian Art is most apparent in contrast with the heights attained in the

early history of this country. The beginnings of this art are to be traced to the ancient Indian civilization exemplified in the cities of Mohenjodaro and Harappa in the Indus Valley. The lime-stone statuette of a bearded nobleman from Mohenjodaro is at present the earliest example of Indian sculpture, and as a portrait statue it must be considered as fairly advanced in technique. Other examples include a fine torso from Harappa in which a surprising amount of modelling skill and anatomical observation is manifest. This early advance of art on Indian soil does not however seem to have been followed up, and it is after a gap of over two thousand years that we again meet the products of the master artists of the third century before Christ under the imperial patronage of the Mauryas.

We may here incidentally express a hope that Mr. Dikshit will do his best to promote the training of students in archæology, both in British India and the Indian States. Those Indian States which have enlightened rulers and prime ministers may do much in this direction.

Diploma Course in Journalism

LUCKNOW, JAN. 6.

The Executive Council of the Lucknow University has decided to prepare a detailed scheme for a diploma course in journalism at the University and has constituted a committee for the purpose. The preliminary memorandum already prepared on the subject by Mr. B. Singh Paul will soon be examined by the committee before its submission to the local Government.—*A. P. I.*

At least all the older Universities should have courses in journalism.

Educational Conference at Gwalior

Professor Diwan Chand Sharma, who attended the All-India Educational Conference at Gwalior during Christmas, has made the following statement to the press on the conference :

The 12th session of the All-India Educational Conference held at Gwalior during the Xmas week was a great success. It was a most well-attended conference to which delegates came from all parts of India including the Indian States.

Regarding the Maharaja of Gwalior and his education minister the professor writes :

His Highness the Maharaja of Gwalior, who opened the exhibition as well as delivered the inaugural address, took a keen interest in the Conference and showed a very clear grasp of the educational problems of the day. Rao Bahadur Mulye, Education Minister of Gwalior, who was the Chairman of the Reception Committee, devoted himself heart and soul to the success of the Conference.

The presidential and other addresses are next referred to.

The presidential address delivered by Pandit Iqbal Narain Gurtu struck the right note about educational reorganization. The conference was addressed by many other distinguished educationists such as Principal Diwan Chand of Cawnpore, Messrs. Wood and Abbott, the two experts, who have recently come to India, Mr. Menon from Cochin and Mr. Ali Akbar from Hyderabad.

The statement concludes with indications of the work done at sectional meetings and the open session.

The sectional meetings on Moral and Religious Education, Educational Research and Experiment, Child Training, Vocational Education, Primary Education, University Education, Education for Health and other subjects stimulated much healthy and progressive thinking about the several aspects of the educational problem in India. At all these meetings well thought-out papers were read, which were followed by interesting discussions and the formulation of the policy in the shape of resolutions. The open session of the Conference discussed and passed several resolutions calling upon the teachers in India to combat illiteracy and giving the lead in the matter of reorganisation of education which is occupying the attention of educationists all over India. The most interesting feature of the open session was the symposium on Educational Reorganization in which distinguished ladies and gentlemen took part. –*A. P. I.*

The Pardah or Seclusion of Women

The custom of observing purdah or the seclusion of women is losing its hold even in provinces and among communities hitherto purdah-ridden. An example of this process has been reported in the press from Karachi.

KARACHI, JAN. 7.

The *nikah* ceremony was performed today of Miss Shirin Tyabali Mandviwalla, daughter of a magnate of Karachi and Mr. Fakruddin Ibrahim Tawavalla of Bombay.

Miss Shirin is a cultured lady possessing reformist views on social matters.

A couple of months ago in the course of an address welcoming Lady Graham she declared that Muslim ladies should look forward to the day when *purdah* would be discarded and Muslim women would take their proper share in the social life of the country. An echo of this speech was heard at today's marriage ceremony when local representatives of Mullaji Saheb, it is understood, asked her to retract her declaration in regard to *purdah* as a preliminary to his sanctioning the marriage.

Just before the time fixed for *nikah*, however, the Borah religious head expressed himself agreeable to officiate at the marriage without imposing any condition provided the invitation to the sixteen reformist members of the community, who had been excommunicated, was withdrawn. The bride and the bridegroom's people emphatically refused to do so, whereafter the *nikah* was performed by the brother of the bride, Mr. Ghulamali, amidst scenes of great enthusiasm and rejoicing.

Bengal Government's Anxiety for Welfare of Bengal Youth

CALCUTTA, JAN. 7.

The Government of Bengal have appointed a committee, consisting of Sir Manmathanath Mukherji (Chairman), Justice Ameer Ali, Major-General Lindsay and Rev. Milford, to study the problem of welfare of youth as an aspect of nation-building (?) and to consider by what stages that objective could be reached.

It may be recalled that at the conclusion of his speech at the St. Andrews Day Dinner, the Governor of Bengal referred to the importance of the problem and announced his intention to set up a small body of men to study it with this assurance that the Government in future would not be unwilling to spend some portion of their augmented resources for so worthy a task.

—*United Press.*

The anxiety of the Bengal Government for the welfare of Bengal's youth will make young and old in Bengal anxious.

Will the Bengal Government in future "spend some portions of their augmented resources" for providing escorts and body-guards in plain clothes for our young men and women for their safety ? Perhaps for a similar purpose walled citadels and island harbours may also be provided for them.

Dr. Laubach's Tribute to Santiniketan

Dr. Frank C. Laubach, Ph.D., secretary for the World Literacy Committee, New York City, and inventor of Key Method of Education, who is at present visiting India to study methods of teaching illiterates and to meet educators in this field of work, paid a short visit to Santiniketan and met the poet. Interviewed by the 'United Press,' he said, in part :

'To have looked into the wonderful eyes of Rabindranath Tagore and to have heard his ideals of freedom and service from his own lips was to comprehend why he has influenced the whole world. His lovely spirit, soaring toward the highest the universe knows, sends an aroma over the institution.

'But the Institute is at the same time one of the most practical I have seen anywhere. Young men are selected from the villages with a view to reconstruct their own homes and communities. So their subjects are all practical :

'Carpentry, Book-binding, Lacquer work, Gardening, Weaving, Boy Scouting, Village Civics, Literacy, Literary Association and Co-operative Movements.

When they get back to their villages they organize a committee for the uplift programme, one member for health and sanitation, another for arts and crafts, another of education, another for agriculture.

'Thus this lovely institution has discovered the secret of combining the real and the ideal. It reminds one of Plato's school, more than any modern institution. Mexico has a far more practical programme, but does not have a great poet at its heart, such as Tagore is and Plato was.

'At last I have come across a school which is attempting to reveal and to lift every aspect of Indian life from labour to art.

'Tagore has done another service for Bengali which needs to be performed for all India. He has gone back to the simple rich words of the heart. Few writers in India have yet discovered the power which lies hidden in the common words of everyday conversation. It is the tradition to write in a classical style which only the learned can comprehend. Indian writers will not reach India, not to mention the whole world, until they learn to write plain, simple, direct, strong, and heart-moving, Bengali, Hindi, Tamil, Telugu, Marathi, Urdu and other languages.

Indian Science Congress President's Address on The Indian Village

The very interesting address which Rao Bahadur T. S. Venkataraman, the sugarcane expert, delivered last month at Hyderabad (Deccan) as president of the Indian Science Congress, had for its subject "The Indian Village—its past, present and future." The concluding paragraphs of his address show that what he wants done has been the aim of the village reconstruction department of Tagore's Visva-bharati for years. For example, he said :

For permanent results the urge for rural improvement should be implanted in the village itself. This could be achieved only by improving the chief natural agent in such work—*viz.*, the villager—and making it attractive for him to live and have his being in the village itself. Endeavours that are town-centred and take to the village for temporary periods, for lectures, demonstrations or shows—however honest or energetic—have an outside flavour to the villager and do not, therefore, get permanently assimilated into village life.

Summing up, he said in conclusion :

Though there are drawbacks associated with urban life the town has its own good points which need extension into the village to keep rural life in tune with the changes around us. At the same time, the countryside has advantages like open spaces and absence of congestion which can never be reproduced in the town.

Life activities that were village-centred in the past are increasingly getting town-centred to the disadvantage of the former. In the interests of the country as a whole relationship of mutual help needs to be established between the two. The town should extend to the village its greater knowledge, quicker living and the manifold amenities of the modern age. Contributions from the countryside are of equal importance. It alone can produce the raw materials of commerce and industry and thus help in the growth of towns and cities. It alone can supply adequate and wholesome food to the millions of our land, whether resident in the village or town. Lastly, the countryside alone can imbue the urban 'business' civilization with the deeper character and larger humanities which are nurtured in the villager through his more direct and constant contact with the great forces of Nature and of life. Our duty then is clear: namely, to improve the village, the nucleus of our country life, and infect its chief agent, the villager, with a chosen culture of the virus of modern age through education and industrialization.

Calcutta University Unemployment Relief Scheme

The scheme which the Calcutta University has formulated in collaboration with industrial, mercantile and other business organizations for dealing with the problem of unemployment, will be only a slight palliative if properly worked. Nevertheless it ought to be taken advantage of. For a solution of the unemployment problem to an appreciable extent we must look to the rousing of a spirit of enterprise among our people, to the throwing open of all

existing careers to our youth and to the opening up of fresh avenues of employment for them. All this can come about in full measure only with the attainment of self-rule but may be worked for *pari passu* with the struggle for freedom, so far as practicable. The whole educational system should be so reconstructed as to give opportunities for turning aside to vocational training at the primary, secondary, collegiate or university stage, to those who want or are obliged to give up academic education for such training.

There ought to be economic planning and organization on a national scale instead of mere tinkering with middle-class employment. Self-rule can make that possible.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's Election Tours

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru has been displaying wonderful and unsurpassed energy and endurance in his election tours in different provinces. Railways and motor cars have on occasion been too slow for him, and so he sometimes travelled in aeroplanes.

Perhaps of greater importance than the success of Congress candidates at the elections, which is not negligible, due in part to his presence and speeches, is the rousing effect which his tours are producing on the mass of the people.

Official Interference in Elections

On the 29th January, the Legislative Assembly at New Delhi passed the following resolution moved by Dr. Khan Sahib :

"This Assembly recommends to the Governor-General-in-Council to take immediate steps to secure that public servants do not interfere directly or indirectly in the ensuing elections to the reformed legislatures but unruly conduct, demonstrations which are likely to cause breach of the peace, singing of provocative songs and slogans and pronouncing religious ban against any candidate or persuading voters to vote or not vote in the name of religion, should be stopped by the local authorities with strong measures."

Probably this resolution will share the fate of many others passed by the Assembly but not given effect to by Government. In any case, it has come too late to influence elections in some provinces.

Indo-Burman Cultural and Economic Bonds

At the Orient Club dinner at Rangoon last month, Lord Linlithgow, the Governor-General, said in the course of his speech :

I welcome your recognition of the fact that the political separation of India from Burma is wholly consistent with the maintenance of those other ties of common interest by which the two countries are linked. It would be the greatest pity if the political severance of Burma from the Indian Empire was to result in any severance of those bonds alike of culture and of economic interest which have united India and Burma up to now. I feel confident that it is to the interest of both countries to maintain their present close economic and cultural connection and I am sure that it is the path of wise statesmanship to endeavour to secure that the connection should be confirmed and strengthened.

Now that the political separation of Burma from India is an accomplished fact it is quite easy for British imperialists to pose as advocates of Indo-Burman cultural and economic connection. But the British imperialists' case for the separation rested not a little on their false assumption and statements that the Burmese were an entirely distinct people who had no historical or cultural or other ties with India. Take the following passage from a communication despatched some time ago by the Burma Government to the Government of India :

"Burma is an entirely separate country from India, and the Burmans are an entirely separate people. They are not bound to India by any ties of common race or common language or common sentiment."

And who does not know also that the separation had for one of its main objects the securing of the economic exploitation of Burma as a monopoly for Britishers by the discouragement and, if possible, the elimination of Indian economic enterprise there ?

Lord Linlithgow's words would lead one to conclude that Burma was separated from India in order to strengthen the cultural and economic connection between the two countries !

Professor Saha on the Claims of Physics and Physicists

Presiding over the Indian Physical Society at Hyderabad (Deccan) last month, Professor Meghnad Saha dealt in his address mainly with the object, contribution to civilization and social mission of the science of physics and the future of the profession of physicists in India.

Quoting from Professor Gordon Childe, he remarked that the great Industrial Revolution through which the world was now passing was mainly due to discoveries in physics. In fact, as Prof. Saha showed the science of physics had given birth to nearly all of those ideas, processes and agencies which had brought man to a better and deeper understanding of the material universe; to the harnessing of forces of nature, to the various processes of engineering such as civil, mechanical, electrical. It had revolutionized methods of communication by discoveries of

the steam engine, and the internal combustion engine which had given birth to the automobile industry and rendered aviation possible. A good many other processes like illumination, radio, refrigeration and countless other arts which were now revolutionizing modern life, not only in its material aspect, but also in intellectual economic and social relationships were due to discoveries in the physical science. Up to this time there were no signs of exhaustion in the possibilities of new discoveries, and to the extent to which these discoveries might not affect human life.

Passing on to the subject of the proper teaching of physics,

Proceeding with his theme, Prof. Saha showed by facts and figures that in all progressive countries of the West, in America and in Japan, greater importance was being attached to the proper teaching of physics in elementary and advanced schools, in universities and in professional schools and colleges. Large amounts were being spent on research grants in universities, research institutions, both public and private, and in research stations belonging to industries like electrical engineering and wireless which owes their origin to researches in physics. He also pleaded for greater efficiency in the teaching of physics in the schools and colleges.

There is some official profession of anxiety for the educated unemployed and of a desire to find employment for them. The following words are an apt commentary on them :

Prof. Saha found in the course of his travels that no trained physicist in Europe and America ever remained unemployed.

Prof. Saha further said that the physicists in India had got a very small number of appointments at their disposal. He pleaded for greater employment of trained physicists in industries, electrical works, the broadcasting departments, the geological and other Government scientific services. He said that even hospitals—which these days made use of a large number of physical things, such as X-rays, ultra violet therapy apparatus—would find a trained physicist much more useful than a doctor, who does the work on the rule of thumb basis. There seemed little doubt that a doctor and a physicist researcher could jointly do much better work for the human welfare.

Prof. Saha further pointed out to the apathy shown by the Government towards recruitment of the right type of trained physicists and as an example quoted the case of the research department of the All-India Radio, where people without experience in radio research had been taken though the right type of trained people turned out by the radio laboratories of various universities were available.

On the subject of scientific research he said :

In England the amount spent on research on all sciences by the industrialists was, according to Julian Huxley, about five million pounds. The corresponding figures for America was about 300 million dollars. The Government in England gave a grant of 1.3 million pounds for giving small doles to professors for buying apparatus for their research work. This amount was only supplementary to the usual laboratory grants.

Regarding industrial research in universities in particular Dr. Saha said :

In this country the criticism was being made that the universities were doing only academic work. There was no need for justifying the work of the university because their main function was to train the students in the fundamentals of sciences. If they neglected this work for industrial research, they would be neglected their duties, the effect of which would be seen in the falling of standard and inefficiency in industrial work itself. Any industrial research could be only supplementary to the ordinary routine duties, and the university professors would be quite willing to do the work if they were given grant for the work.

An English company had set an example to Indian industrialists by giving a grant to the Punjab University for carrying on research work in basic as well as industrial science under the guidance of Prof. Bhatnagar. The Indian industrialist ought to follow this example and the Indian public men instead of indulging in useless and mischievous criticism of universities should assist in getting grants for them.

Sir P. C. Ray has proposed that the Bengal Chemical and Pharmaceutical Works Limited should make an annual grant of Rs. 15,000 for research. If that firm gives effect to his recommendation, it will be not only a patriotic act but may very probably contribute indirectly to make its products still more popular and add to its profits. We do not know whether the results of the researches carried out with the help of similar grants in other countries are a monopoly of those who have made the grants.

Detenus Not To Be Released

In reply to a question put by Mr. Amarendranath Chattopadhyaya in the Assembly, Sir Henry Craik said that "although the situation regarding terrorism had improved, the improvement would not justify general release of persons detained because of their connection with terrorism, in view of the fact that such release had in the past been followed by recrudescence of the movement."

Has it ever been proved that the recrudescence was brought about by the released detenus ?

If the situation regarding terrorism did not improve, the detenus would not of course be released : if it has improved, then also they are not to be released. Improvement or its opposite has the same bearing on their fate. What then can lead to their release ? Nothing ?

That they were collectively or individually connected with terrorism has never been proved in any court. Yet they are punished. If any one's terroristic act is proved by open trial, he is imprisoned for a definite term. But men and women against whom nothing has been proved have to undergo imprisonment for an indefinite length of time. How should this sort of punishment be characterised ?

India & King Edward VIII's Abdication

In the Assembly,

There was a reference to King Edward's abdication when Sir M. Yakub said that there was a widespread feeling of resentment in India because she had not been consulted on the question of abdication. He asked whether the Government proposed to communicate this feeling of resentment to the Secretary of State, declaring that it was the Indians' unanimous desire that on important matters affecting her prestige and position in the Empire, she should be consulted and should have a voice like other partners of the commonwealth.

Who are the nincompoops who felt this 'resentment'? What is the 'prestige' of a subject country? Prestige indeed! Is India a partner of any 'commonwealth' that Sir M. Yakub spoke of other partners of the commonwealth?

Brazenfaced Selfishness

Mr. Alan Chorlton, M.P., has in the course of a letter to the *Manchester Guardian* advocated a united Lancashire demand for the grant of an export bounty by the British Government. Evidently Lancashire feels emboldened by a reduction in the tariff on the imports of British piece-good into India. Mr. Chorlton claims the following advantages for the suggested export bounty:

. . . .a moment's clear reflection would show how a prosperous cotton trade would go far to mitigate the evils which the other subsidies are intended to avoid. Think of the coal to be consumed in factories now idle, the shipping laid up which would be used again in transporting goods abroad, the additional food bought by those with wages to spend, thus saving the dole, the lowering of import costs to the consumers caused by the improvement of the trade balance through increased exports, surely a catalogue of advantages not to be minimized by any professional apologist or protagonist of the policy of drift.

It is nothing to Lancashire that such an export bounty would go a great way to ruin India's struggling cotton industry.

Conference of Indian Soap Manufacturers

The fourth annual conference of Indian soap manufacturers was held in Calcutta last month under the presidentship of Sir Hari Sankar Paul. He said in the course of his address:

A protective tariff of Rs. 20 per cwt, on imports in soap has very much helped the indigenous soap factories out of a critical situation created by the dumping of Japanese imports. But the real danger that threatens the indigenous concerns is the establishment of soap factories in India by non-national capital and management. Their skill, superior knowledge, and efficiency in the technique of production, age-long experience and above all their large capital combined with the facilities of banking they enjoy, place them on a vantage ground to overawe the struggling Indian interests who must now rise equal to the occasion and exert their best to hold their own and forge ahead. Our countrymen have now a clear duty before them. The soap industry wherein several crores of Indian capital are sunk and that has given work to over a lakh of Indians with prospects of adding more to the number can rightfully expect the patronage of our countrymen at this hour of need. It can ill afford to miss the patriotic urge that would develop in them the 'Buy Indian' sentiment. On the other hand a scheme must be evolved to promote greater marketing facilities for the products of Indian factories. Your association should make strenuous attempts towards a general curtailment of the cost of production by arranging common and collective advertisement and centralized purchasing of raw materials.

Coming to raw materials, I am constrained to remark that the Government has been doing distinct disservice to the cause of indigenous soap industry by pursuing the regretted policy of imposing high import duties on the raw materials like palm oil, palm kernel oil, caustic soda, aromatic chemicals, etc. Relief can reasonably be claimed in this respect from the Government, particularly in view of the exclusive nature of these imports.

The following resolutions were passed at the conference:

This conference of the Indian soap manufacturers urges on the Government that in any trade agreement with Japan or any other foreign country, the present rates of duty *viz.*, 25 per cent *ad valorem* or Rs. 20 a cwt. whichever is higher, on toilet soaps should be maintained as a necessary anti-dumping measure.

This conference of the Indian soap manufacturers is strongly of opinion that as the bulk of the supply of essential oils and aromatic chemicals comes from the continent, in no future trade agreement with U. K. imperial preference should apply in respect of the above articles.

This conference of the Indian soap manufacturers views with alarm the contemplated move on the part of the railway administrations in India (1) to enhance railway freight and (2) to suppress the motor bus traffic and urges on the Government and the central legislature to oppose any such move as highly detrimental to Indian trade and industries.

Impressions of the Indian Economic Conference at Agra

Dr. Manoharlal, ex-Minister of the Panjab and ex-Minto Professor of the Calcutta University, is a leading economist. He has given his impressions of the last Indian Economic Conference at Agra as follows:

He considered the attendance at the conference fair and representative of various shades of opinion. Questions of tariffs, ratio and exchange were the subjects of lively discussion both from the theoretical viewpoint as well as of practical application to India. The protectionist view was more emphatic than that in favour of free trade.

The exponents of the latter view based their plea mostly on theoretical grounds, whereas the majority considered that under the present conditions of India continued protection was necessary. It was also felt that many of the factors on which the policy of discriminating protection was based constituted restrictions and that the policy was being worked under conditions which were too rigid for real good of India. Questions of exchange and ratio were related to the problem of devaluation and the discussion seemed to favour devaluation without which measures of support to trade were likely to prove inadequate.

Problems of national income and transport also formed a subject of discussion. A great deal of support was given to the continuance of facilities for motor transport and in the matter of rail-road competition the rivalry between the central and provincial governmental view was emphasised, though the necessity for co-ordination was admitted. The question of income was also considered and its connection with agriculture. No opinion was expressed on the Reserve Bank's recent report on agricultural credit, as the report had not been considered yet. On the whole the conference proved very useful in affording an opportunity for scientific treatment of economic problems.

Educationalists Against Control of Admission to Universities

At the All-India Educational Conference at Gwalior, Professor H. P. Maiti of the Calcutta University said :

It would be wrong to control admission to the Universities by intelligence tests alone, firstly because here was not truly standardized tests, secondly, because the tests gave only a rough measure of intelligence, and traits other than intelligence were equally valuable considerations for higher education, and thirdly because adequate facilities for vocational training with assured employment in industries on a much larger scale than at present should be provided before such a control was exercised.

Judging from the speeches in the University Education Section, the consensus of opinion on the subject was also against the proposed control of admissions to the Universities.

Bengal's New Director of Industries

Mr. A. T. Weston, Director of Industries, Bengal has been granted leave for the period from the 2nd February, 1937, to the 9th May, 1937, preparatory to retirement.

Mr. S. C. Mitter, Deputy Director of Industries, has been appointed to act in his place with a view to his eventually succeeding to the permanent vacancy on Mr. Weston's retirement.—(*Press Note.*)

This is a commendable appointment.

Cultivation and Use of Indian Medicinal Plants

Mr. N. K. Majumdar writes in *Roy's Weekly* :

Major B. D. Basu, I.M.S., has drawn the attention of the public with regard to the necessity of the study of the medicinal plants of the country in his monumental work, "The Indian Medicinal Plants" (Basu & Kirtikar). There we find that the attempts on the part of the Government of India for the resuscitation of the medicinal drugs of India commence with the Pharmacopoeia of India so far back as 1867 under the authority of the Government of India. Thereafter in 1895 on the recommendation of the Indian Medical Congress the Government of India appointed a committee by the name of the Indian Drug Committee with the [illegible] ed purpose of encouraging :

(*a*) The systematic cultivation of medicinal plants indigenous to India.

(*b*) The use of drugs of known therapeutic value in medical depots.

(*c*) Scrutinizing the manufacture of stable preparation of certain drugs.

The foundation of the School of Tropical Medicine in Calcutta may be said to be another attempt in the said direction.

Mr. Majumdar quotes the following observations of Major B. D. Basu from the work named above :

"It is perfectly true that Indian Drugs ought to be largely studied by the medical practitioners in this country. European medical men have fully admitted this truth and some of them have laboured earnestly and assiduously to accomplish this object. It is easy to understand that the efforts of foreigners must necessarily be imperfect and unproductive of adequate results."

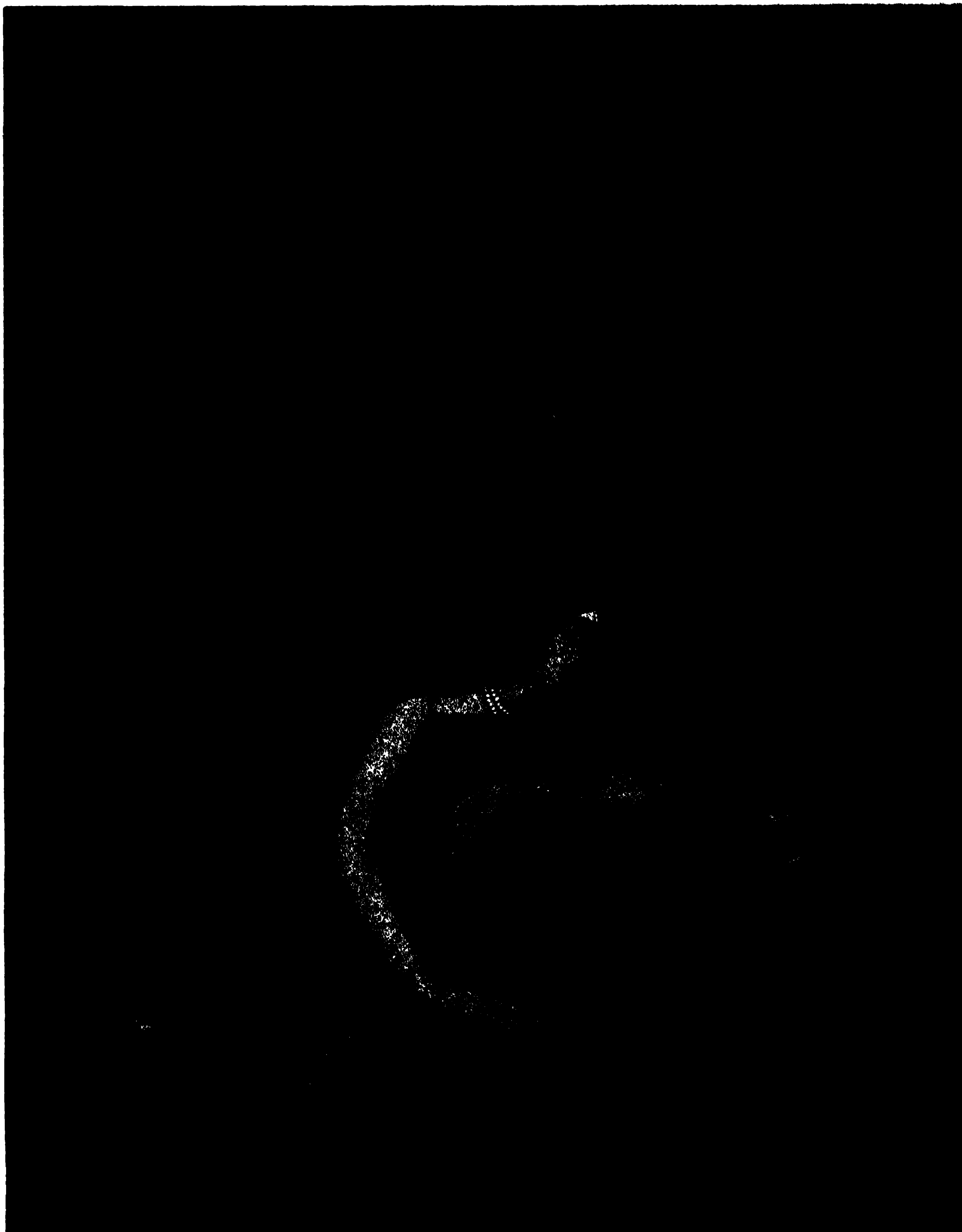
"In India foreign and indigenous systems should be read together, if full benefit is to be derived from either."

Mr. Majumdar concludes :

Regard being had to the importance of the matter, a systematic enquiry should be launched by the foundation of a suitable Board under Government auspices, for the purposes noted hereinabove. Capable workers will not be wanting to discover the use of the medicinal plants from the adepts. The adepts as a matter of course must be in the list of workers in order to accomplish this object. If this is done there is no doubt that a new chapter will be added to the Pharmacopoeia of India.

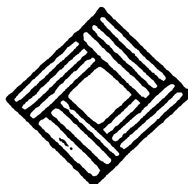
In closing, I may submit that the duty in this connection is solely cast upon the educated classes to move in this matter without delay.

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By Nalini Kanta Majumdar

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THE POLITICAL CAPACITY OF THE INDIAN PEOPLE

By SRI AUROBINDO

THERE are many who would admit the greatness of the achievement of India in the things of the mind and the spirit, but would still point out that she has failed in life, her culture has not resulted in a strong successful or progressive organization of life such as Europe shows to us, and that in the end at least the highest part of her mind turned away from life to asceticism and an inactive and world-shunning pursuit by the individual of his personal spiritual salvation. Or at most she has come only to a certain point and then there has been an arrest and decadence.

This charge weighs with an especial heaviness in the balance today, because the modern man, even the modern cultured man, is or tends to be to a degree quite unprecedented *politicon zoon*, a political, economic and social being valuing above all things the efficiency of the outward existence and the things of the mind and spirit mainly, when not exclusively, for their aid to humanity's vital and mechanical progress; he has not that regard of the ancients which looked up towards the highest and regarded an achievement in the things of the mind and the spirit with an unquestioning admiration or a deep veneration for its own sake as the greatest possible contribution to human culture and progress. And although this modern tendency is exaggerated and ugly and degrading in its exaggeration, inimical to humanity's spiritual evolution, it has this much of truth behind it that, while the first value of a culture is its power to raise and enlarge the internal man, the mind, the soul, the spirit, its soundness is not complete unless it has shaped also his external existence and made of it a rhythm of advance towards high and great ideals. This is the true sense of progress and there must be as part of it a sound political, economic and social life, a power and efficiency enabling a people to survive, to grow and to move securely towards a collective perfection, and a vital elasticity and responsiveness that will give room for a constant advance in the outward expression of the mind and the spirit. If a culture does not serve these ends, then there is evidently a defect somewhere either in its essential conceptions or its wholeness or in its application that will seriously detract from its claims to a complete and integral value.

The ideals that governed the spirit and body of Indian society were of the highest kind, its social order secured an inexpugnable basic stability, the strong life force that worked in it was creative of an extraordinary energy, richness and interest, and the life organized remarkable in its opulence, variety in unity, beauty, productiveness, movement. All the records of Indian history, art and literature bear evidence to a cultural life of this character and even in decline and dissolution there survives some stamp of it to remind one, however faintly and distantly, of the past greatness. To what then does the charge brought against Indian culture as an agent of the life-power amount and what is its justification? In its exaggerated form it is founded upon the characteristics of the decline and dissolution, the features of the decadence

read backward into the time of greatness, and it amounts to this that India has always shown an incompetence for any free or sound political organization and has been constantly a divided and, for the most part of her long history, a subject nation, that her economic system, whatever its bygone merits, if it had any, remained an inelastic and static order that led in modern conditions to poverty and failure and her society an unprogressive hierarchy, caste-ridden, full of semi-barbarous abuses, only fit to be thrown on the scrap-heap among the broken rubbish of the past and replaced by the freedom, soundness and perfection or at least the progressive perfectibility of the European social order. It is necessary to re-establish the real facts and their meaning and afterwards it will be time to pass judgment on the political, the economic and the social aspects of Indian culture.

The legend of Indian political incompetence has arisen from a false view of the historical development and an insufficient knowledge of the ancient past of the country. It has long been currently supposed that she passed at once from the freer type of the primitive Aryan or Vedic social and political organization to a system socially marked by the despotism of the Brahmin theocracy and politically by an absolute monarchy of the oriental, by which is meant the Western Asiatic type and has remained fixed in these two things for ever after. That summary reading of Indian history has been destroyed by a more careful and enlightened scholarship and the facts are of a quite different nature. It is true that India never evolved either the scrambling and burdensome industrialism or the parliamentary organisation of freedom and self-styled democracy characteristic of the bourgeois or Vaishya period of the cycle of European progress. But the time is passing when the uncritical praise of these things as the ideal state and the last word of social and political progress was fashionable, their defects are now visible and the greatness of an oriental civilization need not be judged by the standard of these western developments. Indian scholars have attempted to read the modern ideas and types of democracy and even a parliamentary system into the past of India, but this seems to me an ill-judged endeavour. There was a strong democratic element, if we must use the western terms, in Indian polity and even institutions that present a certain analogy to the parliamentary form, but in reality these features were of India's own kind and not at all the same thing as modern parliamentarism or democracy. And so considered they are a much more remarkable evidence of the political capacity of the Indian people in their living adaptation to the ensemble of the social mind and body of the nation than when we judge them by the very different standard of western society and the peculiar needs of its cultural cycle.

The Indian system began with a variation of the type generally associated with Aryan peoples, but possibly of a far more general character as a stage in the social development of the human race. It was a clan or tribal system founded upon the equality of all the free men of the clan or race. It was not at first firmly founded upon the territorial basis, the migratory tendency was still in evidence, and the land was known by the name of the people who occupied it, the Kuru country or simply the Kurus, the Malava country or the Malavas. After the fixed settlement within determined boundaries, the system of the clan or tribe continued, but found a basic unit or constituent atom in the settled village community. The meeting of the people, *visha,* assembling for communal deliberation, for sacrifice and worship or as the host for war, remained for a long time the power-sign of the mass body and the agent of the active common life with the king as the head and representative, but long depending even after his position became hereditary on the assent of the people for his formal election or confirmation. The religious institution of the sacrifice developed at the same time a class of priests and inspired singers, men trained in the ritual or in possession of the mystic knowledge which lay behind the symbols of the sacrifice, the seed of the great Brahminic institution. These were not at first hereditary, but exercised other professions and belonged in their ordinary life to the general body of the people. This free and simple natural constitution of the society seems to have been general at first throughout Aryan India.

The later development out of this primitive form followed up to a certain point the ordinary line of evolution as we see it in other communities, but at the same time threw up certain very striking peculiarities that owing to the unique mentality of the race fixed themselves, became prominent characteristics and gave a different stamp to the political, economic and social factors of Indian civilization. The hereditary principle emerged at an early stage and increased constantly its power and hold on the society until it became everywhere the basis of the whole organization of its activities. A hereditary kingship was established, a powerful princely and warrior class appeared, the rest of

the people were marked off as the caste of traders, artisans and agriculturists and a subject or menial caste was added, probably as the result of conquest, of servants and labourers. The predominance from early times of the religious and spiritual tendency in the mind of the Indian people brought about at the top of the social system the growth of the Brahmin order, priests, scholars, legists, repositories of the sacred lore of the Vedas, a development paralleled elsewhere but here given an unequalled permanence and definiteness and supreme importance. In other countries with a less complex mentality this predominance might have resulted in a theocracy : but the Brahmins in spite of their ever-increasing and finally predominant authority did not and could not usurp in India the political power. As sacrosanct priests and legists and spiritual preceptors of the monarch and the people they exercised a very considerable influence, but the real or active political power remained with the king, the Kshatriya aristocracy and the commons.

A peculiar figure for some time was the Rishi, the man of a higher spiritual experience and knowledge, born in any of the classes, but exercising an authority by his spiritual personality over all, revered and consulted by the king of whom he was sometimes the religious preceptor and in the then fluid state of social evolution able alone to exercise an important role in evolving new basic ideas and effecting direct and immediate changes of the socio-religious ideas and customs of the people. It was a marked feature of the Indian mind that it sought to attach a spiritual meaning and a religious sanction to all, even to the most external social and political circumstances of its life, imposing on all classes and functions an ideal, not except incidentally of rights and powers, but of duties, a rule of their action and an ideal way and temperament, character, spirit in the action, a Dharma with a spiritual significance It was the work of the Rishi to put this stamp enduringly on the national mind, to prolong and perpetuate it, to discover and interpret the ideal law and its practical meaning, to cast the life of the people into the well-shaped ideals and significant forms of a civilization founded on the spiritual and religious sense. And in later ages we find the Brahminic schools of legists attributing their codes, though in themselves only formulations of existing rule and custom, to the ancient Rishis. Whatever the developments of the Indian socio-political body in later days, this original character still exercised its influence, even when all tended at last to become traditionalised and conventionalised instead of moving forward constantly in the steps of a free and living practice.

The political evolution of this early system varied in different parts of India. The ordinary development, as in most other countries, was in the direction of an increasing emphasis on the control of the king as the centre, head and unifying factor of a more and more complex system of rule and administration and this prevailed eventually and became the universal type. But for a long time it was combated and held in check by a contrary tendency that resulted in the appearance and the strong and enduring vitality of city or regional or confederated republics. The king became either a hereditary or elected executive head of the republic or an archon administering for a brief and fixed period or else he altogether disappeared from the polity of the state. This turn must have come about in many cases by a natural evolution of the power of the assemblies, but in others it seems to have been secured by some kind of revolution and there appear to have been vicissitudes, alternations between periods of monarchical and periods of republican government. Among a certain number of the Indian peoples the republican form finally asserted its hold and proved itself capable of a strong and settled organization and a long duration lasting over many centuries. In some cases they were governed by a democratic assembly, in more by an oligarchical senate. It is unfortunate that we know little of the details of the constitution and nothing of the inner history of these Indian republics, but the evidence is clear of the high reputation they enjoyed throughout India for the excellence of their civil and the formidable efficiency of their military organization. There is an interesting dictum of Buddha that so long as the republican institutions were maintained in their purity and vigour, a small state of this kind would remain invincible even by the arms of the powerful and ambitious Magadhan monarchy, and this opinion is amply confirmed by the political writers who consider the alliance of the republics the most solid and valuable political and military support a king could have and advise their reduction not so much by the force of arms, as that would have a very precarious chance of success, but by Machiavellian means,—similar to those actually employed in Greece by Philip of Macedon, aimed at undermining their internal unity and the efficiency of their constitution.

These republican states were already long established and in vigorous functioning in the sixth century before Christ, contemporary there-

fore with the brilliant but ephemeral and troubled Greek city commonwealths, but this form of political liberty in India long outlasted the period of Greek republican freedom. The ancient Indian mind, not less fertile in political invention, must be considered superior to that of the mercurial and restless Mediterranean people in the capacity for a firm organization and settled constitutional order. Some of these states appear to have enjoyed a longer and a more settled history of vigorous freedom than republican Rome, for they persisted even against the mighty empire of Chandragupta and Asoka and were still in existence in the early centuries of the Christian era. But none of them developed the aggressive spirit and the conquering and widely organizing capacity of the Roman republic; they were content to preserve their own free inner life and their independence. India after the invasion of Alexander felt the need of a movement of unification and the republics were factors of division : strong for themselves, they could do nothing for the organization of the Peninsula, too vast indeed for any system of confederation of small states to be possible—and indeed in the ancient world that endeavour nowhere succeeded, always broke down in the effort of expansion beyond certain narrow limits and could not endure against the movement towards a more centralized government. In India as elsewhere it was the monarchical state that grew and finally held the field replacing all other forms of political organization. The republican organization disappeared from her history and is known to us only by the evidence of coins, scattered references and the testimony of Greek observers and of the contemporary political writers and theorists who supported and helped to confirm and develop the monarchical state throughout India.

But Indian monarchy previous to the Mahomedan invasion was not, in spite of a certain sanctity and great authority conceded to the regal position and the personality of the king as the representative of the divine Power and the guardian of the Dharma, in any way a personal despotism or an absolutist autocracy : it had no resemblance to the ancient Persian monarchy or the monarchies of western and central Asia or the Roman imperial government or later European autocracies : it was of an altogether different type from the system of the Pathan or the Moghul emperors. The Indian king exercised supreme administrative and judicial power, was in possession of all the military forces of the kingdom and with his Council alone responsible for peace and war and he had too a general supervision and control over the good order and welfare of the life of the community, but his power was not personal and it was besides hedged in by safeguards against abuse and encroachment and limited by the liberties and powers of other public authorities and interest who were, so to speak, lesser copartners with him in the exercise of sovereignty and administrative legislation and control. He was in fact a limited or constitutional monarch, although the machinery by which the constitution was maintained and the limitation affected differed from the kind familiar in European history; and even the continuance of his rule was far more dependent than that of mediaeval European kings on the continued will and assent of the people.

A greater sovereign than the king was the Dharma, the religious, ethical, social, political, juridic and customary law organically governing the life of the people. This impersonal authority was considered sacred and eternal in its spirit and the totality of its body, always characteristically the same, the changes organically and spontaneously brought about in its actual form by the evolution of the society being constantly incorporated in it, regional, family and other customs forming a sort of attendant and subordinate body capable of change only from within,—and with the Dharma no secular authority had any right of autocratic interference. The Brahmins themselves were recorders and exponents of the Dharma, not its creators nor authorised to make at will any changes, although it is evident that by an authoritative expression of opinion they could and did favour or oppose this or that tendency to change of principle or detail. The king was only the guardian, executor and servant of the Dharma, charged to see to its observance and to prevent offences, serious irregularities and breaches. He himself was bound the first to obey it and observe the rigorous rule it laid on his personal life and action and on the province, powers and duties of his regal authority and office.

This subjection of the sovereign power to the Dharma was not an ideal theory inoperative in practice; for the rule of the socio-religious law actively conditioned the whole life of the people and was therefore a living reality and it had in the political field very large practical consequences. It meant first that the king had not the power of direct legislation and was limited to the issue of administrative decrees that had to be in consonance with the religious, social, political, economic constitution of the community,—and even here there were other

powers than that of the king who shared with him the right of promulgating and seeing to the execution of administrative decrees independently issued,—neither could he disregard in the general tenor and character and the effective result of his administration the express or tacit will of the people.

The religious liberties of the commons were assured and could not normally be infringed by any secular authority; each religious community, each new or long-standing religion could shape its own way of life and institutions and had its own authorities or governing bodies exercising in their proper field an entire independence. There was no exclusive State religion and the monarch was not the religious head of the people. Asoka in this respect seems to have attempted an extension of the royal control or influence and similar velleities were occasionally shown on a minor scale by other powerful sovereigns. But Asoka's so-called edicts of this kind had a recommendatory rather than an imperative character, and the sovereign who wished to bring about a change in religious belief or institutions had always in accordance with the Indian principle of communal freedom and the obligation of a respect for and a previous consultation of the wishes of those concerned to secure the assent of the recognized authorities or to refer the matter to a consultative assembly for deliberation, as was done in the famous Buddhist councils, or to arrange a discussion between the exponent of the different religions and abide by the issue. The monarch might personally favour a particular sect or creed and his active preference might evidently have a considerable propagandist influence, but at the same time he was bound to respect and support in his public office all the recognized religions of the people with a certain measure of impartiality, a rule that explains the support extended by Buddhist and Brahmin emperors to both the rival religions. At times there were, mainly in the south, instances of petty or violent State persecutions; but these outbreaks were a violation of the Dharma due to momentary passion at a time of acute religious ferment and were always local and of a brief duration. Normally there was no place in the Indian political system for religious oppression and intolerance and a settled State policy of that kind was unthinkable.

The social life of the people was similarly free from autocratic interference. Instances of royal legislation in this province are rare and here too, when it occurred, there had to be a consultation of the will of those concerned, as in the re-arrangement or the reconstitution of the caste system by the Sena kings in Bengal after its disorganization during a long period of Buddhist predominance. Change in the society was brought about not artificially from above but automatically from within and principally by the freedom allowed to families or particular communities to develop or alter automatically their own rule of life, *achara*.

In the sphere of administration the power of the king was similarly hedged in by the standing constitution of the Dharma. His right of taxation was limited in the most important sources of revenue to a fixed percentage as a maximum and in other directions often by the right of the bodies representing the various elements of the community to a voice in the matter and always by the general rule that his right to govern was subject to the satisfaction and goodwilll of the people. This was not merely a pious wish or opinion of the Brahmin custodians of the Dharma. The king was in person the supreme court and the highest control in the execution of the civil and criminal law. but here too his role was that of the executor: he was bound to administer the law faithfully as it stood through his judges or with the aid of the Brahmin legists learned in these matters. He had the complete and unfettered control in his Council only of foreign policy, military administration and war and peace and of a great number of directive activities. He was free to make efficient arrangements for all that part of the administration that served to secure and promote the welfare of the community, good order, public morals, and all such matters as could best be supervised or regulated by the sovereign authority. He had a right of patronage and punishment consistent with the law and was expected to exercise it with a strict regard to an effect of general beneficence and promotion of the public welfare.

There could therefore be ordinarily little or no room in the ancient Indian system for autocratic freak or monarchical violence and oppression. much less for the savage cruelty and tyranny of so common an occurrence in the history of some other countries. Nevertheless it was possible by the sovereign's disregard of the Dharma or by a misuse of his power of administrative decree, and instances occurred of the kind, though the worst recorded is that of a tyrant belonging to a foreign dynasty and in other cases any prolonged outbreak of autocratic caprice, violence or injustice seems to have led before long to an effective protest or revolt on the part of the people. The legists provided for the possibility of oppression. In spite of the

sanctity and prestige attaching to the sovereign it was laid down that obedience ceased to be binding if the king ceased to be a faithful executor of the Dharma. Incompetence and violation of the obligation to rule to the satisfaction of the people were in theory and effect sufficient causes for his removal. Manu even lays it down that an unjust and oppressive king should be killed by his own subjects like a mad dog, and this justification by the highest authority of the right or even the duty of insurrection and regicide in extreme cases is sufficient to show that absolutism or the unconditional divine right of kings was no part of the intention of the Indian political system. As a matter of fact the right was actually exercised, as we find both from history and literature. Another more peaceful and more commonly exercised remedy was a threat of secession or exodus which in most cases was sufficient to bring the delinquent ruler to reason. It is interesting to find the threat of secession employed against an unpopular monarch in the south as late as the seventeenth century, as well as a declaration by a popular assembly denouncing any assistance given to the king as an act of treason. A more common remedy was deposition by the council of ministers or by the public assemblies. The kingship thus constituted proved to be in effect moderate, efficient and beneficent, served well the purposes assigned to it and secured an abiding hold on the affections of the people. The monarchical institution was however only one, an approved and very important, but not, as we see from the existence of the ancient republics, an indispensable element of the Indian socio-political system, and we shall understand nothing of the real principle of the system and its working if we stop short with a view of the regal facade and fail to see what lay behind it. It is there that we shall find the clue to the essential character of the whole construction.

Compiled by Anilbaran Ray from Sri Aurobindo's "A Defence of Indian Culture."

FORCE VERSUS PERSUASION

. . . But I think that young men who exercise their understanding, and expect to become capable of teaching their fellow citizens what is for their interest, grow by no means addicted to violence, knowing that on violence attend enmity and danger, but that by persuasion the same results are attained without peril, and with good will; for those who are compelled by us hate us as if despoiled of something, while those who are persuaded by us love us as if they had received a favor. It is not the part, therefore, of those who cultivate the intellect to use violence; for to adopt such a course belongs to those who possess brute force without intellect. Besides, he who would venture to use force had need of no small number of allies, but he who can succeed with persuasion had need of none, for, though left alone, he would think himself able to persuade; and it by no means belongs to such men to shed blood, for who would wish to put another man to death rather than to have him a living subject persuaded to obey ?

Xenophon in *Memorabilia*

WANTED—A NEW ECONOMIC CONFERENCE

By Major D. GRAHAM POLE

Herr Hitler, they tell us, is always giving way these days to fits of unaccountable weeping. It would be interesting to know the reason for these outbursts. Is it just the strain and responsibility and loneliness of his position? Or is it because he realises that Germany is now set on a course from which there is no escape and which can only end in her destruction. Perhaps, and inspite of all the inflammable things he had written in his book, *Mein Kampf*, when he and his party first came into power he saw himself mainly as the destined protagonist of a new Germany. But now, at the end of four years of assertiveness—years in which the Nazis have persecuted the Jews, tried to intimidate Austria, repudiated the Versailles Treaties and even the Treaty of Locarno, bent every effort to bring about the re-armament and military supremacy of Germany, preached a crusade against Russia —he sees that he has raised up a Germany for which there is no future. War is the only thing that Germany dreams of. War with Russia which would give her the Ukraine. But Germany must defeat Russia, if she can defeat Russia, in a very short space of time. She has not the resources which would enable her to fight a protracted war. And Russia has endless resources, Russia has been the doom of many invading armies.

It is too late now to argue the fallacies or otherwise in the German position. The new Germany, embittered by the past, forced through her lack of friends to rely on herself and indulge in day-dreams in which she carries everything by assault, is bent now on making a sortie outside her frontiers. She is going to expand in Europe. She is going to make war on Russia. France need not be anxious. Britain need not be anxious. Let them stand aside and leave the Bolsheviks to their fate. Germany of course would be delighted to enter into treaties with these neighbours in the West to make sure that she would not be attacked in the rear while she was making war in the East. That is why for months she has been trying to persuade France to give up her alliance with Russia. That is why, when the new German Ambassador landed in England, he started to proclaim at once that it was in Britain's interest as well as Germany's to join hands in a crusade against Communism.

But France has re-affirmed her alliance with Russia, and we have said we will come to the aid of France if she is ever invaded, as of course we must do in any event if we respected the implications of the League Covenant. So where will it all end?

Supposing France decided to leave Russia to her fate, supposing we decided, as we have so often done, to take our cue from France and stand aside also; would that prevent the war from developing into a world war? Because when Germany makes war on Russia in Europe, Japan will make war on Russia in Asia. They almost certainly will be defeated. But suppose the unexpected happened and they were the conquerors. Remembering Germany's colonial aspirations, remembering Japan's aspirations after the overlordship of the East, with what kind of situation would Germany triumphant and Japan triumphant confront the British Empire?

Japan indeed in the East, just like Germany in the West, is trying to protect herself in the rear so that she can make war undisturbed upon Soviet Russia. She has been saying for years that she alone must be left to handle affairs in the Far East. America and Britain had better keep out of it. Now she is changing her tune. Of course her purpose is still unchanged, but for the present it suits her better to keep in with America and Britain : to make them play her game. A writer in the current number of an American journal discusses all this. The Japanese Foreign Minister, Hachiro Arita, he points out, has been intimating that, now that the London and Washington Naval Treaties are no longer in effect, Japan is ready to discuss general international relations in the Far East. The clear inference of this, he adds, is that "Japan would be pleased to have the United States and Great Britain join her in some kind of new non-aggression agreement that would involve us with the British in policing various areas in that part of the world." And the reason for this apparent about-face? It is to be found, he thinks, in a single sentence in *Diamond,* an important Japanese economic magazine : "War with the Soviet Union is our destiny."

It won't help the world if France leaves Russia to her fate. It won't help if America

and Britain take Japan's advances at their face value. Nothing can save the world now but a change of heart. Some way must be found of giving to Germany and Japan the outlets they need—even if they only think they need them. Because of course, as the British Empire discovered during the Depression, colonies are not much help really. And Germany might remember, as commentators have often pointed out, that before the War, and when she had colonies, there were more Germans living in France than there were living in German colonies.

But of course it is no use trying to argue along such lines now. Germany, and the rest of the world no doubt, thinks of Great Britain as being glutted with empire. No one can tell us however an equitable way of giving away any of our "possessions." There is no equitable way of giving away territories populated by other people : it is for them to decide under which rule they shall be. And what peoples are going to vote now to be handed over to Nazi Germany? It is bad enough to be handed over to a terrorist dictatorship, but when that dictatorship is nothing if it is not enamoured of war. Not even the former German Colonies in East Africa could choose that suicide path.

All the same Great Britain *is* glutted with empire, whether the modern economic world has nullified its value or not, and so upon Great Britain must rest a heavy responsibility if she does not do her utmost to find a way out of the present difficulties. We may or may not feel sympathy with the present leaders of Soviet Russia. But after all they are not the Russian people, the people who are trying so hard to make a new order in their world. And it isn't Russia only that is threatened. Czecho-Slovakia, that ancient kingdom of Bohemia, is marked down for absorption. Indeed no one can say what may not be the fate of Poland, Czecho-Slovakia, and all the Eastern border states.

Quite apart from the fact that all these Eastern States are members of the League of Nations, and so entitled to look to France and ourselves and the rest for succour, how can we stand by when such a war is preparing? We are still the greatest Power, and as such we must carry the greatest burden of responsibility if the situation is allowed to go from bad to worse. Our present rulers talk all the time about speeding-up our rearmament as if, supposing we could ever with the arms race, we would be in a position to keep the peace. But peace is not a negative state, not merely the absence of war. It must be a positive state, a state of affairs in which the peoples of the world are living contentedly together and co-operating and advancing together. Arms cannot keep the peace for any nation : what is needed now is a new start.

It is unfortunate and ironical that at such a time as this a debate should take place in the House of Commons on the subject of Empire. And that the whole tenor of that debate should resolve itself into the question, Can we keep the Empire? (To pose such a question, one might think, is to suggest that it will be answered in the negative . . . .) Indeed the contrasts and contradictions that exist in the Empire are almost impossible to understand. Perhaps, like the Depressed Areas in England, they provide the most damaging criticism of the existing economic order. For what did the Secretary of State for the Dominions have to say? That if we did not develop the Empire somebody else would. But the Empire won't take our emigrants because agriculture, "in these mechanised days, is not capable of supporting a large additional population." And so further progress can only be made in the Dominions as regards manufacturing industries, which compete with our own!

Why cannot agriculture support those who engage in it? Surely it can. Presumably the argument is that, if the settler-agriculturists are to progress, they must find a market for their surplus produce. And this market can only be provided by a parallel development of industries. No doubt, but why must these industries be regarded as a menace to other industries? Why does our present system always lead up to over-production and unemployment? Because of the slump at the end of the boom, the vast spaces of Canada, Australia, and New Zealand are expected to remain empty.

Since competition is such an evil, you might expect everyone in the House of Commons to rise up and condemn it! But they never see the truth however often it is put right under their noses. Nothing can be done at present about the Empire, just as nothing has been done about the Depressed Areas. To encourage the growth of new industries in either is to aggravate existing competition.

But what, one wonders, lies ahead of the Empire? If Japan makes war on Australia and New Zealand, have we got to defend an indefensible situation. Are we any longer responsible for Canada? She will follow the United States in future. The Canadian Premier, Mr. Mackenzie King, has just been telling us that the Dominion is not committed to participate in any war.

This question of Empire is one that will have to be answered very soon. Australia and

New Zealand may wish to remain British, but they are not populating their territories. And Great Britain, whose emigrants have been denied in the past, will have neither the men to help them nor the men to defend them. For, all other consideration apart, the birth-rate in Britain is falling, and falling so rapidly that before very long we shall need all the skilled agricultural or industrial workers we can muster.

Britain's birth-rate for 1936 was only just above that of 1933, which was the lowest on record. It was 14.8 live births per 1,000 of the population. It was 0.4 per 1,000 above that of 1933.

Placed as she is, Britain cannot help worrying over this question of colonies and empire. (How is it, one wonders in passing, that Holland escapes criticism? She is the second richest Empire in the world! Perhaps it is because she is not a Great Power that she arouses nobody's jealousy.) Herr Hitler, for good or ill, has made it first class issue. It is a matter of prestige now with Germany—and where prestige is at stake very few leaders of men, and least of all *Dictators*, are likely to withdraw.

Is Europe, and perhaps the world then, to be plunged into another war, just as the world seemed to be emerging from its great Depression? Surely some way of escape can be found, particularly since, in her heart of hearts, Germany must know that the Russian adventure can be nothing but a gamble—and in no way likely to resemble Italy's easy triumph over the unarmed Abyssinians.

M. Blum, the French Prime Minister, in a speech at Lyons last week, gave a hint as to one way there might be found out of the present maze. He has never ceased in his efforts to bring Germany back into the European fraternity. Never ceased either to keep before Germany and the world the idea that peace is one and indivisible: that there can be no pacification which is part-pacification, no peace in the West and war in the East, no settlement which is not a general settlement and so includes even the hated Russians! Moreover he sees clearly that so long as Germany goes on her way breathing out fire and slaughter against the Bolsheviks—and planning, when she is on the march for the Ukraine, to take away the independence too of Czecho-Slovakia—there can be no question of coming to any economic arrangements with her. To do so would be but to finance German rearmament.

But to return to the Lyons speech. In it M. Blum said: "An inescapable connection exists between economic collaboration on the one hand and the ending of the armaments race on the other. Perhaps an international economic convention is necessary."

Perhaps an international economic convention is necessary! Anyway, that is a new idea. Cannot the nations of the world meet in a new World Economic Conference? In discussing the present state of affairs, from the point of view of trade instead of from the point of view of preparedness for war, they might find some more hopeful courses to follow—and as they followed these courses the strain and stress of their war preparedness might begin to recede. Herr Hitler in his speech on Saturday, on the fourth anniversary of the coming into power of the Nazis, held out no hope, it is true, of his ever agreeing to discuss disarmament. But let that decision be for the moment. Let us see where the new World Economic Conference can help matters.

Incidentally, anyone who is in Germany today reports that the Germans in reality loath their present isolation in Europe. They would love to be back in the concert of Europe again. They would give anything to find some way of getting back. Geneva is unacceptable. It is of the essence of the League idea to give and receive aid. But for the present at any rate, and perhaps for some time to come, any idea of co-operating with Russia must stick in the German gullet. Herr Hitler is categorical: "It is not suitable that National-Socialist Germans should ever hope to protect Bolshevism or that they would ever accept help from a Bolshevist state."

A new World Economic Conference would be free of any such trammeling obligations. (Tramelling in German eyes.)

Something has got to be done about Germany and done soon. Even if by a miracle she gave up her present intention to embark on an expansionist war in Europe, she would soon find herself in such a state of economic collapse that her collapse might drag down a lot of the rest of us with her. If Germany does not go to war, if she calls off her present gigantic armament activity, in what kind of a slump is she going to find herself? The bankers in this country have just been issuing their annual surveys. All are concerned that the present activity—due in part to a fillip in housing and in part to a fillip in armaments—shall not become a boom and then a slump when these particular activities slacken off. If they are afraid of a slump here, what can the German bankers be seeing in store for their unfortunate country? In four years Germany has spent on

armaments no less a sum than £2,500,000,000. The expenditure for this current year alone is £1,000,000,000.

No wonder Herr Hitler gives way to attacks of unaccountable weeping. War or collapse. Such is the outlook for Germany. And even war will bring collapse. . . .

And all the time now the common people in Germany are going without proper food because the Government is spending so much on the raw materials required for armaments they cannot afford to pay for imports of food. Why is that armaments always seem to be paid for with food. In the three years ending 1937-38 Britain will have spent the sum of £475,000,000 on armaments. As a result we find Sir Robert Barclay, Chairman of the District Bank Ltd., declaring in his speech at Manchester that this country may yet be faced with a sharp rise in the price of foodstuffs as a result of the "uneconomic outpouring of public money."

All the bankers seem to be agreed upon one point. That the recovery from the Depression is now world-wide, but that for the most part it is the home market in every country which is enjoying the revival in prosperity. The revival in the home market, of course, is largely stimulated by the armament programme of the particular country (and all the world, alas, is rearming). Sooner or later, of course, saturation point must be reached in a home market. So it is absolutely imperative, if a slump is not to follow on, to bring about a revival of world trade.

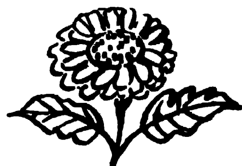
Do we realise the perfectly awful state of world trade? Prices are at last rising—wholesale prices in practically every country have during the past year risen by something like 7 per cent—and this should mean a revival in international trading. But the revival is slow in coming about, perhaps it cannot come about, because all the great nations nowadays, and not the least our own under the reactionary guidance of Mr. Neville Chamberlain, are hampered by tariffs and quotas and all sorts of restrictions when they trade abroad. Great Britain is said to be doing better than are other countries in this matter of recovering her export trade. But even so the value of our export trade in 1936 was still £228,000,000 less than it was in 1929.

So we would all be the better for another World Economic Conference, another attempt to find a solution of the difficulties which seem to be common to all countries. Apart from all considerations of a coming war the problem is this : now that recovery has set in, how can we prevent that recovery from becoming a boom and then a slump? Germany's mirrage is to have a short, sharp war with Russia, to bring home the Ukraine, and to find in these new territories, rich in natural resources, the recompense for all her present gigantic effort. But the war won't be short, though it will be sharp, and with modern horrible chemical warfare the riches of the Ukraine will most certainly be destroyed. . . . . And what of the waste of life?

If instead of thinking of armaments and defence, our rulers would start thinking of war in terms of a waste of life, might they not seek some other way out than reliance on death-dealing instruments? Even if it were possible, it would not be desirable to be so strong as to be able to hold down the world in subjection for all time! The way of progress for everyone concerned lies in a wholehearted attempt to meet difficulties and injustices. You get rid of nothing merely by getting rid of their exponents. However many of them you kill in war, others will rise up again.

Let us call a Conference before it is too late.

February 1st, 1937.



ECONOMIC ACTIVITY IN ANCIENT INDIA

By P. BANERJEA, M.A., D.SC. (London), M.L.A., Bar-at-Law

In very early times, the wants of the people of India must have been few. The bulk of the population then lived in villages. Agriculture was the main occupation of the people, and their simple industrial needs were met locally. Village economy was at this time of an extremely simple character. With the advance of civilization, however, wants multiplied, and the standard of life tended steadily to rise.

Recent discoveries tend to push back the early history of Indian civilization by several thousand years. The excavations at Mahenjo-daro and Harappa reveal the fact that the Indus valley was the seat of a great culture[1] during the period known as the Chalcolithic. The people lived in cities, some of which were quite large. Towns were laid out according to well-defined plans in which public wells and public baths found suitable places. The houses were roomy and well-built, and provided with wells, bathrooms, sanitary arrangements, and elaborate systems of drainage. Burnt as well as sun-dried bricks were used for constructing houses. There is thus ample evidence that the ordinary towns-people "enjoyed here a degree of comfort and luxury unexampled in other parts of the then civilized world."

Agriculture was practised on a considerable scale. Land was irrigated with the aid of artificial canals and embankments. The principal food-grains were wheat and barley, while the flesh of animals, milk, and vegetables also formed articles of diet. There was quite a large variety of domesticated animals, and wild animals were killed for food. Mines were worked, the important minerals being gold, silver, copper, tin, and lead.[2] Gold and silver were by no means rare metals at Mahenjo-daro, the latter being more plentiful than the former. Gold was used for the manufacture of personal ornaments of all kinds, some of which were remarkable for the high finish given to the surface of the metal. Silver was fashioned into articles of jewellery, but was also made into relatively large and heavy vessels for domestic use. Copper had already to a large extent taken the place of stone for the manufacture of weapons, implements, and domestic utensils. It was employed also for the cheaper kinds of ornaments. Tin was used as an alloy with copper for the making of bronze.[3] Bronze articles discovered at Mahenjo-daro comprise utensils, tools, weapons, statuettes, and jewellery. Bronze was preferred to copper for the manufacture of weapons and implements requiring sharp cutting-edge and for ornaments and other articles in which a fine finish was desired. An alloy of copper and arsenic was used for hardening the metal. Iron probably had not yet come into use.

Stone was obtained from more or less distant places for building purposes as well as for making statues and other objects. A sort of plaster, made of gypsum, was used as mortar. Semi-precious stones were used with fine colour effect for beads and other ornaments. The more important varieties of such stones were lapis lazuli, turquoise, amazon, rock crystal, steatite, amethyst, agate, carnelian, onyx, jasper, blood-stone, and jadeite. Of the miscellaneous minerals, bitumen, red ochre, green-earth, and

1. Sir John Marshall observes: "One thing that stands out clear and unmistakable both at Mahenjo-daro and Harappa, is that the civilization hitherto revealed is not an incipient civilization, but one already age-old and stereotyped on Indian soil, with many millennia of human endeavour behind it. Thus India must henceforth be recognized, along with Persia, Mesopotamia and Egypt, as one of the most important areas where the civilizing processes of society were initiated and developed."—*Mahenjo-daro and the Indus Civilization*, p. viii.

The Indus culture, according to Sir John Marshall, corresponded in its general features with the Chalcolithic culture of Western Asia and Egypt. "In other respects, however," says he, "it was peculiar to Sind and the Punjab and as distinctive of those regions as the Sumerian culture was of Mesopotamia or the Egyptian of the Valley of the Nile."—*Ibid.*, p. vi.

2. Sir John Marshall observes: "The metals may have been mined within the confines of India itself, where all of them, including even tin, are obtainable; or they may have been imported from neighbouring countries to the north and west . . . Gold, according to Sir Edwin Pascoe, is likely to have come from the south of India rather than from other quarters."—*Mahenjo-daro*, p. 30.

3. "The discoveries at Mahenjo-daro and Harappa have completely disposed of the hitherto accepted theory that bronze was not manufactured in India during the pre-historic age."—*Ibid.*, p. 31.

E. Mackay says that at the time these objects were produced, the Indus people had passed much beyond the experimental stage and had acquired a very good knowledge of the properties and working of bronze.—*Ibid.*, p. 481.

tollingite deserve mention. Several other materials, such as bone, ivory, shell, faience, and vitrified paste, natural or artificial, were in use for ornamental purposes as well as for making various small articles.

Spinning was in these pre-historic days practised by the well-to-do and the poor alike, the spindle-whorls being made of the more expensive faience as well as of the cheaper pottery and shell. The art of weaving was also practised extensively. Both cotton[4] and wool were used for textiles. Textiles were dyed in different colours. The dress of the people was varied; the more well-to-do among them wore long shawls covering the body and reaching down to the feet. Ornaments were worn by all classes, the most common of these being necklaces, fillets, armlets, finger-rings, girdles, ear-rings, and anklets. The ornaments used by the rich were of gold and silver, faience, ivory, and semi-precious stones, while those used by the poor were made mainly of shell, bone, copper, and terra-cotta. Some of these ornaments showed great skill in workmanship and a fine sense of colour.

Weapons of war or of the chase comprised axes, spears, daggers, bows, arrows, maces, and slings, but no traces of defensive armour has yet been found in the excavated areas. Wheeled vehicles were not unknown. Copper and bronze had already superseded stone for weapons of war and the chase. Vessels of copper and bronze were relatively rare; of silver, still rarer. But most of the domestic vessels were earthenware. These were of a great variety of shapes, and adapted to various purposes. The multiplicity and variety of the shapes of these vessels are evidence of the fact that the craft of the potter had been practised in the Indus valley from time immemorial. Most of the Indus pottery was wheel-made, well fired and plain; but painted ware was by no means uncommon. Various kinds of toys were also made of terra-cotta.[5] Examples of artistic work were to be found in engraved seals, armlets, and other small objects. Not only did internal trade exist, but commercial relations were maintained with foreign countries. Thus it is clear that considerable advance had been made in industry and trade in these early times.

This culture was perhaps not confined to the Indus valley, but probably extended eastward as well as towards the south. The Indus civilization seems also to have been connected with the other river civilizations of the period, although it was, in the main, individual and national in character. The Mahenjo-daro antiquities, so far unearthed, probably do not belong to a date earlier than 3250 B.C.; but, as Sir John Marshall rightly observes, "the culture represented must have had a long antecedent history on the soil of India, taking us back to an age that at present can only be dimly surmised." It is generally believed that the Indus civilization was pre-Aryan,[6] but the question does not seem yet to have been finally settled. Nor are we sure about the relations, if any, between this civilization and the Aryan culture, on the one hand, and the Dravidian on the other. If we assume that the Indus civilization was earlier than the Aryan, it becomes difficult to account for the gap between the life of comfort and luxury lived by the people of the Indus valley and the simpler mode of living of the early Aryan settlers.

From a study of the Vedas it appears that the Indo-Aryans were, in the beginning, a pastoral-farming people. Their wealth consisted chiefly of animals,—cows, buffaloes, horses, sheep, and goats. But cultivation of the land went side by side with cattle-breeding. Their offensive weapons in war were bows, arrows, spears, and battle-axes. They also used defensive arms. Chariots were employed in battle, which implies considerable advance in the mechanical arts. The arts and crafts of this period were domestic and rural, the more important of these being weaving, pottery, wood-work, rope-making, dyeing, tanning, and metal-work. The metals in use at this time were gold, silver, copper, iron, lead, and tin.[7] The carpenter made not only articles of household furniture but also carts, chariots, and boats; the blacksmith turned out domestic utensils as well as imple-

4. The cotton found in Mahenjo-daro resembles the coarser varieties of present-day Indian cotton and is quite unlike the American cotton or any of the finer varieties. The discovery, according to Sir John Marshall, "disposes finally of the idea that the fine Indian cotton known to the Babylonians as *sindhu* and to the Greeks as *sindon* was a product of the cotton tree and not a true cotton." —*Mahenjo-daro*. p. 33. As a matter of fact, there were, as there are now, two varieties of cotton, tree-cotton being used for purposes like padding in pillows and true cotton for weaving.

5. The toy-carts of Mahenjo-daro were made of terra-cotta and are comparable with the modern farm carts of Sind. There is, however, a specimen from Harappa made of copper, which rather resembles the present-day *ekka*. Sir John Marshall observes that these little toy-carts are particularly interesting, as being among the earliest representations of wheeled vehicles known to us.

6. The theory generally accepted by European scholars is that the Indo-Aryans entered the Punjab about the middle of the second millennium before Christ.

7. V. Smith, *History of India*, p. 23.

ments of war; the goldsmith made ornaments of gold and silver. The Vedic Aryans lived mostly in villages which were largely self-sufficient, but exchanges of commodities between different villages were beginning to take place. Towns were not unknown, but they must have been few in number and small in size.

The Aryans were an energetic race, and once they had passed the earlier stages of civilization, their economic progress was rapid and continuous. During the Brahmana period, although the bulk of the people still lived in villages, there was a greater tendency towards the cultivation of a town life among a section of the population. Agriculture reached a greater development. The land was more systematically ploughed, manured, and irrigated, and a larger variety of crops was sown. The use of metals became more important. The older arts of peace as well as of war were pursued with greater efficiency, and new industries began to appear. Occupations tended to become more diversified, while the rudiments of the apprentice system came into existence. Trade became definitely established and means of communication began steadily to develop. An active maritime commerce had begun even in pre-Vedic times between India and Accadian-Semitic Empire of Assyria, and it is well known that Indian produce was exported to the kingdom of Solomon in the tenth century, B. C. There are several references to sea-voyages in the Rig-Veda, while the Baudhayana Dharma-Sutra mentions maritime navigation and taxes levied on maritime trade. The building of boats, and even of ships,[8] had gradually been established as a regular industry. During the Sutra period, further development took place in the industrial life of the people. Associations of craftsmen and traders grew up, partly for economic reasons, such as better employment of capital and facilities of intercourse, and partly for protecting the legal interests of their class.[9] In the Gautama Dharma-Sutra, we read that agriculturists, tradesmen, cattle-breeders, and manufacturers had their own special laws which were authoritative for the king.

In early Buddhist times the rural economy of India was based on a system more or less akin to peasant-proprietorship, subject to the payment of taxes or tithes to the State authority, whether monarchical, oligarchical, or republican. The rights of individuals, however, were subordinate to those of the community. Pasture and woodland were held in common, and irrigation channels were laid by the community. Villagers often united, of their own accord, to build mote-halls, rest-houses, and reservoirs, to repair roads, and even to lay out parks.[10] By the sixth and fifth centuries before Christ a considerable number of towns had come into existence, while some of the older towns had grown into cities. Division of labour was carried much further than before, the occupations becoming more definitely specialised. Though social distinctions had already become fully established,[11] the caste system was not yet so rigid as to prevent the movement of labour from one occupation to another. Considerable proficiency was attained in many of the arts and crafts, the more important of these being weaving, carpentry, leather-work, smithy, metallurgy, ship-building, jewellery, painting, and the decorative arts. With the advance of civilization the builder's art became more and more important. Houses of fairly large sizes were constructed, and we even find mention of a building of seven storeys in height. The use of stone was perhaps rare, but the superstructure of most of the dwellings was either of wood-work or brick-work. Dwelling-houses were often covered with plaster and brilliantly painted in fresco, with figures or patterns. Of the other works of architecture the most important were *stupas* and baths.

Production was individualistic, but the tendency towards concerted action in both industry and trade had by this time become quite marked. Co-operation was now a regular feature of business enterprise, and the more important occupations were organised in guilds. The number of these guilds is often given as eighteen; and these, according to Rhys Davids, included the following: (1) Workers in wood, who were not only carpenters and cabinet-makers, but also builders of houses, of ships, and of vehicles of all sorts; (2) workers in metal, including those who made iron implements as well as those who turned out gold and silver work of great delicacy and beauty; (3) workers in stone, who

8. "It would be strange," observes Z. A. Ragozin, "if the many wide and deep rivers had not encouraged boat-building, even ship-building, and navigation."—*Vedic India*, p. 112.

9. Fick, *Social Organization in Buddha's Time* (translated by S. K. Maitra), Ch. X.

10. *Buddhist India*, p. 49. Rhys Davids says further: "The economic conditions in such villages were simple. None of the householders could have been what would now be called rich. On the other hand, there was a sufficiency for their simple needs, there was security, there was independence. There were no landlords, and no paupers. There was little, if any, crime."

11. Besides the four grades, Brahmana, Kshatriya, Vaisya, and Sudra, there were "low tribes" (*hina-jatiyo*) and low trades (*hina-sippani*) and an insignificant number of slaves who were for the most part household servants.—Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, p. 54.

constructed houses, made carved pillars and bas-reliefs, and did finer work of various sorts; (4) weavers, who not only made ordinary clothes, but manufactured fine muslins and costly and dainty fabrics of silk and wool, rugs, blankets, and carpets; (5) leather-workers, who made numerous sorts of foot-covering and sandals; (6) potters, who made all sorts of dishes and bowls for domestic use; (7) ivory-workers, who made articles for ordinary use and also costly carvings and ornaments; (8) dyers, who coloured the clothes made by weavers; (9) jewellers, who made beautiful ornaments and works of art of various kinds; (10) fishermen; (11) butchers; (12) hunters and trappers; (13) cooks and confectioners; (14) barbers, shampooers, and dealers in perfumes; (15) garland-makers and flower-sellers; (16) sailors; (17) rush-workers and basket-makers; and (18) painters. This last class consisted mostly of house-painters, who covered the walls of houses with plaster or decorated them with painted frescoes.[12]

These guilds were not unlike the mediæval guilds in Europe.[13] It was through their guilds that the king summoned the people on important occasions. The Aldermen or Presidents (*jethhaka* or *pamukha*) of such guilds were regarded as important persons, and they occupied dignified positions in society. The office of an elder was an honorary one and held by a specially efficient member of the organization. The guilds exercised powers of arbitration, while disputes between one guild and another were in the jurisdiction of the *Mahasethi*, the High Treasurer, who acted as a sort of Chief Alderman over the Aldermen of the guilds.[14] Labourers worked mostly on their own account, it being considered a misfortune for a freeman to work for hire.[15] The trade guilds did not always coincide with the castes, but sometimes included members belonging to different castes. It was to the strict supervision and control exercised by the various guilds that the standard of excellence attained by Indian arts was in a very large measure due.

There were trade relations between the different parts of the country. Merchants conveyed their goods either up and down the great rivers or right across the country in carts travelling in caravans. Sea-voyages were also made, particularly along the coast. Silks, muslins, finer sorts of cloth, cutlery, armour, brocades, embroideries, rugs, perfumes, drugs, ivory, ivory work, jewellery and gold were the main articles in which the merchants dealt. Exchange by barter had passed away, and transactions were at this time carried on in terms of the *kahapana*, a copper coin. Silver or gold coins do not seem to have yet come into use. Besides the coins, there was a very considerable use of instruments of credit. Loans were given, on which interest was charged.[16]

Industry as well as agriculture reached a higher degree of development during the Maurya period.[17] The State gave assistance to agriculture in a variety of ways. Loans were granted to cultivators in times of need, and the Agricultural Department of the State served as a sort of information bureau for all interested in agriculture. This department was presided over by a Superintendent whose duty it was to study the conditions of cultivation in the different parts of the country and to introduce improved methods, whenever possible. He collected improved varieties of seeds and distributed them among the agriculturists. He was expected to possess a knowledge of the science of meteorology so as to be able to make forecasts of weather conditions and of agricultural outlook. Dairy-farming and cattle-breeding were also regarded as important, and engaged the attention of the State. Forests were utilised for the supply of raw materials for industries, and proper steps were taken for the growth and preservation of

12. Rhys Davids says that there are passages in the early Buddhist books which "tell us of pleasure-houses adorned with painted figures and patterns, belonging to the kings of Magadha and Kosala; and such frescoes were no doubt similar in character to, but of course in an earlier style than, the well-known ancient frescoes of the seventh and eighth centuries A. D. on the Ajanta caves and of the fifth century on the Sigiri Rock in Ceylon."—*Buddhist India*, p. 96.

13. Fick observes: "The three conditions mentioned, local division of different kinds of work, hereditary character of branches of profession, and the existence of an elder, seem to indicate clearly an organization of handicraft which can be compared in many respects with our corporations in the Middle Ages."—*Social Organization in Buddha's Time*, p. 284.

14. It appears that the number of manufacturers combined into a guild having a common leader could not exceed a certain figure. It is said in the Samuddavanija Jataka that "in a village inhabited by a thousand carpenter families, every five hundred families had a head."—*Ibid.*, p. 283.

The elder seems to have occupied a peculiar position at the royal court. It is said in the Suci Jataka (III. 281) that the senior among the hundred smiths was a favourite of the king, blessed with wealth and property.—*Ibid.*, p. 284.

15. Fick, however, says that on account of the comparatively great respectability and the high salary which the court artists enjoyed, the effort of most of the artists was to get into the king's service; but as this fell to the lot of only a very few, others tried to serve under rich private persons.—*Social Organization*, p. 292.

16. Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, pp. 99-101.

17. *Vide* Megasthenes, Fragment I.

trees of various sorts. Irrigation was practised, this being an object of great solicitude to the State.

Mining was an industry to which considerable attention was paid during this period. Mines supplied a large part of the wealth of India, and the working of these was not confined merely to surface digging. Mines were under State control. They were often leased out to private individuals for a certain proportion of the output or for a fixed rent, but were sometimes worked direct by the State. It was the duty of the State Mining Department to exploit the resources of existing mines in the most economical manner and to carry on exploring operations for the discovery of new mines.[18] The principal ores obtained from mines were gold, silver, copper, lead, tin, and *trapu*.[19] Gold was also obtained from river washing. Precious and semi-precious stones of various kinds were found in different parts of India.[20] The working of the mines, as Hewitt points out, " required practical mechanical skill as well as the scientific aptitude and perseverance necessary to discover the proper method of treating the ores so as to extract the precious metals." As a matter of fact, in metallurgical skill the Hindus at this time had attained to a very high state of efficiency. The treatment and manufacture of metals was conducted under the supervision of the State. Metals were employed in making articles of use and ornament, as well as the implements and accoutrements of war.[21]

Some industries, such as the manufacture of salt and the brewing of liquor, were often worked as State monopolies. Of the other industrial pursuits, weaving and the associated industries were the most important. The State encouraged these handicrafts by offering rewards. The weaving of the finer kinds of cotton cloth and the manufacture of woollen and silken garments received special favour. Kautilya mentions a large variety of woollen cloths manufactured in several parts of the country. Silken garments were made mostly in Benares, Magadha, Pandya, and Suvarnakudya. Of cotton fabrics, those of Madhura, Aparanta, Kalinga, Kasi, Vanga, Vatsa and Mahisha were the best.[22] Dresses were often dyed in pretty colours, while umbrellas and parasols were turned out in different styles and elaborately trimmed. Raw as well as woven silk was often imported from China. The growth of civilization had in fact brought in its train a keen demand for various articles of luxury, and skilled workmen were ready to supply them.[23] Megasthenes says : " In contrast to the general simplicity of their style, they love finery and ornament. Their robes are worked in gold, and ornamented with precious stones, and they wear also flowered garments made of the finest muslin."[24] As V. A. Smith observes, " a high degree of material civilization had been attained, and all the arts and crafts incident to the life of wealthy and cultured city were familiar."

The growth of industry led to the establishment of numerous towns. A great deal of specialization took place in industry which helped the development of the skill of the artisan. The crafts were numerous, and the more important among them were practised under the supervision of guilds or associations[25] which maintained efficient standards in production, settled disputes among members by arbitration, regulated the conduct of apprentices, rewarded special merit, afforded assistance to persons in distress, and provided for religious and social ceremonies. The business of these guilds was conducted by hereditary officers who were controlled by *panchayats* or councils. At the head of each guild was a chief called *sreshthi* or *mukhya*. These chiefs occupied high positions in society. The guilds were, to a large extent self-governing institutions; but during the centralized administration of the Mauryas, they

18. Banerjea, *Public Administration in Ancient India*, Ch. XVIII.

19. Megasthenes observes : " The soil of India has also underground numerous veins of all sorts of metals, for it contains much gold and silver, and copper and iron in no small quantity and even tin and other metals."—Frag. I.

20. *Ibid.*, Frag. XXIV. Curtius, referring to these, observes : " Nor has anything contributed more to the opulence of the natives, especially since they spread the community of evil to foreign nations."

21. Megasthenes, Fragment I.

22. Arthasastra, Bk. II. Ch. XI. Threads were spun of *urna, valka, karpasa, tula, sana,* and *kshauma*.—Bk. II, Ch. III. In the *Mahabharata* we find mention of clothes made of goat and sheep wool, and embroidered with gold, shawls, and brocades, of silks, of *patta* fibres, and of linen. The *Ramayana* mentions silken, woolen, and cotton stuffs of various kinds and of diverse colours.

23. According to Megasthenes, the people of India " were also found to be well-skilled in arts." Fragment I.

24. Fragment XXVII. Arrian says, on the authority of Nearchos : " They wear an under-garment of cotton which reaches below the knee half-way down the ankles, and also an upper-garment which they throw partly over their shoulders, and partly twist in folds round their head."—*Indika* of Arrian (J. W. McCrindle).

25. These were known by the names of *gana* and *puga*.

The caste system had by this time become fully stereotyped. Megasthenes observes : " No one is allowed to marry out of his own class or exercise any calling or art except his own."

were brought under State control.[26] Under the guild system much proficiency was attained in many of the arts, particularly the jewellers', lapidaries', and stone-cutters' arts.

In the days of Chandragupta Maurya, officers were appointed by the State to superintend the occupations of the people. In the city of Pataliputra, there were six administrative boards, consisting of five members each,[27] one of which was entrusted with the superintendence of everything relating to the industrial arts, fixing the rate of wages, and enforcing the use of pure and sound materials. Another board supervised trade and commerce. According to Megasthenes, one of the important classes in India consisted of artisans. "Of these," says he, "some are armourers, while others make the implements which husbandmen and others find useful in their different callings. This class is not only exempted from paying taxes, but even receives maintenance from the royal exchequer." It is likely, as has been suggested by an eminent writer, that Indian craftsmen of these days were divided into three categories, namely, king's craftsmen, guild craftsmen of the towns, and village artisans.[28] As a matter of fact, artisans as a class were regarded as being in a special manner devoted to the public service, and capital punishment was inflicted on any person who impaired the efficiency of a craftsman by causing the loss of a hand or an eye.[29]

The artisans received fixed salaries when in the employ of kings or nobles,[30] and for special excellence of work received substantial rewards. The guild craftsmen were their own masters, subject, however, to control by the particular guilds to which they belonged. They were often obliged to perfom gratuitously certain public services, and to pay taxes from the products of their labour. The village artisans were, as has already been seen, 'part and parcel' of the life of the village. They lived simple lives supplying the needs of the village people. Although many of them acquired great dexterity in their own occupations, their products were mostly of the simpler sorts, which never crossed the boundaries of the village. The more skilled among these artisans often migrated to the towns where they hoped to be able to acquire fame and wealth. Sometimes, an entire village was inhabited by a particular class of craftsmen, such as goldsmiths, workers in brass, or makers of artistic pottery. Such cases were, however, exceptions to the general rule. The village craftsman was a member of a particular caste, and usually he had his connections with craftsmen of the same caste in other villages; but it is doubtful whether he was associated in any corporate capacity with craftsmen belonging to other castes in his own village. It is interesting to note in this connection that slave labour was practically non-existent at this time.[31]

Architecture and sculpture received great encouragement from the rulers, evidence of which is to be found in the numerous *stupas*, *chaityas*, monasteries, and pillars constructed in various parts of the country. The merchants had associations of their own, the leaders of which received official recognition. There was a large expansion of trade and commerce during this period, to which were due, in the main, the prosperity of the country and the flourishing condition of the State finances. As different parts of the country produced different varieties of goods, there was an active internal trade. Merchandise was conveyed either in bullock-carts along the roads or by boats plying on rivers. Trade routes (*vanik-patha*) are classified by Chanakya under four heads, namely, those going north, south, east and west, respectively. The northern and southern routes were regarded as very important, for the principal products of the north were elephants, horses, fragrant substances, ivory, wool, skins, silver, and gold, while in the south conches, diamonds, gems, pearls, and gold and other metals could be obtained in abundance.[32] These

26. Yajnavalkya says: "A king, having duly corrected the castes, families, guilds of artisans, schools and communities of the people that have swerved from their path of duty, should place them on the right path."

27. These boards may, as suggested by A. K. Coomarswamy, "be regarded as a development on official lines of the ordinary Panchayat or Committee of five members by which every caste or trade in India has been accustomed to regulate its internal affairs from time immemorial."- *The Indian Craftsman*, p. 61.

28. Coomarswamy, *The Indian Craftsman.*

29. V. Smith, *Early History of India*, p. 120.

30. Ship-builders and armour-makers were, according to V. A. Smith, 'salaried public servants, and were not permitted to work for any private person. The wood-cutters, carpenters, blacksmiths, and miners were subject to special supervision.

31. Arrian quotes the authority of Megasthenes to observe: "All the Indians are free, and not one of them is a slave. The Lakedæmonians and Indians are so far in agreement. The Lakedæmonians, however, hold the helots as slaves and these helots do servile labour; but Indians do not use even aliens as slaves, much less a countryman of their own." *Indika* of Arrian (J. W. McCrindle). Kautilya says: "No Aryan can be a slave,"—*Arthasastra*, Bk. III, Ch. 13.

32. Greek writers speak of a royal road which went from Pushkalavati near Attock through Takshasila and other places to Pataliputra, and another which led to Indraprastha and thence to Ujjayini.

Megasthenes says: "They construct roads, and at every ten stadia set up a pillar to show the by-roads and

and many other roads connected different parts of the country with one another and with the seaports. The Indian caravans on the western routes were met at border stations by caravans bound for Persia, Tyre, and Egypt. The northern route crossed the Himalayas leading to Tibet and China.

The principal rivers served as waterways, and navigation canals constructed in some parts of the country offered considerable facility for communication and trade. But Indian merchants did not confine themselves to internal trade. Indian ships sailed along the coasts and even made open sea voyages to Persia, Arabia, and Egypt. That the art of ship-building had made considerable progress is proved by the fact that two thousand vessels of all sizes were constructed for Alexander on the upper waters of the Hydaspes. Indian sailors were regarded as experts in their vocation.[33] For the safety and convenience of sea-going vessels harbours were constructed at various places, and some of the sea-port towns attained to positions of considerable importance and renown.

The principal exports from India were: topazes, sapphires, silk, fine linen, muslin, silk thread, indigo, coloured cloths, cotton, rice, oil, cattle, clarified butter, and silver and gold ores. The chief imports into India were: wines, brass, tin, cloths of different kinds, cloves, honey, coarse glass, red sulphuret of antimony, and gold and silver coins.

The supervision and control exercised by the State over the trade and commerce of the country was strict and of a fairly detailed character. The Commerce Department of the State, besides keeping the arteries of communication open and safe and collecting the State dues, performed other important duties. It encouraged the importation of foreign merchandise by remission of taxes in proper cases and affording protection to foreign merchants. The Superintendent of this department facilitated the exportation of goods not required for home consumption. It was his business to acquaint himself with the values of goods in different countries, and he encouraged the production of such goods as might be profitably exchanged for foreign articles. He also furnished the merchants with information relating to such matters as conveyance charges, expenses on the road, the dangers of the journey, and the trade customs of different places. It was the duty of the Superintendent to fix the prices of commodities in cases where merchants were found to have raised prices to an excessive extent by forming combinations among themselves. In case of an over-supply of goods, the Superintendent controlled production until the stock was exhausted. Balances, weights and measures were determined under Government orders. The State also took steps for preventing the adulteration of goods, especially of food articles.[34]

Transactions were carried on. and values estimated, in terms of coins of various substances and denominations. Gold coins were sometimes used, but silver and copper coins formed the bulk of the currency. There were also a considerable use of instruments of credit. It is difficult to say what banking facilities existed in the country, but we know that loans were frequently given. High rates of interest were, however, looked upon with disfavour, and it was perhaps this circumstance which led Megasthenes to say, "the Indians neither put out money at usury, nor know how to borrow."[35]

The industrial activities of the people continued to expand even after the decay and fall of the Maurya Empire. Great progress was also made in architecture and sculpture. In the first century of the Christian Era the industries of the country were in a flourishing condition. Not only was India able to supply herself with all articles of necessity and many articles of luxury, but she exported various kinds of goods to foreign countries in Asia and Europe. The dimensions of the export trade with Rome were such that there was a steady drain of specie and coins from that Imperial City. In 22 A.D., Emperor Tiberius referred in strong terms of condemnation to the use in Rome of articles of luxury imported from India.[36] Pliny wrote

distances." Ten stadia may be taken to be nearly equivalent to the shorter *krosa* which was formerly in use in many parts of India.

33. It was Indian pilots who guided Alexander's vessels.

34. Kautilya, *Arthasastra*, Bk. IV, Ch. 2.

35. Fragment XXVII.

Alberuni, writing 1,300 years later, says: "Usury or taking percentages is forbidden. The sin which a man commits thereby corresponds to the amount by which the percentages have increased the capital stock. Only to the Sudra it is allowed take percentages, as long as his profit is not more than one-fiftieth of the capital, *i.e.*, he is not to take more than 2 per cent."—*India* (Sachau's Translation), Ch. LXVII.

36. Emperor Tiberius wrote: "If a reform is in truth intended, where must it begin, and how am I to restore the simplicity of ancient times? . . . How shall we reform the taste for dress? . . . How are we to deal with the peculiar articles of feminine vanity, and in particular with that rage for jewels and precious trinkets, which drains the Empire of its wealth, and sends, in exchange for baubles, the money of the Commonwealth to foreign nations and even to the enemies of Rome?" Tacitus, *Annals*, iii. 53, quoted in Schoff, *Periplus of the Erythræan Sea*.

half a century later: "The subject is well worthy of our notice, seeing that in no year does India drain us of less than 550,000,000 sesterces (22,000,000 dollars) giving back her own wares, which are sold among us at fully 100 times their first cost."[37] It is worthy of note that this extravagant importation of luxuries from the East, without adequate production of commodities to offer in exchange,[38] was the main cause of the depreciation and degradation of the Roman currency leading finally to its total repudiation. Pliny mentions the production of gold and silver in different parts of India.

The Periplus of the Erythræan Sea gives us a clear account of the seaports and market-towns of India and of the export and import trade of the country during the first half of the first century A.D. Barygaza (Bhrigu-Kshetra, modern Broach) was then the most important seat of commerce in Western India. The articles exported from this port were spikenard, costus, bdellium, ivory, agate, carnelian, lycium, cotton cloth of all kinds (muslins and ordinary), silk cloth, mallow cloth, and yarn; while the goods imported were copper, tin, lead, coral, topaz, thin clothing, flint glass, gold and silver coins, ornaments, wine, and presents for the king. Inland from this place and to the east was Ozene (Ujjayini), a great centre of industrial activity, from which were brought down to Barygaza all things needed for the welfare of the country and many things for the export trade. Another important port was Barbaricum near the mouths of the Indus.[39] Among the market-towns of Dachinabades (Dakshinapatha, modern Deccan) two were of special importance, namely, Paithana (Pratishthana) and Tagara. Towards the south there was a large number of market-towns and ports, the most important of them being Muziris (Murjari) and Nelcynda, from which were exported "great quantities of fine pearls, ivory, silk cloth, spikenard from the Ganges, malabathrum from the places in the interior, transparent stone of all kinds, diamonds and sapphires, and tortoise-shell." The southernmost port was Comari (modern Comorin), near which was the region of Argaru, where were brought the pearls gathered on the coast thereabouts, and from which place were exported muslins, called *Argaritic*. On the east coast was the region of Masalia, where a great quantity of muslins was made. On the Bay of Bengal, near the mouth of the river Ganges, there was a market-town called Gange, through which place were brought malabathrum, spikenard, pearls, and muslins of the finest sorts called *Gangetic*. There were gold mines near the place and a gold coin known as *caltis* was in use.[40]

During the fourth and fifth centuries after Christ the various arts and crafts received a great impetus from the Emperors of the Gupta dynasty. This period was, indeed, like the Maurya period, a golden age for India. Architecture, sculpture, and painting attained a high degree of perfection. Hindu temples were the most characteristic form of architecture of this age, but other forms also received attention. The Ajanta Vihara, that masterpiece of Indian architecture, was perhaps built during this period. The fragments of the frescoes still remaining on the walls give only a rough idea of the marvellous development of the art of painting. The wonderful iron pillar, now to be seen at the Kutb Minar near Delhi, was probably constructed about this time. The perfect welding of the metal and its manipulation were a triumph of skill in the handling of a refractory metal. "It is not the only proof," observes Vincent Smith, "that the ancient Indians possessed exceptional mastery over difficult problems of working in iron and other metals."[41] The great co-operative guilds played in this period, as in the earlier periods, an important part in the industrial life as well as the artistic traditions of the people.[42] It was about this time that Fa Hian, the famous Chinese traveller, visited India. He was greatly impressed by the flourishing condition of the country, with its great cities, its splendid monasteries, and its magnificent buildings. He found the people prosperous: rest-houses were provided on the highways, and hospitals erected for the benefit of the sick and the infirm. Commercial relations existed between India and foreign countries. Tamralipti in Bengal was a great port from which large trading vessels set out to sea. The development of India's maritime trade had

37. Pliny, *Natural History* (quoted in *The Periplus*, Notes).

38. Pliny uttered those words of lamentation: "Oh that the use of gold were clean gone: Would God it could possibly be quite abolished among men!"—*Natural History*, Bk. XXXIII, Ch. I.

39. The exports from this place were: cotton cloth, silk yarn, seric skins, indigo, costus, bdellium, lycium, nard, turquoise, and lapis lazuli. The imports were: thin clothing, figured linens, topaz, coral, storax, frankincense, vessels of glass, silver and gold plates, and wine. —*Periplus of the Erythræan Sea* (Translated by W. H. Schoff).

40. *Periplus of the Erythræan Sea*, pp. 41-48.

41. *Oxford History of India*, p. 196.

42. The *Sukra-niti*, which was probably composed about this time, refers to guilds as *sreni*, *kula*, and *gana*. As regards their functions it says that cases, other than robbery and theft, might be disposed of by them.—Jivananda Vidyasagar's Edition, Bk. V, Ch. V, Sls. 30-32.

brought her into close connection with Burma, Siam, Cambodia, and Java, and the magnificent monuments of Indo-Aryan civilization were being built up in those countries.[43]

Another glorious period for Indian industry and art was the reign of Harsha-vardhana in the first half of the eighth century. The celebrated Chinese traveller, Yuan Chwang, visited India at this time. From him we learn that there was a large number of cities and towns which were surrounded by walls built of bricks. The kings and princes had splendid palaces, while the houses of well-to-do individuals were large, with halls and terraced belvederes. The buildings were tastefully decorated and contained various articles of useful as well as artistic furniture.[44] The monasteries were of most remarkable architecture. The artistic history of Harsha's reign was a continuation of the tradition of the Gupta period. A great part of the Kailasa temple at Ellora was probably constructed about this time.[45]

The dress of the common people was simple but decorous. The clothing materials were cotton, linen, silk, and wool, both rough and fine. The clerical costume of the Buddhists consisted of three robes, and was yellow in colour, while the garbs of the non-Buddhist religious orders were varied. The dress and ornaments of the kings and grandees were very extraordinary.[46]

43. Havell, *Aryan Rule in India*, Ch. IX.

44. As regards furniture, Yuan Chwang says further : "For seats all use corded benches. The royal family, the grandees, officials and gentry adorn their benches in different ways, but all have the same style or form of seat. The sovereign's dais is exceedingly wide and high, and it is dotted with small pearls. What is called the 'lion's seat' (that is, the actual throne) is covered with fine cloth, and is mounted by a jewelled footstool. The ordinary officials, according to their fancy, carve the frames of their seats in different ways, and adorn them with precious substances."—Watters' Edition, Vol. I, p. 147.

45. The so-called Visva-karma Chaitya House at Ellora was perhaps, according to E. B. Havell, the chapel of the guild of masons who resided at Ellora for many generations devoting themselves to the excavation of all the wonderful shrines and monasteries.—*Aryan Rule in India*, Ch. XX.

46. Garlands and tiaras with precious stones were their head adornments; and their bodies were adorned with rings, bracelets, and necklaces. Wealthy mercantile people had only bracelets.

The household utensils were of pottery, wood, gold, silver, copper, or iron. Various kinds of agricultural crops and fruits were grown, and of the metals and precious stones in use gold, silver, bronze, white jade, and crystal were very abundant. There was an active commerce with foreign countries, merchandise being exchanged for rare varieties of precious stones. The media of exchange were gold and silver coins, cowries, and small pearls. Great proficiency was attained in the various arts and crafts.[47] The chief industries were : architecture, sculpture, painting, carpentry, plaster-work, leather-work, weaving, dyeing, embroidery, smithy, jeweller's art, pottery, and clay-modelling. Occupations were hereditary and based on the caste system; but besides the four main castes, there were "mixed castes" which in reality were "guilds and groups of low craftsmen and workmen."[48] An idea of the excellence attained in some of the arts and crafts can be obtained from the description given by Bana of the decoration of Prabhakara-vardhana's palace at the time of Rajyasri's marriage.[49]

Harsha-vardhana was the last monarch to hold suzerain power in Northern India. In the south many powerful dynasties had ruled since early times, and industry as well as art had flourished there under their patronage. During the five centuries following the imperial rule of Harsha, the local rulers and princes of different parts of the country considered it their sacred duty to foster industries and encourage the development of architecture, sculpture, painting, and the other arts.

47. *Yuan Chwang* (Edited by Watters), Vol. I, p. 178.

48. *Yuan Chwang*, p. 170. These groups, according to Watters, included weavers, shoe-makers, hunters, fishermen, water-carriers, and scavengers.

49. Bana says : "The palace was arrayed in textures flashing on every side like thousands of rainbows, textures of linen, cotton, bark silk, spider's thread, muslin, and shot silk, resembling sloughs of snakes, soft as the unripe plantain's fruit, swaying at a breath. imperceptible except to the touch . . . Couches whose gay coverlets cast the *hamsa* tribes into the shade; bodices overlaid with star-like pearls; countless thousands of canvas and cloth pieces..; awnings bright with soft, freshly dyed bark silk; marquees whose roofs were covered all over with garments, and posts swathed in strips of variegated silk."—*Harsha-charita.* (Translated by Cowell and Thomas), p. 125.

SWEDISH WILD FLORA

By LAKSHMISWAR SINHA

SWEDEN, as we all know, is rich in forests, which form one of her greatest national assets. Swedish forests have been for centuries, apart from a small area containing deciduous trees in the most southerly parts of the country, produced and nurtured by Nature herself. For many years, she occupied a prominent position among the soft-wood-producing countries of the world. The rich growth of timbers has been greatly helped by the geographical and topographical conditions of the country. The numerous water-courses from the north-western snowy highlands to the south-east towards the Gulf of Bothnia and the floating channels, whose aggregate length is about 18,000 miles or approximately three-fourths of equator, have facilitated to a high degree the exploitation of those forests. Timbers, floating on the great rivers of Norrland, make an unusual gigantic sight, which I have had the occasion of witnessing many a time during my tours. About 145 millions of logs or 15 million cubic metres of timber are annually floated down, and only about a million cubic metres of timber being carried by rail. Transport in cold water reduces the risk of disease in the logs and that makes the wood, when dried, less apt to shrink, swell or crack than otherwise. It is, therefore, only natural that the country's prosperity, like that of her sister-country Finland, is largely founded on forests.

Not only this, it is also the forest—the world of flora—that plays a determining role in forming, generally speaking, the temperament and character of her people. "It is the forest," says a famous Swedish author, "amid the solemn dirge of the pines, that many a Swedish heart yearns for; it is there they renew the memories of their own childhood, and hear the echo of the childhood of our race resounding through the ages." Indeed, it is the world of flora that has given life and added beauty to the otherwise rocky and snowy country. It has inspired many a poet, writer and artist and, above all, scientist whose names have become immortal in the cultural annals of Sweden,—nay—of the civilized world. Suffice it to mention that Carl von Linne, the greatest naturalist botanist of his time, derived all his inspirations from this world of flora,— and was acclaimed as "the king in the realm of flowers."

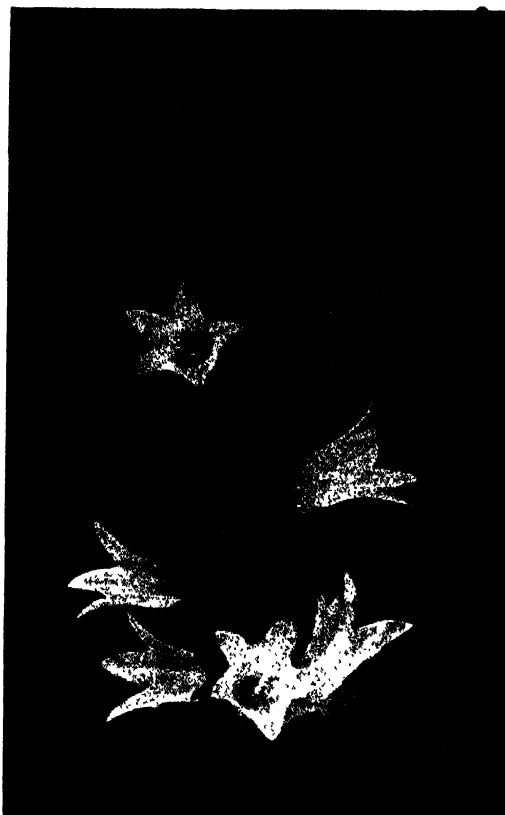
The whole of the Scandinavian peninsula was, as we know from the assertion of the geologists, once during the glacial epoch, covered, as the greater part of Greenland now is, with ice and practically barren of all flora and fauna. The climatic conditions, however, changed in course of time. The masses of ice began to retreat and melt away, and the country became more and more warm and habitable. Thus the flora and the fauna made their appearance conditioned by the climatic changes. Here, it is to be noted that the greater part of flora, which first took possession of the new country, came from the south. We now meet them on the upper region of the country. Then there came a good number of leaf-trees and pine. The spruce, which now grows to an overwhelming degree, entered through the eastern gate of the country across the Finnland. And the last immigrant was the beech, prominent amongst many others.

Present Sweden, being the greatest eastern part of the Scandinavian peninsula, is about 1,150 miles in length—a distance that corresponds to that from the south Swedish town Malmo to the south Italian town Naples. It is only natural that in a country with such vast expanse from north to south, the climatic condition will vary and influence that plant-life and put them under different zones of vegetation. The following are the regions which are not difficult, even for a tourist travelling through the country, to distinguish.

(*a*) The Alpine region; (*b*) the region of birch forests; (*c*) the region of vast coniferous forest, which is divided into two parts, namely, the northern and the southern; and (*d*) the region of beech forest.

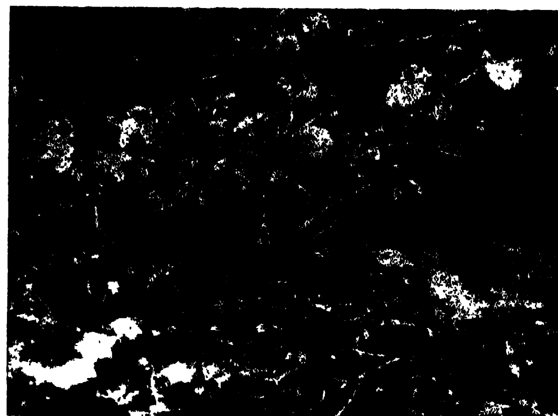
Below is a general account of some of the common flora belonging to the various regions. It should, however, be mentioned here that I owe my little knowledge on the subject to my numerous Swedish friends, who made me acquainted with it during the occasional excursions, and specially, I thank my young friend, Mr. Rangner Hjort (now forest officer and formerly student of the Royal Agricultural College of Sweden), who gave me an orientation of the subject.

The climatic condition of the Alpine region, which extends from the highest and most northern



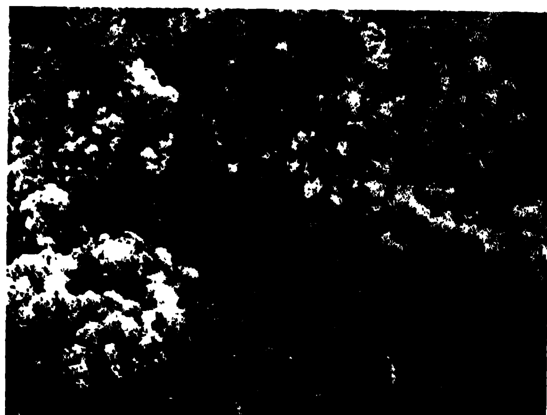
Campariula trachelium usually seen in the province of Vestergotland is to be found also in garden

parts of the country right down to the northern part of the province of Dalacarlia—the heart of Sweden,— is unfavourable to the growth of trees due to severe winter cold and violent wind that prevail there. The characteristic feature of that region is the Alpine heath and the flora belonging to it. I have wandered through the Alpine territories in all seasons. In winter, one has not much to see of flora there, as the snow puts, as it were a white sheet of blanket, more or less thick, all over the land. It, is in the spring and the early summer that one finds the brilliant wild flowers blossoming over the Alpine heath. In watery places, it is even luxuriant and delightful for the eyes. Once, it was in the month of May, I with a Swedish friend made a trip high up in the Norwegian border far north to the Polar circle in Lapland. The solemn and scenic beauty of Lapland, I guess, is far more interesting than its civilization. I carry with me, even today, many an unforgettable sight I then saw. Sometimes, we walked on the slope of mountains, sometimes over the marshes and on the shore of the great mountain-lake Tornetrask. Sometimes, while taking a promenade in the forest of dwarf birches (betula nana), on the rich, soft carpet of lichen and mosses that covers the ground between the

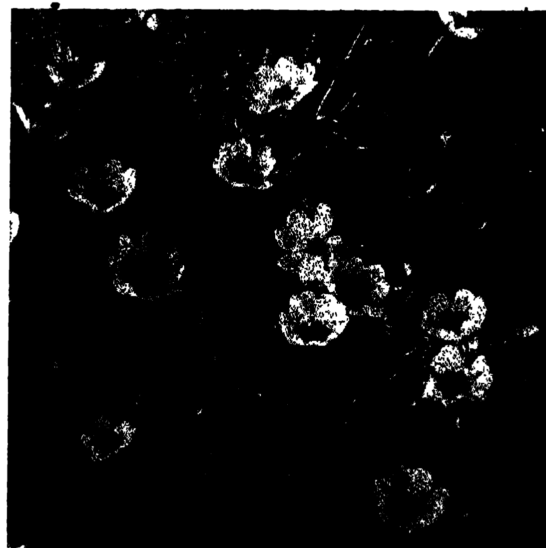


Rhododendron-lapponicum—a flower belonging to Alpine heath, Lapland

shrubs, we caught glimpses here and there of Laps in their hand-made, picturesque, b l u e - r e d costumes and with coloured caps on, and herds of rein-deer browsing on the mountain-heath. Sometimes we strolled together under the May-sun high up early in the morning by the side of a river from an unknown source of eternal glacier. My friend would get excited if he happened to see a flower. "Here you see the Diapensia lapponica! What a name! God has thought of it when creating! Here it is the *fjellbrud* (Swedish)—the bride of the mountain! Isn't it wonderful?"—"Yes, it is really wonderful, —one could not find a better name; for it is really the mountain-bride." It was in that way, I had been introduced to flowers such as yellow light-red ranunculi, casiope tetragona, rhododendron lapponicum, silene acualis, etc. Sometimes sitting by the flowery bush, my little friend would touch a flower with her soft hand and nimble fingers and would keep silent, as if meditating, and sometimes she would pluck one and put it on my robes with a touch of humour. Still today, while writing on flora I see my friend, whose radiant eyes and face often turned into pensive dreaminess and into an elusive state of happiness, that usually distinguishes the character of the nordic people. Some of the predominating flora of the Alpine heath are vaccinicum vitis idaea, phyllodoca-coerulea, myrtillus uliginosa, arctostraphylos alpina, empetrum nigrum, etc., which often one comes across. The upper part of the Alpine region



Reindeer-moss and lichen near Jokkmokk in Lapland



Dyras octopetala—spring flowers of Dyras formation, Abisko, Lapland

is rather poor in species, whereas the lower part is characterized by the luxuriant flora mentioned above. The otherwise monotonous Alpine heath changes its character in places—often near the river or lake sides where the soil is more fertile and moist. Such a place is known as 'Dyras formation'—also covered by grasses and herbs. It (Dyras formation) is characterised by the brilliantly blossoming Alpine anemone. Dyras octopetala, and in addition to them—the saxifrages (the mountain-bride of violet, white and yellow colours), violet leguminosae, yellow and light-red rannunclus, dark-blue gentians give a very charming coloured dress—almost undescribable—to the Dyras formation. A number of lichens makes their way upwards and grows even by the edge of eternal snow. Among the flora of lower Lapland one should mention the junipers (juniperus communis), to be found also in other regions. It has been calculated that the total area of the Alpine region consists of about six millions hectors. In northern Lapland, the limit of the tree-less Alpine region is about 500 metres and in Dalacarlia about 950 metres above the sea-level.

The land below the Alpine region has a favourable climate on the whole to the growth of forests. The autumn-rain and the winter snow supply the soil with water and satisfy the requirements of vegetation in dry and warm periods of summer months, and the mean temperature that prevails is + 11°C even in the most northerly forest regions.

Next to the Alpine region, there comes the region of birch forests, which like belts border the bare Alps. The extreme northern birch forests have the best growth. The lower limit of the birch forest in northern part is about 400 metres and the Dalacarlia 900 above the sea-level.

The birch forests are not always compact, and often mixed with trees such as the rowan and aspen. In some birch forests, the ground vegetations are very luxuriant—especially in places where the soil is moist and fertile. One of my favourite summer resorts, while staying in that country, was the province of Dalacarlia—a province that contains almost all the scenic beauty of the whole of Sweden. On some occasions I stayed with a friend near the famous town Falun. My host was a professional forester and owner of forests. Often he used to take me with him in his car and we made whole-day excursions in the great woodlands of the province. Here and there, we broke our journey and he would then explain to me the nature of the woods, the signs of their age and so on. It was in that happy association, I gathered a little knowledge of how forestry is going on there. It was also in Dalacarlia, while spending summer holidays on a hill called Nyberget, I made many excursions with my hosts in the wild forests and collected the bird cherries, blue-berries, wild-straw-berries and so on both in birch and coniferous forests. Amongst the other characteristic vegetations of the birch forests, are the whortle, the red-currants and cow-berries which grow—often penetrating the thick carpet of lichen and mosses. It was there, we often took bath, swam in forest tarns,

collected the water lilies and seasonal wild flowers such as snow-drops, forget-me-nots, anemones, etc.



White Eriophorum schenenchzeri in Lapland

Next to the birch forest, comes the region of coniferous forest, which covers the endless expanses and thus forms the great woodland of the country. The illustration herein, taken from the hill Djurmo Klack, shows a panoramic view of the valley of the river Dalelven meandering through the mighty coniferous forests of the district. It is a typical view of the northern coniferous forest. It is only the rivers, lakes and moorlands (that one so often comes across while touring), which have broken the monotony of the forests. In the provinces of Jemtland and Dalacarlia, the plough has taken away a good area of forest-land. It is clearly visible when one tours around the lake Siljan and the big lakes of Jemtland. The axe has also interfered almost everywhere but in spite of it most of the forests retain their premeaval character.

The coniferous forest chiefly consists of the pine and the spruce but trees such as the aspen, the rowan, the bird cherry, the common birch, the curled birch and some other also form a part of its composition. The ground vegetations are not many and consist mainly of berry-shrubs and covering of lichen and mosses, whereas grasses and herbs play a subordinate role. Amongst the flowers of coniferous forest are especially to be mentioned the almond scented, tiny crimson coloured Linnea (Linnea borialis)—a name which is derived from Linne—the great botanist, different species of pyrola and lycopodium; and amongst the plants are bog-moss (sphgnum), bear-moss (poly-trichum commune), sedge (carex globularis), horse-tail (equisetum silvaticum) and cloud-berry (rubus chamaemorus).

The southern coniferous forest is marked by the addition of oak and a number of deciduous trees such as the elm (ulmus montana), the maple (acer platanoides) the linden (tilia ulmifolia), etc. The pine and the spruce of almost equal age, however, predominate in the coniferous forests. There are pure pine forests and also pure spruce forest, and in places they are mixed. It is determined by many factors, such as the cutting or occasional fire,—the details of which are not treated here.



Linnea Borealis
on Mt. Hamrafjallet, Jemtland

Next to the coniferous forest, there comes the region of beech forest of south Sweden, which is the most fertile and therefore possesses the best agricultural land. Its great plain but wavy expanses of green fields with decorative groups of beech-woods make the scenery and also the culture different from the rest of Sweden. The region of beech-woods is restricted through cultivation. Some other deciduous trees such as the stalked oak (quercus pedunculata), and sessile oak also form a part in the composition of beech-forest region. It is a sight when the countless anemones come up in the forests of beech in early spring before they put forth leaves. There are other flowers such as yellow-root (galeobdolon luteum) and musk woodruff, which adorn the beech forests in spring and then they disappear in summer.

Wheat, oats, rye and barley form the main cultivated crops of South Sweden and on the whole it reminds one more of the landscape of the sister-country Denmark than the rest of Sweden. In the famous state experimental farm at Svalov, many experiments are made in cross-breeding the cereals which would suit best the different climates and various soils of the country. The subject is too wide to be treated of here. Suffice to mention that clover and timothy are cultivated on pasture ground as fodder-plants.

Amongst the other characteristic flora of



Casiope tetragona near Abisko-jokk, Lapland

the country are those on dwarf-shrub heath. These heaths came into existence due to fire and axing the forests and they often are used as grazing fields. The ordinary ling (calluna vulgaris)—gray green in spring and summer and violet-red in late summer and autumn—covers the ground like an even carpet. The total area of the dwarf-shrubs is considerably great, but they are gradually taken away by the cultivation of forests. Berries of different kinds as mentioned elsewhere, and bell-heather, grasses and herbs are some of the most characteristic flora of the dwarf-shrub heath.

The species of late vegetation are not many but often they—in forest tarn—give special colour and beauty to the great forest regions. Yellow and white lilies, species of weed, and of myrophyllum, common reed, cat's-tail, horse tail, and common bulrush are some of the water-flora.

The vegetation on the shores of the sea is characterized by its special mode of growth and build. The country is known for its moor-land which so often occurs in its literature and poetry. The moor-lands in northern parts of the country below the forest-limit, cover about 30% of the land.

The Island of Oland—like that of Gotland is well-known for its rare flora,—of which only viola elatior, 'onopordum acanthium and ranunculus sceleratus are illustrated here.



Silene acaulis (mountain-glim) also a mountain flower of Lapland

The above is a short but general account of the Swedish wild flora belonging to different regions. Some of the flora are described herein by illustrations.

It was first in 1929, as a stranger, that I visited the house of Linne at Hammarby—not far from Uppsala. I knew little of Linne then, except that he was a great scientist. I went there again in May last (1936), before leaving the north for homeland. It is a modest home, whose one room has been turned into a museum and in another still stands his table and on it his inkpot and pen. This time I felt myself like a pilgrim there. Linne was great as a botanist, a scientist, but also great as a man. My head bowed down to his modest cottage at the thought that a great man had lived there! Is it not true that there is a great unity of realization in the lives of great men, whether scientists or philosophers! I then remembered the great utterings of Linne and they run thus :

"I saw the Infinite—all knowing—all powerful God, from behind moving forwards, and my brain got confused. I followed his foot-steps on the fields of nature and everywhere I found the sign of his foot-prints,—of his infinite wisdom and power. I saw how all living beings are nurtured by the vegetation of earth,—how the earth is moving day and night round the sun which gives the light and life. If one calls Him—Fate, one does not err. For, everything hangs on his finger. If one calls Him—Nature, one also does not err. For, everything comes from Him. One is justified if one calls Him—Providence. For, everything becomes and moves according to His will."

The above still resounds in my mind when I recall my wandering days in forests of the land of Linne.

SWEDISH WILD FLORA



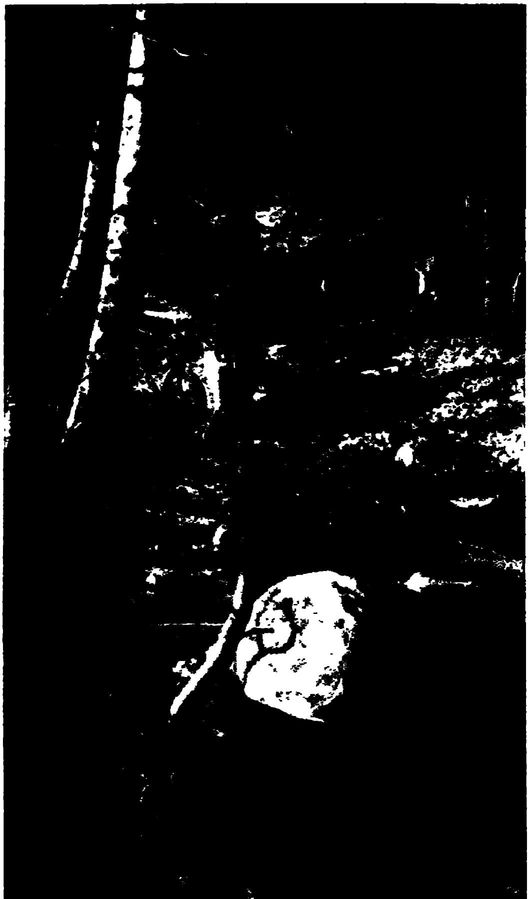






Top : Anemone nemorosa in spring, Dalsland — A view of alpine heath in abisko, Lapland

Bottom : Yellow and light red ranunculi — Whortle-berries



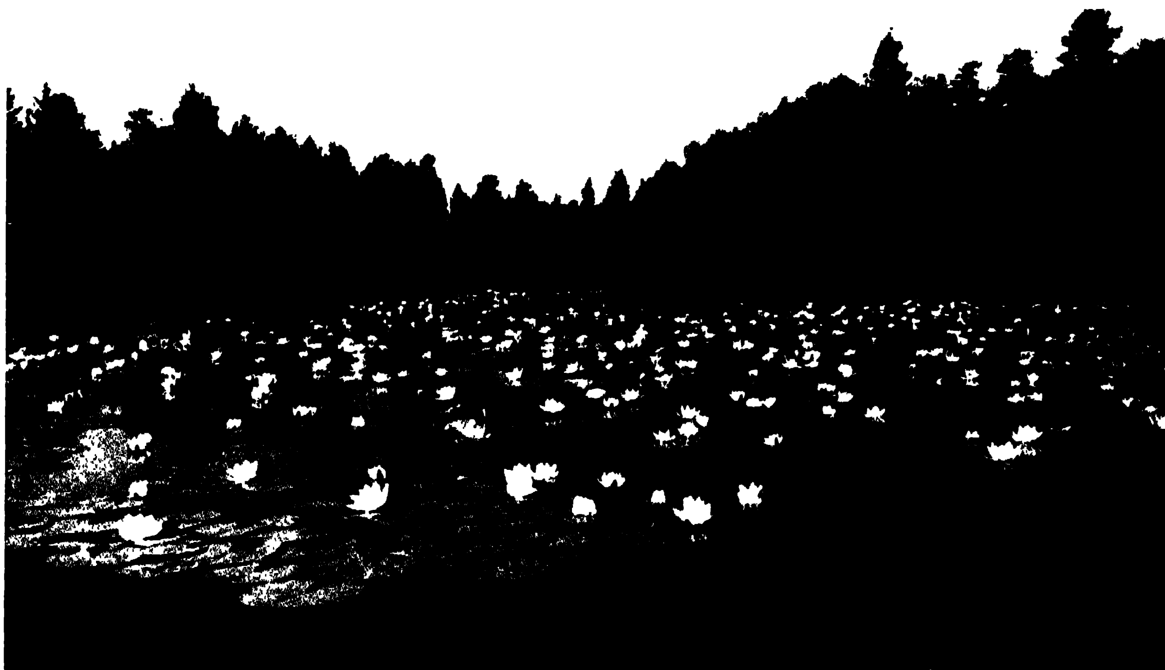
Inside view of a birch forest :
not yet free from snow



A happy maiden
Collecting lilies from a lake

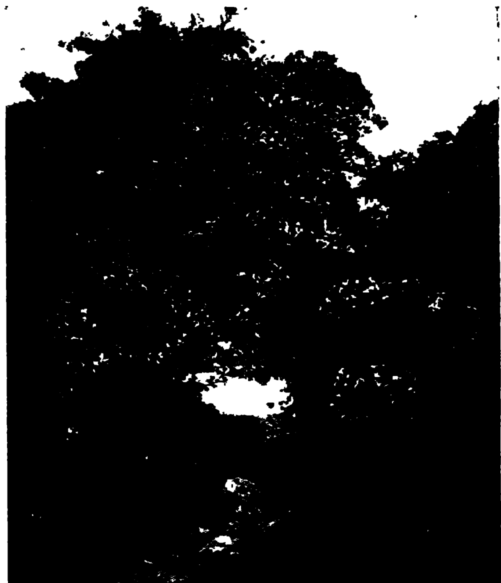


Aconitum Septentrionale from Lapland
Photo taken at 2 o'clock in mid-summer night

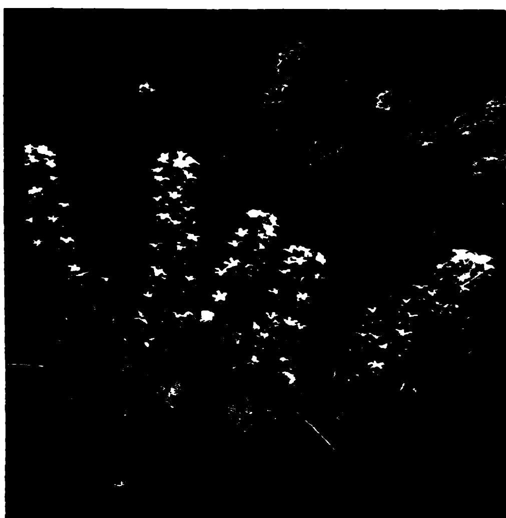


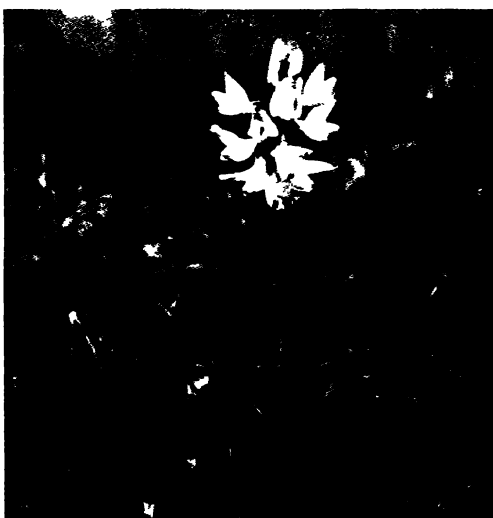
Top : Water-lilies in a forest tarn ; shores are bordered by sedges and pond-weeds
Bottom : A panoramic view of the coniferous forest, taken from the hill Djurmo Klack in Dalacarlia













Top **:** *from the left* **:** Jemtlandspira (Pedicularis Oederi) on the mount Hamrafjallet. Jemtland; High-growing bushes of Hawthorn generally found in Southern coniferous forest: Pipola media. from Tennvalley. Herjedalen

Bottom : *from the left* : Saxifraga Cotyledon (Mountain Bride) on a hill, Jemtland: Astrogalus Alpino. Jemtland: Viola Elatior, a rare and beautiful coloured flower. occurring only in the island of Oland which is rich in rare flora

LAND TAXATION IN INDIA

By MANEKLAL VAKIL, M.A., LL.B.

VI

Assessment and Revision thereof

It is not possible to go into the complicated question of the classification of soil according to its fertility of the procedure of valuation, for assessment is far too elaborate to be understood by anybody except a trained classer of the Settlement Department. With all its defects the work of classification has practically been completed and is alleged to be working well so long as the assessments are moderate.

The principles which govern the revision of assessment in Ryotwari Areas are, of course, not applied in Bengal and other parts of Northern India where the Zamindari System is made applicable so far as the relations between the landlord and the tenant are concerned. In spite of the protection which the local legislation have thought it necessary to provide for against rack-renting by the Zamindar by the various Tenancy Acts, the tendency of the landlord will always be to avoid such laws and go on rack-renting as far as he can under the various powers and State-aid for legal extortion on account of the influence he possesses in virtue of his rich possessions as pitted against the poverty of his individual tenant. Even in the most favourable circumstances the Ryotwari holder of land has had more grounds of complaint against the principles then followed which have had to be amended after long and protracted correspondence between the individual officers from the district and the highest Revenue authority in a province.

Taking Bombay as a typical Ryotwari Area the question of the revision of settlement arose in 1868 on the expiration of the 30 years guarantee for the original settlement of the Indapur Taluka in the Deccan. Owing to the defects in the original survey which were discovered by later experience the first revision settlement involved the work of survey, demarcation and classification *de novo*. In the subsequent revision such work had not had to be done again and survey classifications have now attained a finality except for corrections resulting from subsequent events either as a result of transfers of land or a general result of development of a particular area under revision. Even the question of improvement as general or as individual made subsequently at the cost of the holder has been threshed out and settled after a series of amendments into the following principles under the amended Land Revenue Code in 1886 as under:

> "In revising of assessment of land revenue regard shall be had to the value of land and in the case of land used for the purpose of agriculture to the profit of agriculture provided that if any improvement has been effected in any land during the currency of any previous settlement made under this Act or under Bombay Act I of 1865 by or at the cost of the holder thereof, the increase in the value of such land or in the profit of cultivating the same shall have to be taken into account in fixing the revised assessment."

During the passage of this amendment through the Council, Government further gave an assurance that no reclassification in future revisions would take place but positively the clause admits the right of the holder to have the classification of his fields revised in cases where deterioration from the original standard shall be proved to exist (Bombay Settlement Manual, Vol. 1, page 133).

Subsequent revisions of settlement evolved a gradual regulation of enhancement as a result of general increase in values. Too curiously these graduated regulations of enhancement are still lacking in a uniform policy and illustrate the effects of orders passed on reference from different districts of the same presidency. These are called remissions of enhancements during the first years following upon a revision. In the Deccan and Southern Maratha country and the Gujarat the increases take effect to the extent of 25% additional for every two years until the full increase comes into effect, while in the Konkan the increases are made to the extent of 33% every three years. In Konkan the remission is seven-eighths of the increase for the first five years in waste land and 50% in the first year and a further 25% in the second in the cultivated land if the holding pays Rs. 25|- or over per year. These graduated increases take effect on the total holding of an individual holder. Further there are limitations placed by prescribed rules, namely, (1) that the enhancements are not to exceed in the case of Taluka or group

of villages by 33%; (2) in the case of a single village by 66% and (3) in the case of an individual holding by 100%.

Curiously the principles for revision of assessment are fully gone into mostly from the standpoint of the increase of revenue for the Government but rarely the question of reduction of assessment is ever gone into. At pages 249 to 251 of the Important Resolution of Land Revenue Policy published by the Government of India in 1902, one may read a summary of the methods to be adopted by a Settlement Officer:

> "He reviews fully every circumstances shown in the past revenue history *viz.*, prices, markets, communications, rents, selling and letting of and mortgage value of land, vicissitudes of season and other relevant facts indicating the incidence of the previous assessment and the economic condition of the tract and upon this indication he bases his proposal for enhancement of the reduction of assessment as the case may be . . . Again if the assessment at the original settlement was fixed high and the relation of the assessment to the value and rental of land is found to be high, the Settlement Officer will propose a reduction."

Increases of assessment on agricultural land converted into building site for residential, commercial or industrial purposes in the vicinity of large growing towns and cities are being made on the assumed principle of taxes on unearned increments and the nineteenth century theory of landlord's rent based upon the assumption of the ownership of land being ultimately in the Government of this country.

We have already discussed in a previous section the fallacy of such ownership being vested in Government even in the case of agricultural land. Prior to 1865 the Gaon Thans and building sites in villages, towns and cities continued free from any Government assessment as in the pre-British rule of the Moslem and Hindu States who did not claim to be the owners of land and who considered it a duty to provide such building sites for their subjects free from any assessment. Writes Mr. F. G. Anderson at page 230 of Land Revenue Rules (1931) Bombay Presidency, Reprint Edition, 1935:

> "Up to that time, the importance of properly assessing non-agricultural land had not been sufficiently recognized and that not only had regulations regarding it not been tackled but also they had not been effectively put into operation, or many sites in cities and towns had been encroached upon and were held free of assessment without authority and the same thing would continue in future unless machinery was designed to set work to prevent it."

The obvious remedy adopted was to survey all non-agricultural land in towns and cities with an investigation into the titles. Mr. Anderson writes in his valedictory note to the Bombay Land Revenue Rules on 25th April, 1929, from Monte Carlo that,

> "the revised rules for regulating the conversion of agricultural land to more profitable uses are step by step usurping the ideals of long ago (set for them by himself) in supplement (a) Part (II) of his compilation of the rules."

Since 1928 the standard rates are determined at 5% on half the full market value in the case of building sites in large cities. Mr. Anderson writes at page 357:

> "It has been the fixed policy of Government to secure for the public at least half of this income and this *could not have been done* unless the periods of revision of assessment are fixed, say 15 years at the most. The Government of India expressed its opinion that thirty years should be the *maximum* period. The Bombay Government adhered to the 50 years period up to 1928 and a *minimum* of thirty years since then. In many localities standard rates were vitiated by concessions to induce holders to use their lands in a sanitary manner which further divorced the assessment from the value."

The public bodies including the municipalities made representations to Government that the building sites ought to be free from assessment in the interest of better sanitation. The officers of Government propose to levy from time to time increased assessment on the unearned increments in the market value of land to secure more and more revenue by executive action without the sanction of the Provincial Legislature even since 1919. The illegal and unconstitutional character of such increases in taxation have already been pointed out above under Section 80-A (3) (a) and Rule 2 made under the Government of India Act of 1919.

If any concession is made in lowering the standard rate and further reduce it to 3|8ths of the standard rate for residential buildings built on not more than ¼th of the land *e.g.*, the concession of 1936 in the case of Ahmedabad and its growing suburbs, Mr. Anderson will call such modification the vitiation of the principle of fixing the full standard rate at 5% on half the market value at the time of revising the assessment within the period of 30 years for which the standard rate has been notified for a particular zone. In London the revision is stated to take place every ten years.

The municipalities revise their assessments annually or at short intervals of two or three years. The Taxation Inquiry Committee of 1925 in their recommendation No. 33 said that the practice to make over to the municipalities a substantial fraction of the receipts from town lands should be generally adopted. The Bombay Government in their notification No. A-1|4 dated 4-27|11|1930 have announced that a portion of these assessments should be assigned to local bodies but so far this principle was not acted upon on the grounds of financial

stringency, throughout all the years since 1930. The increase in city-land-values should be taxed for local purposes chiefly for better transport and sanitation but Government ought to disclaim all ownership of land in building sites and the consequent theory of rent and should leave the local bodies to tax all unearned increments for local purposes. So far the efforts of public bodies and the municipalities have had no effect on the Executive Government towards declaration of a definite uniform policy applicable to all the growing towns and cities throughout the Bombay Presidency or any other province. The remedy of civil suit is very dilatory and can only decide the land issue of the constitutional or local character of an increase of assessment. The Taxation Inquiry Committee in their recommendation No. 34 definitely stated :

"As regards the taxation of unearned increment it is both impracticable and unfair to impose a tax on increments in land value that have already accrued and that it is not impracticable to tax future increments especially in large towns which can afford to employ highly paid and competent staffs to have accounts maintained of improvements affected after a fixed date with a view of taxation on the occasion on which the duty would be levied."

Notwithstanding such a recommendation the Collectors of Districts are still levying increased assessments retrospectively. A Textile Mill in a district town objected to the increased assessment levied by the Collector and filed a suit against Government about the year 1928. It was decided against the Company in the lower Court about 1930 against which an appeal was filed in the High Court of Bombay. It did not reach the hearing till August 1936 and the High Court decided against the retrospective levy of a duty but under the Land Revenue Code, as it stands, the High Court upheld the right of Government to levy such a duty for the future. Unfortunately on behalf of the Company neither the point of a guaranteed fixed period of 50 or 30 years as the case may be, nor that of the unconstitutional and illegal levy of increased assessment offending against Section 80-A (3) (*a*) of the Government of India Act of 1919 was raised and the decision does not help the public on this issue even after such a protracted period of litigation. It remains to be seen whether the situation could be in any way improved by a quick amending legislation under the Provincial Autonomy of the new Legislatures of 1937.

Increases under revised assessments have taken place upto 1924 as a result of general rise of world prices in consequence of the effects of the last World War, though prices again showed a downward tendency in the post-War period, particularly the prices of agricultural raw produce since the highest price of 1920. We shall examine the effects of this fall and the case for reduction in the next section.

VII

Popular Demand for Reduction in the Land Tax and the Future

The popular outcry against this post-War and even prior enhancement system has been continuous for thirty years and has assumed more vocal form in 1924 and later. Before the Non-co-operation days of 1921 the Indian National Congress was persistently asking for a permanent settlement. The Provincial Conference of the landlords of Gujarat in the Bombay Presidency in 1918 and again in 1919 unanimously adopted resolutions which demand a permanent settlement with an appreciable reduction in the prevailing high rates of assessment. The Gujarat Landholders' Association of Kaira submitted a detailed answer to the questionnaire of the Land Revenue Assessment Committee, Bombay of 1924. In spite of these demands for reductions, the Assessment Committee made their recommendations for increases against which started a popular agitation in the famous Bardoli Taluka of the Surat District. The Bombay Government after a strong and prolonged agitation arrived at a compromise by appointing a special Inquiry Committee for Bardoli against this enhancement to be presided over by a Judicial Officer and the Broomfield Report was the outcome of it, when Mr. Bhulabhai J. Desai instructed by Sardar Patel appeared on behalf of the Bardoli Khatedars and had to withdraw under protest on the Revenue Officer's refusing to disclose facts in cross-examination before the said Inquiry Committee. The scope of the Inquiry was of a limited character and the fundamental issue as to the basis of the Land Revenue Policy was studiously excluded from the terms of reference. The same studious care is to be observed under the terms of reference of the Royal Commission on Agriculture in India appointed by His Majesty's Government in London. The bureaucratic Executive Government are already aware of their weak position on the fundamental issue which is adversely commented upon by the various official special Committees or Commissions who dealt with this question as within the scope of their inquiry. The Indian Taxation Inquiry Committee of 1924-25 have made a

recommendation of standardising an assessment at a flat rate not exceeding 25% of the annual value (recommendation No. 24). The annual value for agricultural land is defined in recommendation No. 21 as the gross produce of land less cost of production including the value of the labour actually spent by the farmer and his family on the holding and the return for enterprize. Large owners are recommended for being subjected to a tax on income or to succession duty or both. The reduction at a flat rate of 25% of the annual value should be accompanied by an increase in the local rates subject to a maximum of 25% of the Revenue Assessment.

The landholders of Kaira in 1925 demanded legislation to fix the assessment with due regard to the value of non-agricultural land and to the net profits of agriculture in the case of arable lands and that the rate of tax based on such value or net profits should always be determined by the legislature. They also indicated clearly that the net profits can only be arrived at by deducting therefrom the following items (1) Interest on the mortgage value of the field assessed; (2) Remuneration for the occupants' labour of supervision and organization; (3) Cost of ploughing; (4) Manuring; (5) Sowing; (6) Weeding; (7) Watering when necessary; (8) Watching crops; (9) Cutting; (10) Husking; (11) Marketing; (12) Accounting; (13) Depreciation of cattle and impliments and (14) Reparations to the hedges of the soil etc. Ricardo's Theory of Rent accepted by the English economists for the purpose of taxing the income of the English landed estates has been definitely rejected by all Indian writers as not applicable to the share of the State as land tax collected directly or indirectly from the peasant. This theory if at all applicable can be applied to the estates of the intermediate large landholders by extending the tax on income of the rent realised by them from their peasants as tenants. The Bureaucracy has always fought shy of incurring the odium of and offending these large Zamindars who have been their own creation and their income has been specifically excluded from the Indian Income-tax Acts notwithstanding so many opportunities of amending Acts since 1860. They have equally evaded all recommendations of the various Commissions for not revising Land Assessment by executive action. The Royal Commission on decentralization of 1906 in para 252 recommended :

"The general principles of assessment, as the proportion of the net profits of the land which the Government shall be entitled to take and the period of settlement should be embodied in Provincial Legislation instead of being left to the executive order as is the case outside Bombay. Even in Bombay it is not wholly embodied in the Land Revenue Code but is left by rules made thereunder to the vagaries of executive policy."

The Government of India succeeded in persuading Lord Morley not to give effect to the above recommendation who wrote in his Despatch No. 91, dated 21st October, 1910 :

"It is not expedient for the present to take action on this proposal."

The J. P. C. in discussing the India Bill of 1919 reported in para 11 enjoining this duty on the Government of India in these words :

"The Committee are impressed by the objections raised by many witnesses to the manner in which certain classes of taxation can be laid upon the people of India by executive action without in some cases, any statutory limitation of the rates and in other cases any adequate prescription by statute of the methods of assessment . . . the basis of revising the land assessment ought to be brought in closer regulations by statute as soon as possible . . . the people who are affected by the pitch of assessment have no voice in the shaping of the system, and the rules are often obscure and imperfectly understood by those who pay the revenue . . . The subject of land revenue is one which probably would not be transferred to Ministers . . . and the system should be established on a clear statutory basis before this change takes place."

Section 80-A Clause 3-A of the Government of India Act of 1919 and Rule 2 thereunder seem to control any increase of taxation including land revenue by executive action. In spite of this provision increased revenue assessment both on agricultural and non-agricultural lands are being carried out, though the question has not yet been raised in a Court of Law to test the illegal, unconstitutional and unauthorized increase by executive action. Even the J. P. C. Report of 1934 of the new India Bill which is now passed into India Act of 1935 in rejecting the claims to special protection of Zemindari interests by

"A statutory declaration which would have the effect of maintaining unaltered and unalterable for all times however strong the justification for its modification might prove to be in the light of changed circumstances, every promise or undertaking of he King made by "the British Government in the past" definitely remarks, "we could not contemplate so far reaching a limitation upon the natural consequences of the change to responsible government." (Vol. I para. 371).

The question of Reserve Forests and the provision of more grazing grounds to the cattle of the agriculturists or to the cattle farming, roaming shepherds and the question of the grazing fees to be levied from the latter are special problems which could not be gone into fully in this general question of land taxation. Lord Linlithgow's present activity as Viceroy to

encourage cattle breeding has induced local Governments and the Revenue Officers to look for more grazing grounds for such encouragement. On the other hand Lord Linlithgow's Commission have come to the following conclusion in their report :

> "After an extensive survey of the possibilities of the extension of grazing land, we are of opinion that no large additions to the existing grazing areas are possible and effort should therefore be concentrated to increasing the productivity of the land already grazing grass. The scope for such efforts is very great."

A careful use of the existing grazing land and the storage of silage are also recommended as future possibilities requiring much propaganda. Until the Village Panchayats are properly formed and the peasant re-educated into the duties of looking after the common affairs of the village, all such recommendations are difficult to be carried out but need not take long if the Panchayats and the literacy of the peasant are first attended to.

Under the India Act of 1935, Provincial Autonomy involves the control of land taxation by a local Legislature, and it remains to be seen how the new Provincial Legislatures with Upper and Lower Chambers are going to work the whole question of Land Revenue in the light of the experiences of the last 100 years or more which have left the peasantry in an utterly impoverished and helpless condition. The phenomenal fall of world prices since 1929 accentuating the earlier steady fall of agricultural produce since 1920, have made it a very strong case for reduction in land taxation, and still the Executive Government of the Provinces chooses to carry on the existing Policy of Land Assessment leaving it to the Central Government to adopt the remedies of currency and inflation and tariff-protection to stop the aggrarian discontent from reaching the climax. In 1931-32 for instance, the U. P. Zamindars were remitted half the land revenue while the Zamindars were ordered by the Government to remit 14 annas to the peasant. The fall in the prices of Indian wheat in competition with foreign wheat from Australia and elsewhere had to be counteracted by an import duty on foreign wheat. The juggleries of modern finance have upset all calculations based upon theories and rules of the orthodox economists of the 19th century and even so the Provincial Finance Member simply tries to carry on without going into the root of the problems of Land Taxation in India. Even in the new Provincial Autonomy the juggleries of currency and tariffs further complicated by Imperial influence, will not make it an easy problem which awaits solution at the hands of Provincial Ministers of Finance under the handicap of the safeguarding power of the Governor or Governor-General to protect the larger landed interests made still powerful in organization through the Upper Chamber in some Provinces.

VIII

Conclusions of the Indian Taxation Inquiry Committee Examined

The Indian Taxation Inquiry Committee of 1925 appointed by the Government of India have examined the question of Land Revenue and the charge for water fairly exhaustively in Chapters IV & V of their Report and a few salient extracts from the same will not be out of place when the question of Land Revenue in the Reformed Councils of 1937 will come within the purview of responsible Ministers in the Provinces of India. The Committee consisted of the following persons—Sir Charles Todhunter, I.C.S., as President, the Maharaja of Burdwan, Sir Percy Thompson, the Honourable Sardar Jogendra Sing, Dr. R. P. Paranjpe, Dr. L. K. Hyder as members with B. Rama Rao, I.C.S., as Secretary. From the above names it will be seen that the interest of the large Zamindars were well represented by the Maharaja of Burdwan and Sardar Jogendra Sing.

The Committee was handicapped by their instructions regarding the question of Land Revenue. "In respect of this matter the Committee's instruction differed in some respects from those relating to other particulars of the system. They are to include in the inquiry consideration of the Land Revenue only so far as is necessary for a comprehensive survey of existing conditions. They are not required to make suggestions regarding the system of settlement." In subsequent correspondence these instructions were relaxed.

In the case of permanent settlement of Bengal which was made with the Zamindars, "The assessment of them was fixed approximately at 10/11ths of what the Zamindar received in rent from the Ryots, the remaining 1/11th being left as a return for their trouble and responsibility". It will thus be seen that the original intention was only to give a very small portion namely 1/11th of what they received from the Ryots, this being a deduction from the State share for the trouble of the Zamindars. The Committee remarks, "It will be observed that the Revenue collected from the Zamindars was a very high percentage of the rental". Later history shows that the tenants had to be protected by Legislation

against these Zamindars and while the settlement with the Zamindar remained unaltered, he went on increasing his rent from the tenants, and later on with the establishment of internal peace, cultivation of more waste land and the rise of price of produce, the rent recovered still increased in the total while the settlement with the Zamindars being unalterable became proportionately much lighter and even so it is still not made liable to any Income-tax by the Indian Legislature.

After examining the main features of the system of Land Taxation in European countries and also in the Indian provinces as obtaining in the British period of Indian History, the Committee points out "an extreme uncertainty as to what is the share taken of the net produce of land as a share of the State." "In other countries Land tax is imposed at a definite rate upon a definite basis of assessment. In India the basis may be rental or net produce. The rental may be customary controlled or assumed; the net produce may include or exclude the subsistence of the cultivators. The rate may vary with the opinion of the individual Settlement Officer as to the circumstances of the tract, with the conditions of the District at the time of settlement, or with the opinion of the local Government of the day as to what is a reasonable increase to take. As a consequence it is impossible to say what is the incidence of the Land Revenue upon the rent."

On the question whether Land Revenue is a tax or a rent the Committee was equally divided and unable to record a unanimous and definite finding. They however agreed that since it forms a deduction from the national dividend it should be taken into consideration in dealing with the question of the incidence of the tax on the country as a whole.

In their opinion, "Under both Hindu and Mohammedan rule the State never claimed the absolute or exclusive ownership of the land and definitely recognized the existence of private property in it." "While it is thus clear that the British do not succeed to any rights of absolute ownership it would be obviously dangerous to draw final conclusions of a general nature regarding the conditions in a vast country with a heterogenous population split up into a large number of small States each of which had its own separate history and which had come under the British Government at different periods and under different circumstances."

On the question of the canon of convenience applied to the Indian Land tax at present the Committee remarks, "The income out of which the assessment is to be paid however fluctuates enormously with the vagaries of the monsoon and other causes. Some relief is given in many provinces by the partial or complete suspension or remission of the assessment when there is a failure of crop but it is undoubtedly the fact that the inelasticity of the Land Revenue drives a large number of people to the money-lender during bad seasons." Further "The process of settlement continues in some provinces for years together and involves maticulous inquiry by a very large staff to be followed by appeals against the assessment which number in thousands, the inconvenience and expense to the Royts is undoubtedly very considerable."

Increase in the population, paucity of alternative employments, the Law of Inheritance, the attachment of the people to the soil and their unwillingness or inability without assistance to form their estates into economic holdings out of the excessive fragmentations, heavy indebtedness and low production are some of the other chief causes of pauperization of the peasant over which he has no control. "Meanwhile, the tendency which is so conspicuous in the system of taxation in Western countries, namely, the allotment of this source of Revenue mainly for local purposes, has not yet made itself manifest to any appreciable extent in India. The Land Revenue in India is still largely a direct impost levied almost solely for provincial purposes. Only a very small fraction of the tax collected from the cultivator is actually used for rural development, and the illiterate peasant is therefore unable to recognise the benefits which he derives from the direct tax he pays."

The Committee in the end recommended a flat rate of 25 per cent of the annual value by which they mean the gross produce less cost of production including the value of the labour of the peasant and his family and the return for enterprise. This reduction of rate should be accompanied by an increase of local cesses to the extent of 25 per cent of the State demand which can be used for the local benefits of a village as a whole. The Committee's report has turned from blue to grey since 1927 but no Provincial Government has attempted any action in this matter.

The Committee also recommended that the larger Zamindars should be subjected to a graded income-tax and the Central Government has attempted no action on it. The Report has thus been merely shelved in the Government archives.

(To be concluded)

THE BANKING SYSTEM OF JAPAN

By A. RAMAIYA, M.A., F.R.E.S.

THE modern system of banking in Japan dates from the promulgation of the National Banks Regulations in November, 1872 Banks of every description have since then been created in quick succession, and with the exception of a few indigenous institutions, the majority of the financial organs in Japan may be said to have been established under Government direction, modelled after foreign institutions. Besides the "ordinary banks" which engage in commercial credit operations and have developed essentially as deposit banks, there have been established a series of "special banks" making a specialty whether of foreign exchange business, of mortgage banking, or of credit operations on personal properties. In addition there are savings institutions, both public and private, and trust companies as well as insurance companies which are also important investment agencies. Today the various groups of banking institutions ministering to the needs of the community, commercial, industrial or agricultural, form a well systematized financial structure with the Bank of Japan as the central bank of issue.

In the accompanying table, the banking institutions are classified, in accordance with the usual practice, into those engaged in short-term commercial credit operations, those handling long-term investment banking business, and the people's co-operative credit institutions :

Classification.	Year Established.	Number Existing	Capital or contributions paid in (in thousands of yen)
I. Essentially Commercial :			
Bank of Japan ..	1882	1	45,000
Bank of Taiwan ..	1897	1	13,125
Bank of Chosen ..	1910	1	25,000
Yokohama Specie Bank ..	1880	1	100,000
Ordinary (commercial) Banks	1872	782	1,296,411
II. Essentially Investment :			
Hypothec Bank of Japan	1897	1	84,626
Agricultural and Industrial Banks ..	1897	19	77,150
Industrial Bank of Japan	1902	1	50,000
Hokkaido Colonial Bank	1899	1	12,500
Industrial Bank of Chosen	1918	1	20,000
Oriental Development Co.,	1908	1	35,000
Savings Banks	1880	90	41,653
Postal Savings System ..	1875	1	None
Treasury Deposit Bureau ..	1885	1	None
III. People's Co-operative Credit :			
Rural Credit Associations	1900	11,841	161,859
Urban Credit Associations	1917	259	41,006
Allied Co-operative Societies	..	50	14,140
Central Bank of Co-operative Societies	1923	1	28,085

NOTE :—For the matter of this article I am indebted to Vice-Governor (now Governor) Eigo Fukai of the Bank of Japan who kindly furnished me valuable information relating to the entire Financial Organization of Japan.

COMMERCIAL CREDIT INSTITUTIONS

Among the institutions of this group may be named, besides the ordinary banks, such special banks as the Bank of Japan which is the central bank of issue, the Bank of Taiwan and the Bank of Chosen which are both colonial banks of issue, and the Yokohama Specie Bank which is engaged primarily in foreign exchange business.

THE BANK OF JAPAN

The Bank of Japan, the Central Bank of the country, was established in 1882 after the manner of the Bank of Belgium and the German Reichsbank of the pre-war period. Like the central banks of other countries, it has a monopoly of note issue and, being the central repository of funds, is in a position to regulate the supply of currency according to the needs of the market. It also serves as the fiscal agent of the Government and has charge of the Treasury funds and the administration of Government bonds. The Bank has the elastic issue system and was for a number of years past authorized to issue notes, in addition to those covered with gold coins and bullion, to the extent of 120,000,000 yen, secured by commercial paper, Government obligations and other prime securities. When deemed necessary, the Bank had been authorized, with the approval of the Finance Minister, to issue notes over this fiduciary issue limit against like security, paying a tax at a minimum rate of 5 per cent per annum on the excess issue. But the expansion of the national

economic activities in recent years, together with the position of the monetary gold stock, rendered the fiduciary issue extremely inadequate, so that the excess note issue has been the rule rather than the exception. Accordingly, since July 1932 the fiduciary issue has been extended to 1,000,000,000 yen. In case the note issue over this limit continues beyond fifteen days, a tax at a minimum rate of 3 per cent per annum is payable on the excess issue. In connection with these changes in the Note Issue Regulations, a new system has been adopted providing for the State sharing in the profits of the Bank. The new system provides that the Bank shall pay to the Government one-half of the remainder of the total net profits after deducting the amount equivalent to 6 per cent per annum on the paid-up capital and apportioning to the reserve fund one-twentieth of the balance of the above deduction. In case the balance of the net profits after this payment to the Government exceeds 4 per cent per annum on the paid-up capital, three-fourths of the excess amount shall be payable to the Government. There has also been created an Advisory Council in the Bank of Japan.

The Loans of the Bank of Japan, which are usually made exclusively to its client banks, are mostly in the form of re-discounts of domestic commercial and other short-term paper, while the Yokohama Specie Bank and the Bank of Taiwan are allowed to borrow on their foreign exchange bills. It need scarcely be added that, being the central bank of issue, the Bank of Japan is naturally zealous to maintain liquidity of its loans. At the time of the financial panic of 1927 the Bank made special advances also against claims on real estate, under Government guarantee of indemnification for losses that might result therefrom. This, however, was an emergency measure, called for by the extraordinary circumstances at the time. The Bank receives deposits both from the Government and private sources, practically all the private deposits coming from bankers. Inasmuch as in Japan the banks are not required to keep a stated amount in deposit with the Central Bank as reserves for repayment of the deposits, the balances at the central institution are used by them mainly for the settlement of clearing accounts. Since the banking panic of 1927, however, owing to the growing tendency for funds to concentrate into the larger banks and also to the depressed state of trade, the Bank of Japan has become, as it were, a depository of idle funds. Although in the course of these few years the private deposits have declined substantially, still the total balance at the Bank is maintained at the 100,000,000 yen level and the movements in this item serve as an indicator of the money market conditions.

The gold reserve of the Bank of Japan has decreased to less than 50 per cent of that prevailing at the time of the removal of the gold embargo in 1930, and stands today at about 25 per cent of the outstanding amount of notes and deposits combined.

THE BANK OF TAIWAN AND THE BANK OF CHOSEN

The Bank of Taiwan and the Bank of Chosen were established with the object of reforming the currency and developing the industries in Taiwan and Chosen. Both institutions have the privilege of issuing bank notes to circulate within their respective territories. The system of note issue is similar to that of the Bank of Japan, the limit of the fiduciary issue being 20,000,000 yen for the Bank of Taiwan and 50,000,000 yen for the Bank of Chosen. For notes issued over the limits both banks pay a tax at a minimum rate of 5 per cent per annum. A noteworthy difference with reference to the note issues of these two banks is that, whereas the Bank of Taiwan may secure its uncovered issues with the notes of the Bank of Japan as well as by other reliable securities, the Bank of Chosen may include the Bank of Japan notes in its specie reserve. Owing to the narrowness of the areas in which the notes of these colonial banks circulate, their circulation is considerably smaller than that of the Bank of Japan notes. In addition to buying and selling gold and silver bullion and foreign currencies, and conducting ordinary commercial banking, these banks are engaged in foreign exchange business also.

THE YOKOHAMA SPECIE BANK

The organization of the Yokohama Specie Bank preceded that of the Bank of Japan by two years. Although the Bank handles ordinary banking business, it is pre-eminently known as a foreign exchange bank. Its paid-up capital is 100,000,000 yen, which is twice as large as that of the Bank of Japan and larger than that of any other Japanese bank. The activities of the bank extend practically to all parts of the world, and the volume of the foreign exchange in its handling amounts to nearly 50 per cent of the entire foreign exchange business of the country. This places the Yokohama Specie Bank in a most important position in the foreign exchange market in Japan which is composed of leading banks including, besides the two colonial banks mentioned above, the Mitsui, the Mitsubishi, and the Sumitomo, and branch offices of foreign banks. The Yokohama Specie Bank stands in

peculiarly close relations with the Bank of Japan. Credits are made readily accessible to the bank in the interest of the country's foreign trade, while the foreign branches of the Yokohama Specie Bank act as agents both for the Government and the Bank of Japan in respect of specified foreign transactions.

Ordinary Commercial Banks

Ordinary banks in Japan take their origin in the National bank Regulations of 1872. Originally, these banks, or national banks, in the sense of the term as applied in the United States, were also banks of issue. With the creation of the Bank of Japan with its monopoly of note issue, however, the national bank notes were gradually withdrawn, until by 1899 these banks had become ordinary commercial banks, both joint-stock and private, their number reaching 1867 by 1901. The new Banking Law of 1927 stipulates that the subscribed capital of an ordinary bank be not less than 2,000,000 yen where the head office or a branch is in Tokyo or Osaka, and not less than 1,000,000 yen in the case of banks in all other districts. Moreover, only banks organized as a joint-stock company are given recognition. This has had the effect of hastening the merger of small banks into larger institutions, while a good many of them failed in the post-war economic depression. The number of the large banks, on the other hand, increased considerably, showing the process of bank consolidation steadily at work. The following table gives the number of ordinary banks operating at the end of the selected years, according to the size of their subscribed capital :

	1915	1921	1929	1930
Under 100,000 yen	550	295	70	51
100,000 to 500,000 yen	663	476	176	138
500,000 to 1,000,000 yen	129	200	235	212
1,000,000 to 2,000,000 yen		142	209	192
2,000,000 yen and over	100	128	191	189
Total ..	1,442	1,331	881	782

By the end of the year 1933, the total number of banks was reduced still further to 516. With the development of the process of consolidation among banks, the concentration of funds in the larger institutions in the cities became more and more evident, and the resources of the so-called "big five" banks, namely, Mitsui, Mitsubishi, Sumitomo, Dai-Ichi, and Yasuda, increased enormously, their combined deposits amounting to almost 36 per cent of the total deposits with all ordinary banks in the country.

The lines of business of the ordinary banks are practically the same as those handled by commercial banks in the Western countries. The deposits are in different forms, such as current, special current, and fixed or time deposits. The special current deposits are withdrawable only by pass-book entries and the minimum balance required is as a rule ten yen. The rate of interest paid on the deposits of this description is somewhat higher than that paid on the current deposits, which fact renders this account more popular with the general public than the current deposit account. The fixed deposits are most commonly for six months, which is the minimum period, and the rate of interest on the deposits is higher than that paid on the other accounts. The aggregate amount of the fixed deposits at all ordinary banks represents more than 50 per cent of the total deposits, and constitutes the most important portion of the banking capital. Incidentally, the same thing holds true of the deposits at the special banks. The classified deposits of all ordinary banks, outstanding on December 31, 1930, were as follows :

	(In millions of yen)
Fixed deposits	5.003
Special current deposits ..	1,819
Current deposits	1,112
Others	802
Total ..	8,738

Of loans and discounts, by far the greater proportion consists in mortgage loans on real estate, collateral loans on corporate issues and loans on personal security or credit. The preponderance of mortgage loans, especially at local banks, may be attributable to the scarcity of other suitable investments available. The relationship of the banks with industries is relatively closer than is the case in England or America. While such a procedure may for the commercial banks be rather contrary to the traditional banking practice, yet it would be hard to deny its merits in furnishing much needed credits to agriculture and industry. The use of trade acceptances is not widely practised, except in the field of foreign trade. Neither is the business in bank acceptances well developed. Single-name papers are used to a considerable extent. On the whole, the major portion of financing is made by means of direct loans, while discounts barely exceed 10 per cent of the amount of the total loans.

Of late the marked expansion in trust deposits of money since the Trust Company Act of 1923, and the growth of independent trust companies which has been felt as a menace to the commercial banks, have led some of the banks to establish trust companies of their own,

with the object of acquiring and accumulating operating capital. The result is that the principal trust companies are now mostly affiliations of the leading commercial banks.

Long-term Investment Banking Institutions

To the group of long-term investment banking institutions belong such special banks as the Hypothec Bank of Japan, the Agricultural and Industrial Banks, the Hokkaido Colonial Bank, the Industrial Bank of Japan and the Oriental Development Company. Savings banks, and trust and insurance companies also come under this group.

The Hypothec Bank and other Mortgage Banks

The Hypothec Bank of Japan was established, after the manner of the *Credit Foncier* of France, as the central organ of the real estate mortgage banking system, just as the Bank of Japan is the central institution in the commercial banking organization. The business of the Bank is principally (1) to make on mortgage of immovable property loans which shall be redeemable by annual instalments within a period not exceeding fifty years, or at a fixed term of not more than five years on certain prescribed conditions; (2) to make loans without security to Prefectures, Cities, Towns, Villages, and other public corporations organized by law; (3) to make loans without security redeemable within a fixed term or by annual instalments to industrial, fishery, forestry, stock-breeding or building associations, or federations of such associations; (4) to make loans without security redeemable within a fixed term of not exceeding five years to a party of at least ten persons, combined with joint liability, who are engaged in agriculture, industry or fishery in any prefecture where no Agricultural and Industrial Bank exists; (5) with money gained by the issue of the hypothec debentures, (a) to make loans on security of cultivated fields, salt-pond, forest, pasture, fish-farm or fishery rights, (b) to make loans without security to those described in (2), (3) and (4) and (c) to take up agricultural and industrial debentures or debentures of the Central Chest for Industrial Associations; and (6) to take up debentures issued by the Agricultural and Industrial Banks, Hokkaido Colonial Bank and Chosen Industrial Bank.

The operating capital of the bank is derived from the issue of debentures, of which the bank is authorised, like the rest of the "special" investment banking institutions, up to fifteen times its paid-up capital. Like all ordinary banks, the Hypothec Bank of Japan may receive also deposits of money, and accept valuables for safe-keeping. But it may employ the deposits and funds in the following manner only :—(*a*) to purchase with a sum equal to not less than one-fourth of the deposits, national bonds or negotiable papers approved by the Minister of Finance or to deposit it in the Deposit Bureau of the Department of Finance or banks approved by the Minister of Finance (*b*) to discount bills or make short-term loans on the security of the above-mentioned negotiable papers or agricultural or marine products or industrial manufactures; (*c*) to discount bills or accept over-drafts to industrial associations or federations of such associations (*d*) to make short-term loans to public corporations; (*e*) to make short-term loans without security to a party of at least ten persons, combined with joint liability, who are engaged in Agricultural industry, or fishery in any prefecture where no Agricultural and Industrial Bank exists and (*f*) to make loans secured by real estate or fishery right, and redeemable within a fixed term of not exceeding five years available fixed deposits to be used as fund for the purpose.

Since its organization the bank has played conspicuous part in the economic development of Japan, and today the outstanding amount of its loans is in the neighbourhood of 2,000,000,000 yen.

The Agricultural and Industrial Banks are rather provincial institutions and somewhat in the nature of auxiliary organs to the Hypothec Bank carrying on similar business in their respective localities. Owing to the fact that the investments of the Hypothec Bank were confined to industrial and agricultural enterprizes of relatively large scales, the task of accommodating, in small amounts, agricultural and industrial needs in the provincial districts devolved upon the Agricultural and Industrial Banks. Originally these Banks were created one in each prefecture, 46 in all, but the number has since much decreased through mergers with the Hypothec Bank of Japan, until there are left some 16 of them today.

Both the Hokkaido Colonial Bank and the Chosen Industrial Bank were established for the development of the natural resources of Hokkaido and Chosen, respectively. In addition to investment credit operations, they handle ordinary commercial banking business; while the Oriental Development Company, another mortgage-lending institutions is devoted to the development chiefly of Chosen and Manchuria.

The Industrial Bank of Japan

The Industrial Bank of Japan which represents the *Credit mobilier* system has for its principal objective the supplying of capital to various industries and public utilities. Accordingly the bank undertakes to subscribe for, or underwrite, Government and corporation securities, besides making loans on Government and corporation securities. It also handles real estate financing operations in the industrial field much at the Hypothec Bank does for the agriculturists. As a distinctive feature of the bank's business, mention may be made of its external activities in the raising of various foreign loans and its participation in the formation of the Bank for International Settlements.

Savings Banks

The chief function of the savings banks lies in collecting petty savings from the public and for this purpose they receive deposits at compound interest. Of the various forms of deposits, the fixed savings account, into which savings are paid at stated intervals for a given period of time and which is not subject to withdrawals in the meanwhile, is the most popular, the total amuont outstanding in this account reaching as high as 50 per cent of the entire savings deposits. The funds so accumulated are for the most part invested in securities, while loans are hardly half as large as the amount of security investments. And of these loans, again, over 70 per cent represents those made to depositors of the fixed savings. The law places various restrictions on the operations of a savings bank. For instance, the bank may handle or hold only such shares and debentures as far approved by the Finance Minister; its investments and loans must be so made as to avoid their undue concentration in a particular business or enterprize. As a guarantee for the repayment of deposits the savings bank must lodge Government bonds or other securities approved by the Finance Minister to the extent of one-third of the total amount of deposit or else make a deposit of funds with the Treasury Deposit Bureau.

The following statement shows the development of the savings bank system :

Year	Number of Banks	Deposits in yen (000,000's)
1913	648	356
1920	661	1,843
1925	133	905
1927	113	1,102
1929	95	1,422
1930	90	1,539
1931	88	1,636

In spite of the reduction in numbers which followed the enactment of the Savings Bank Law in 1922, the savings banks have grown so rapidly in strength since that year that total deposits placed with 88 banks at the end of 1931 nearly reached the level of deposits placed with 661 banks at the end of 1920. The State has encouraged the development of the savings banks by granting them certain alleviations, including the remission of half the prescribed rate of business profit tax.

The Treasury Deposit Bureau and the Postal Savings System

The Treasury Deposit Bureau undertakes financial operations solely for the benefits of the State and the public, and is a unique existence never to be ommited in any description of Japan's banking organization. In accordance with the law of 1925 governing the Treasury Deposit Bureau, the deposits at the Bureau consists of the postal savings, and the funds belonging to the various special accounts of the Government, as well as the surplus funds of the Deposit Bureau itself. As a matter of fact, however, postal savings represent by far the greater portion of the total deposits. The employment of these funds is referred to a committee whose duty it is to see that the funds are employed in a way at once safe and profitable and conducive to public good. The total resources of the Treasury Deposit Bureau amount at present to 3,600,000,000 yen, of which the major portion is invested in Government bonds and other securities while loans equal to a little over one-quarter of the security investments. The Treasury Deposit Bureau is of great importance to the Government in connection with the issuance of bonds and short-term obligations. Indeed, the existence of this Bureau greatly obviates the necessity of the Government for resorting to borrowings at the Central Bank. The postal savings system, which furnishes the Treasury Deposit Bureau with the bulk of its resources, increased rapidly with the expansion of the nation's economic activities in the years following the world-war. The increase has been more notable since the banking panic of 1927, and on March 31, 1933 the balance of the deposits stood at 2,768,000,000 yen, almost 60 per cent of the entire population being depositors. The postal savings institution is thus a formidable rival to the provincial banks.

People's Co-operative Credit Institutions

As institutions serving the credit needs of merchants, manufacturers, and farmers of small

means, credit unions organized as co-operative credit associations need special mention.

Of all co-operative societies in Japan, the credit associations have had the most steady growth. The associations are divided into rural and urban associations, of which the latter are in number far inferior to the former. The membership of the rural associations consists mostly of farmers, and of the entire deposits of the associations the savings deposits by members amount to over 50 per cent, the other half representing the deposits by the families of members, and public corporations and enterprises. Although the resources of the co-operative credit associations are fairly well utilized by the members themselves, yet a comparatively large portion is employed in the shape of bank deposits, indicating that the function of the associations as savings institutions has been over-emphasized somewhat at the expense of the credit side of their activities. The urban association may receive deposits also from non-members residing within its area of operations. It grants loans to members, and may discount bills for them.

With a view to facilitate the flow of capital amoung individual associations, there are also in existence what are known as Allied Co-operative Credit Associations which receive deposits of and make loans to member associations.

The Central Bank of Co-operative Societies

This central bank was created with the view to supplying the co-operative credit associations with necessary funds, and bringing them into a harmonious whole. The bank was established in 1923 and is placed under the control of the Ministry of Finance, and of Agriculture and Forestry. Its capital is contributed by the co-operative societies, as well as the Government. The bank is authorized to issue bonds up to ten times its paid-up capital. It gives unsecured loans falling due in a given period of time not exceeding five years, or repayable by amortization within a period of thirty years. The bank also receives deposits of member associations. In recent years the deposits have tended to increase remarkably and no small portion of the deposits of the co-operative associations previously remaining with provincial banks has got transferred to the Central Bank of Co-operative Societies.

Some Features of the Japanese Money Market

A short account has been given above of the various banking institutions of the country, indicating their functions and relative economic importance. In the financial structure composed of these institutions the Bank of Japan occupies the central position as a reservoir of credit. Not only the two colonial banks of issue, the Yokohama Specie Bank, and the ordinary commercial banks, but many of the essentially investment banking institutions are also more or less closely connected with the Bank. Banks in Japan are not however highly specialized. To a greater or lesser extent they are commonly engaged in both short- and long- term credit operations. With regard to the co-operative credit institutions, they have their field of activities limited among members and constitute a distinct and separate system of their own. While they are linked up through the Central Bank of Co-operative Societies with the general credit structure of the country, the connection is rather indirect.

At every important monetary centre of the country there is a clearing house association organized among banks, and where the Bank of Japan maintains its office an arrangement is, as a rule, made with the bank, whereby the settlements of the clearing balances could be effected through the transfer from one to the other of the accounts kept by the clearing house members at the Bank for the purpose. Generally the special banks classified as mortgage and investment banks are members of the association in company with the commercial banks. They are likewise parties to an agreement among banks fixing the maximum rates of interest on deposits, a practice now so common throughout the country, which has in view the elimination of evils of competition for attracting deposits. The rates vary according to varying local conditions.

Principal banks, whether commercial or otherwise maintain current deposit accounts with the Bank of Japan primarily, for the purpose of settling clearing balances, and also for the convenience of transmitting funds through the Bank's offices between different parts of the country. Any surplus money in addition may be kept with the Bank at their will, as has been the custom of late years. At the same time they are usually afforded facilities by agreement of borrowing from the central institution in case of need.

One significant feature to note is the lack of a discount market in Japan and what prime bills there are tend to be held in the bankers' coffers. While the Bank of Japan gives preference to and quotes the best rate for commercial paper, the bulk of the accommodation is granted by means of discounting bills

secured by Government bonds as collaterals, on which the rate is the lowest next to that on commercial paper. Similarly, the accommodation given by the ordinary banks generally takes the form of direct loans or discounts of collateral bills, and when in want of funds these banks turn to other banks for short-term loans or borrow from the Bank of Japan. Hence, the call loan market is comparatively well developed. Different from the usages in other countries, call loan is employed in Japan chiefly by banks for meeting temporary deficiency of funds, and only to a lesser extent by security dealers in the purchase of bonds and debentures. Exchange banks may utilize it in connection with foreign exchange operations, despite the privilege of borrowing from the Bank of Japan, as in the case of the Yokohama Specie Bank, at specially favourable rate of interest. Investment banks may avail themselves of this expediency pending the flotation of debentures.

Surplus funds held by banks or trust companies are lent to the market generally overnight or callable at a day's notice, or at most for a week's period. An agreement exists among larger banks as to the minimum rate of interest to be charged on such a loan, the same spirit of avoiding undue competition, which prompted them to fix the maximum rate of interest on deposits, being at work here too. Other institutions may, as they usually do, quote lower rates. Before the banking panic of 1927, 30 to 60 days loans were not only uncommon, but of a dominating proportion.

In the raising of fixed capital the commercial banks along with the investment banking institutions play an important role. They are instrumental in the distribution of securities, while being the largest purchasers themselves at the same time. The participating banks, commonly known as the syndicate banks, comprise besides the Industrial Bank of Japan, the Yokohama Specie Bank, the Bank of Chosen, and some ordinary banks in Tokyo, Osaka and Nagoya. In recent times trust companies have also come to participate on an equal footing with the banks. In Japan underwriting means merely a guarantee to take over any portion of a capital issue which is not sold to the public within a period agreed upon. It is seldom the practice for the underwriters to purchase an issue wholesale, on their own account, and then offer it to the investing public. Private corporation issues are generally underwritten by a syndicate organized for the purpose by interested banks, trust companies, or insurance companies.

Statistics show that in security investments the ordinary banks rank first among the various types of financial institutions, their holdings exceeding those of special banks, savings banks, trust companies and insurance companies put together. Of these investments however, some 40 per cent or more is represented by Government bonds, which are regarded by the holding banks as a secondary reserve for the payment of deposits, inasmuch as they may borrow on the security of such bonds from the Central Bank as and when in need of funds. Next to the ordinary banks comes the Treasury Deposit Bureau, which is entrusted with the employment of the postal savings. It may be noted in this connection that the general public unaccustomed to making direct investments in securities are rather inclined to have their savings in deposits of one sort or another.

Lastly, with regard to the foreign banks in Japan, there are several of such banks operating their branches in different parts of the country, the more important of which are the National City Bank of New York, the Hongkong and Shanghai Banking Corporation, and the Chartered Bank of India, Australia and China. While taking part in the ordinary banking business, their activities are chiefly in the field of foreign exchange operations. In the financing of Japanese foreign trade and in the handling of foreign exchange business they play a prominent part. These foreign banks equally with their Japanese conferers are associated as members or as non-member clearing banks with the clearing houses in the respective cities where they are located. Connection with the Bank of Japan is also established by their keeping current accounts with the Bank. The capital and deposits of all the foreign banks operating in Japan in 1927 were estimated at 7 and 69 million yen and for 1931 at 5 and 55 million yen respectively.



MR. SHIRRAS AND THE POPULATION PROBLEM IN INDIA

By S. SUBRAMANIAN
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Mr. Shirras' masterly analysis of the Indian population problem is marred by a few statements which might have been avoided.

I. He says that the 1921 Census Report indicates "the continued deliberate destruction of the female infant by active or by passive means "[1] and proceeds to give us an interesting catalogue of ingenious devices for doing away with the female infant, supposed to be employed in various parts of India. One of these devices, it is said, was noticed by Miss Mayo of *Mother India* fame and she has mentioned it in a later book.

It is surprising, however, that Mr. Shirras with his ripe experience in the statistical world should proceed to accept the indication of the Census Report as true on such scanty evidence as has been let in. Appendix VI to the Census Report referred to contains a table purporting to show that the proportion of females in the age group (0-5) is smaller in the communities with a tradition of female infanticide than in those without it. But the following points have obviously escaped the notice of the Census Authorities :—

(*a*) In the Punjab, while the ratio of females to males in the age group (0-5) has improved by 2 to 12 per cent in the various communities in the A-group (*i.e.*, having a tradition of female infanticide) in the decade (1911-21), it has fallen in the case of the Rajput (Musalman) and Arain communities of the B-group (*i.e.*, in which there is no female infanticide) in the period (1911-21).

(*b*) In the United Provinces, the ratio in question has improved in the Gujar community of the A-group and declined in the Brahman community of the B-group.

(*c*) In Rajputana, it has improved in the case of the Rajput (Hindu) and Jat communities belonging to the A-group and fallen in the case of the Dhobi and Lodha communities of the B-group.

These points must show that the female infanticide theory, though a convenient instrument in the hands of some, can never adequately explain the paucity of females in India even if it be a fact. At any rate, statistics pertaining to a period of abnormalities such as the influenza epidemic of 1918-19 could never show us the true picture and it will be unwise to draw general conclusions from them.

II. Now to turn to another matter; the number of women returning ages between 25 and 30 in 1921 was greater than the number returning 15-20 in 1911. Mr. Shirras immediately explains[2] that this is due to a tendency on the part of women to overstate the age after marriage and understate it before marriage. But how can Mr. Shirras explain the fact that the number of males in the age group (25-30) in 1921 is greater than the number in the age group (15-20) in 1911 Report ? Subsidiary table I on page 135 of the 1921 Census Report puts 8.65 per cent of the total male population in 1921 in the age group (25-30) and 8.48 per cent of the total male population in 1911 in the group (15-20); moreover, the total number of males in 1921 is greater than the total number in 1911. As no charge of overstatement or understatement of age has been brought against the males, one is forced to the conclusion that the enumeration of 1911 was an underestimate and is defective.

III. The import of large amounts of gold and silver as an argument against the existence of a relatively excessive population is bound to be unconvincing; in fact one may turn round now and say that the export of large amounts of specie after 1931 proves what it is intended to disprove. It may be pointed out here that the proposition, that today India is *relatively* overpopulated, finds very few opponents.

IV. The statement of Mr. Shirras' that "the will to have a higher standard of living is, generally speaking, not a force in India today "[3] takes too much for granted; it denies the very existence of a fundamental characteristic of human nature whether it be in India or abroad. If it is agreed that the Indian has passed the earliest stages of his development already, then the above statement goes against the spirit of Marshall's observation that " . . . afterwards each new step upwards is to be regarded as the development of new activities giving rise to new wants, rather than of new wants giving rise to new activities."[4]

(1) *Economic Journal* (1933) Vol. XLIII, p. 67.

(2) *Ibid* p. 69.
(3) *Ibid* p. 72.
(4) *Principles of Economics* (1910), p. 89.

INDIA'S MONETARY PROBLEM

By Prof. G. N. JOSHI, M.A., LL.B.

We are so much absorbed in acquiring and owning wealth that most of us hardly think about our monetary problem. But there is no one single factor which has affected all citizens so much as the changes in the value of the Rupee in terms of commodities both internally and externally. Our monetary problem has many aspects but I will deal with only one aspect which is very important and which requires immediate solution.

In 1927 on the recommendation of the Hilton-Young Commission the Government adopted a gold bullion standard and it was publicly declared that in adopting that standard one of the objects was to make the Indian Currency entirely independent of English Currency. The relation between the rupee and the sterling which was on gold basis was fixed at one rupee equal to 8.475 grains of gold. This fixation became popularly, though technically wrongly, known as the rupee ratio. The exchange rate was fixed at 1s. 6d. on the assumption that there was an equilibrium between external and internal prices at that rate. It was also assumed that it was the *de facto* rate and that the internal economy of India had already adjusted itself to that rate. In fact these assumptions were wrong. The experience during 1927 to 1931 proved beyond doubt that when that rate was fixed the rupee was over-valued. The Government found it increasingly difficult to maintain that rate and in doing so had to use a substantial portion of India's gold reserve. The Government had also to deflate currency on a very large scale and by 1931 the total amount of the currency deflation was 110 crores of rupees. It also compelled Government to borrow short loans in the London Money Market. This policy of intensive deflation synchronising with the downward trend of prices in the world resulted in a specific fall of prices specially of agricultural products in India. It affected India's balance of trade adversely and reduced our exportable surplus. By August 1931 the Government realised that it would not be possible for her to maintain the exchange rate at 1s. 6d. for a long time. On 21st September, 1931 England went off gold standard and as an immediate result of that step. India also went off the gold standard. But on the very next day the rupee was linked to the sterling at 1s. 6d. The pound-sterling is at present on a paper basis. Its value, external as well as internal, is maintained by the control of the total purchasing power in England and by the open market operations of the Bank of England with the help of the Exchange Equalisation Fund. The external value of the sterling in terms of gold currencies has depreciated by 40% since 1931 but its internal purchasing power in the hands of the English consumer has remained practically unchanged. England has achieved almost the highest economic development and her immediate necessity is to keep it stable which is dependent on the maintenance of a relative stability of the internal price level. She has successfully maintained relative stability of price level and also relative stability of foreign exchanges by the regulation and control of her monetary system through the well-knit homogeneous banking and credit mechanism. In comparison with countries which remained on gold standard she secured great advantage in foreign market and this advantage is visible in the improvement of her export trade since 1931. To England, going off the gold standard has proved a blessing. She has achieved both relative stability of exchanges and stability of prices thus securing all the advantages of sound money. She has also secured cheapness in the money market and relieved unemployment. By conscious monetary management she has promoted the prosperity of the country.

India is linked to the sterling at 1s. 6d. It is useless to discuss the wisdom of India's leaving the rupee to find its own level as it is not practical politics. We are concerned with the immediate problem that is facing our country and on the proper solution of which depends the prosperity of our immediate future. Our monetary problem has two aspects (1) permanent—that of the standard, (2) immediate—that of the ratio. As regards the standard, India does not want to take any hasty step till normal conditions are restored and the future of monetary system becomes certain. But, it may be stated once for all that in future India does

not want to use gold for internal monetary purposes. At the present stage of our habits, prejudices, psychology and knowledge, it is impossible to dispense with gold entirely for ever for all purposes. Gold will have to be used for international payments and also as an anchor for the monetary system. India will adopt when time comes, a standard best suited to meet her needs in which gold will be used only for international purposes. Thus so far as the question of standard is concerned, India does not want to do anything for the present, but to continue the *status quo*.

The other aspect is that of the ratio. It is to be noted that the pre-occupation of the currency authorities in India ever since 1898 has been the stability of exchange. Stability of exchange which is an incident of the gold standard became, without the adoption of the gold standard, the sole objective of the currency policy. This stability has proved a fair-weather stability. It broke down in crisis. It involved the country into heavy sacrifices. It was mostly responsible for the heavy absorption of gold which became frozen, thus depriving the country of its enormous potential capital resources, which were adequate for her development on modern lines. It necessitated the location of India's gold reserve in England. It required heavy purchases of silver at inflated prices and its sale at abnormally low prices. It resulted in limitation of currency between 1893 and 1898 and in 3 doses of deflation with all their attendant evils in a country which was and is at the initial stage of its development. Ever since 1890 India required an expansionist policy. Strangely but truly the actual policy was just the contrary. It was an improvised policy.

After the war almost all the European countries except the United Kingdom devalued their monetary units. Great Britain restored the gold standard on a pre-war basis for various reasons which were popular to her position in the international world. Her restoration of gold standard on a pre-war basis was rightly criticized as the main cause of a policy of deflation resulting in depression and unemployment. Germany devalued substantially. France devalued effectively and so did other countries. England went back to pre-war basis while India fixed her exchange rate 12½% higher than the pre-war rate. Thus of all the countries in the world, India was the only country which with balanced budgets, with the balance of trade and payments in her favour and with a steady absorption of gold, fixed its exchange at a rate which was not only not the pre-war rate, but a rate which was higher by 12½% than the pre-war rate. All other countries when they returned to gold standard fixed their exchanges at convenient rates having regard to their peculiar internal and external requirements. In India the main consideration was the fixity of exchange. Australia even before September 1931 devalued her pound sterling because of the depression felt by her in her export trade thus attaching real importance to her internal requirements. Even the U. S. A. with her sound financial and economic position was compelled to devalue the dollar owing to the sinister manipulations of the foreign exchanges by various countries which were off the gold standard with the sole objective of securing relative advantage in the foreign markets. Even France and the members of the gold bloc have also substantially devalued their currencies with the object of securing advantage for their export trade. India has no freedom in this matter. It is true that the rupee has depreciated in terms of gold currency and the nature and extent of this depreciation is indirectly realised by India through the depreciation of sterling. The benefit of going off gold standard has been reaped by India to a limited extent. It is conceded that a substantial portion of India's foreign payments are to be made through sterling. It is admitted that for our budget purposes there is a necessity for the stability of exchange. But while admitting all these benefits of linking the rupee to the sterling, the pertinent question is whether the present rate is proper and expedient in the larger interests of the country as a whole. As leaving the rupee to find its own level is not practical politics one is not at all concerned with that question. The whole question is not either to leave the rupee to find out its own level or a shilling rupee but whether the present rate is the proper rate and that whether it cannot be revised with a view to stimulating production and export trade and raising the internal level of prices especially of agricultural products the greatest need for the present. The Finance Member of the Government of India during the budget discussion stated, "I personally am convinced that the maintenance of the present ratio is in the present circumstances, very much in the interests of India and as far as I am concerned that policy is going to remain...." "Another thing that I would point out to the House is that it is almost certain that on present purchasing power parity theories, the rupee is not over-valued, but under-valued, the proper ratio for the rupee based on purchasing power parities, at the present moment, is probably

1s. 6d." One wants to know the figures on which this conclusion is based. Which index numbers were used? With which countries and on what basis was the comparison made? Are other factors such as trade restrictions taken into consideration? Moreover, it is to be remembered that Indian index numbers are very defective and that from scientific point of view they are practically of no value for such comparisons. It is also to be noted that one of the chief exponents of the purchasing power parity theory, Mr. J. M. Keynes, has recently stated, "No one now puts his faith in the famous 'purchasing power parity' theory of the foreign exchanges based on index numbers." The Finance Member himself says that statistics can be utilised to prove anything. Therefore, his contention that the rupee is not over-valued, but under-valued requires careful scrutiny. As a student of monetary theory and practice one is prepared to be convinced by facts and figures. The economic facts in the country indicate that the rupee is still over-valued. When France and Italy further devalued their currencies, Indian Legislature attempted to raise the question, but the Finance Member reiterated his arguments used by him at the time of budget discussion, and the matter was dropped.

Prices have certainly improved to some extent but not to the same extent as in other countries which are off-gold. They are still abnormally low in India. The purchasing power of the producer is immensely curtailed owing to the abnormal fall in the prices of agricultural products. The burden of agrarian indebtedness, has tremendously increased and the burden of land revenue has also gone up. The immediate need of the country is to bring about a rise in the prices of agricultural products. Nobody advocates inflation, nobody wants the Government or the Reserve Bank to resort to the printing machine. What is needed is reflation. Expansion of purchasing power resulting in the restoration of hope and optimism is immediately needed. It is true that the prices in India are closely connected with the world prices and that they are, to some extent, dependent upon the world prices which are not within the control of the Government. But it is time to realise that the internal requirement should not be entirely subordinated to the external requirement. It is possible and it is proved by experience that a country can adopt one policy for internal purposes and another policy for external purposes without creating incompatibility or destroying the stability of value of the monetary unit. It is necessary that India should have a relatively stable exchange rate, but it is still more necessary that she should not be starved of purchasing power and that her expansion should not be arrested because the stability of exchange rate may be endangered by following such an expansionist policy.



Prof. G. N. Joshi

With the Reserve Bank having control of currency and credit of the country and with the money-rupee note deprived of the alternative use, it is possible to pursue a policy of expansion within the country and stability externally. It is no comfort to hear that till world conditions improve nothing can be done in India. Most of the civilized countries have, in spite of the world conditions, devalued their currencies and adopted measures to relieve the depression within their own countries. Economic facts and conditions in India require a revision of the exchange rate.

Recently the question is again raised but the attitude of the Government remains unaltered. The enormous outflow of gold from India of Rs. 290 crores since September 21, 1931,

has enabled the Government to maintain the exchange rate, but this cánnot go on for ever, apart from the objections to the outflow of gold. Public opinion in India not only favours but also demands a revision of the rupee ratio, but the official reply is that "there is no intention of changing the policy of the Government of India in regard to the maintenance of the present rupee ratio." Having regard to the economic facts in India and abroad, the exchange policies of other countries, the low level of agricultural prices in India and the public opinion, is it not desirable and expedient for the Government to get the whole question examined by experts and to take action if necessary on their finding in the larger interests of India?

HERMANN GANSWINDT

A Forgotten Genius

By Prof. Dr. S. K. MAZUMDAR, M.Sc., (Cal.), Ph.D. (Munich)

A little over two years ago, to be exact, on the 25th October, 1934, a man of extraordinary creative ability died a pauper's death in an insignificant Berlin tenement, unnoticed, unhonoured and unwept by the vast majority of his own countrymen. Yet the scientific world owes a deep debt of gratitude to this man—Hermann Ganswindt. Ill luck dogged him with a tenacity which is really astonishing, until the world forgot all about him, a broken man stricken with old age and poverty but all the same burdened with the responsibilities of a large family.

On a chilly wintry morning in 1917 an old man already past his sixtieth year was slowly wending his way from Schoenberg, a distant suburb of Berlin to the metropolis; he had evidently no money to pay for his conveyance. He had a petition in his pocket which he wanted to place before the War Minister. "Your Excellency," so ran the petition, "since the first of April, I have been unable to meet my bills; the landlord and the grocer are insistent in their demands. I throw myself at Your Excellency's mercy. With my large family, I am on the brink of a crisis." The Hon'ble Minister was too busy to grant a personal audience to the old man; he took a pen and merely wrote on the petition, "Is the unlucky crow still alive?"

Yet exactly a year before his death, on the 25th October, 1933, the present writer like most other readers in Germany was astonished to find an inspiring article in a well-known German daily, *Der Voelkische Beobachter*, which concluded with the stirring sentence: "We will not rest until Hermann Ganswindt is known to people at large what he really is, the Edison of Germany and the greatest living inventor of the world."

Hermann Ganswindt was born on the 12th June, 1853. His father, a lawyer himself, did not like the technical trend of his son and forced him to pursue legal studies at the university. The son, however, inspite of the course of study imposed on him was following his researches in his spare time. About this time an intricate problem was agitating the technical experts all the world over, whether it was possible to impart a directive motion to a balloon. The experiments of Giffard, Depuy de Lume, Haenlein and others had all ended in costly failures. With the small velocity of a few metres per second attained by airships in those days, it was not possible to keep the small balloons against even the mildest breezes. The ships of the air were all powerless and at the complete mercy of the winds to be propelled in whichever direction the 'weather God' would have it. Countless experiments were made and finally the 'aero-nautical experts' appeared to be unanimous in their view that the problem of flying was as insoluble as the Perpetual Motion itself. The German Ministry of War issued a decree withholding sanction of further trial experiments. Under such circumstances it undoubtedly required great courage and strength of conviction to apply oneself to the solution of the 'fantastic problem of a crazy brain.' And yet in the summer of 1887, the 27-year old law student surprised the scientific world with the remarkable claim that "an airship could be steered at will only if it possessed sufficient dimensions and acquired a minimum

velocity." With the help of complicated calculations of aero-dynamics, Ganswindt succeeded in establishing that an airship must be at least 150 metres (about 450 ft.) long in order that it might be steered in any direction at will. It might appear strange to us at the present moment that it required half a century to get at such a simple key to the problem. Ganswindt was not content merely with the formulation of theoretical principles but actually took out a patent and published a book on the subject in 1884. His one idea was now to give practical shape to his project; unfortunately for him and for the German nation, this was the beginning of his ill luck which shadowed him persistently to the end of his life.

Strangely enough the War Ministry of the time brushed aside all suggestions of giving his scheme a trial. He became a laughing stock in the pages of journals, which characterised him as " a fool, who wanted to soar high up in air in a house at twice the height of church-towers." Even his best friends and relations sought to desist him from such foolish projects.

Naturally enough a copy of his book soon found its way into the inner circles of the royal palace. The Crown Prince (later Kaiser Fredrick William) read it and ordered the scheme to be tried out. The War Ministry could not ignore command coming from such quarters; the trial had to be held and was found to be sufficiently convincing. But the vanity of the Minister was injured; while communicating the results to the Crown Prince, he took care to add that the army had no use for airships of such dimensions. In those days in Germany it was not possible to launch upon such an undertaking without State help and for many years the cherished ideas of Ganswindt found no practical application.

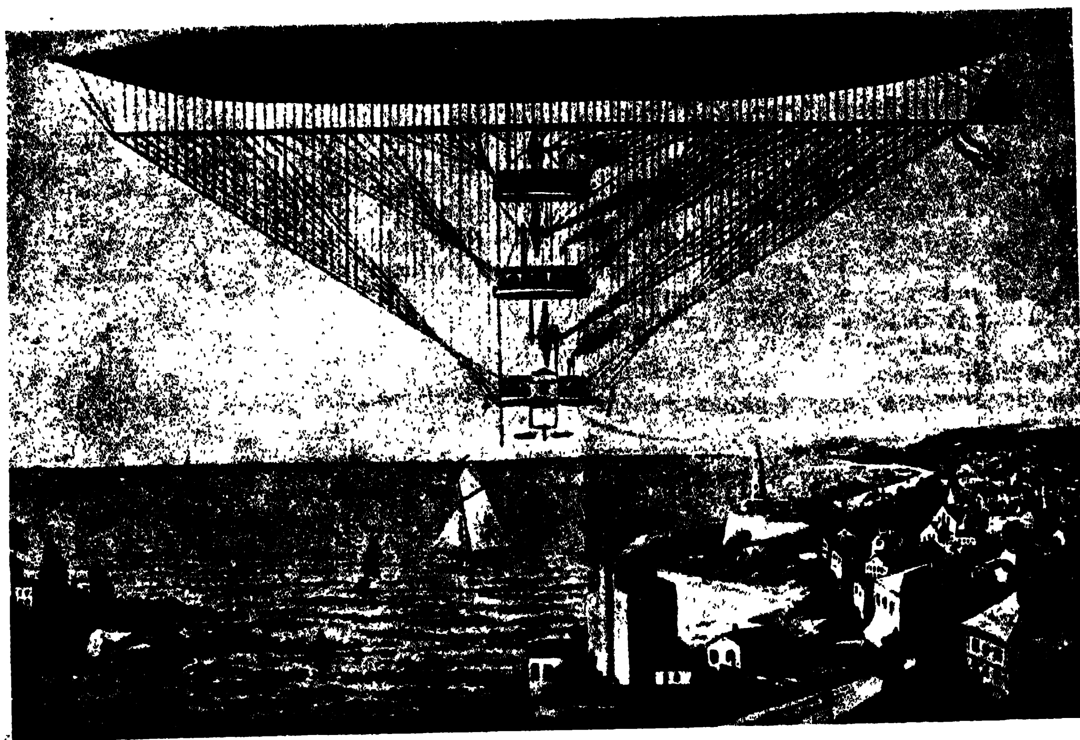
Ten years later the famous Count Zeppelin appeared in the field with a much smaller airship. Ex-Kaiser William, who had in the meantime come to the throne, immediately appointed a commission to report on the new airship. The commission's finding was that the new invention was absolutely useless for the purpose it claimed to serve. Zeppelin had evidently ignored the advice of Ganswindt regarding the size and velocity of the craft given in his book. Some years later, when Count Zeppelin had secured sufficient means and sympathy to start the Zeppelin Company, Ganswindt wrote him a registered letter on the 16th December, 1897, explaining the defects of his projected airship and enclosing plans for the proper type of dirgibles. He appealed to Zeppelin to take him in as a co-worker and partner. Ganswindt did not receive any reply nor did he get his plans back from the Count. But an article which shortly afterwards appeared in the journal *Ueber Land und Meer* over the signature of Zeppelin contained all the figures and specifications which Ganswindt had taken so long to calculate. Years later, in one of his public addresses Count Zeppelin acknowledged his debt to Ganswindt, but it was then too late.



The first treadle motor invented by Ganswindt being tried out on the Berlin-Potsdam Road

It is not at all strange that the Junkers should have rallied to the support of Count Zeppelin; enormous sums were placed at his disposal from State resources and the Ministry suddenly realised that 150-metre long airships were no longer beyond military requirements. What was still left was achieved by mammoth propaganda which Zeppelin and his supporters carried out. So great at one time was his popularity that it was publicly suggested that Count Zeppelin should be crowned the King of Hanover.

In the mean time Ganswindt tried without success to impress upon the public that the early models which Zeppelin wanted to construct were not sufficiently stable and warned against impending catastrophies. The fact was, Zeppelin utilised only the dimensions worked out by Ganswindt and took little care to make the airship stable. His chief error lay in the unequal distribution of weights of gondolas attached to the airship proper. Ganswindt protested in vain; he took out patents of various safety devices including the anchoring mast, which later became one of the principal features of the Zeppelin airship.



An Airship patented by Ganswindt in 1883

These warnings however remained unheeded and no less than 126 airships had to be sacrificed with consequent loss of enormous sums of good money. Even years later, when the Zeppelin technique had attained a high degree of perfection, people were shocked to hear of two giant airships, one in Helligoland in 1913 and the other (Shenandoah) in 1925, suddenly rent into two while still in the air. The old man immediately brought the fact to the notice of the public and lamented how his warnings issued years ago remained unheeded. But it was again too late.

Having received the first shock of disappointment in the construction of airships, Ganswindt next turned his attention towards making aeroplanes. He invested his entire fortune, which at that time was not inconsiderable, in his scheme to construct "air screw aeroplanes"; these latter should be regarded as the precursors of our present-day air craft. Lilienthal, who is generally acclaimed as one of the foremost pioneers in aero-nautics, appeared on the scene much later with his "Kite aeroplane."

Ganswindt started with the idea that the air screws should not only maintain horizontal forward motion but should also exert a sort of vertical lifting power, so that the air craft might remain vertically suspended in air and effect easy landing in the smallest possible ground space. His attempts to enlist official sympathy this time met with partial success. In February, 1892, Count Schlieffen, the Chief of the General Staff, was so pleased with the idea that he held out hopes of extending State support to the enterprise. Encouraged at the prospect of official patronage, Ganswindt tried to supplement his capital; the first 20,000 marks he obtained from his cousin, who sold out his property for the purpose. To implement the investments still further, Ganswindt turned his attention to patenting and manufacturing some of the smaller devices, which he had formerly invented. In this way, the first free-wheel bicycle and the first treadle motor came out of his factory. Old inhabitants of Berlin still remember the wonder and amazement with which crowds flocked into the streets to see Ganswindt driving what may now be regarded as the first motor car of the world. So great was the concourse of people that the police had difficulty in regulating the traffic. A picture of Ganswindt driving the treadle motor, which was published in a Berlin paper at that time, is reproduced here.

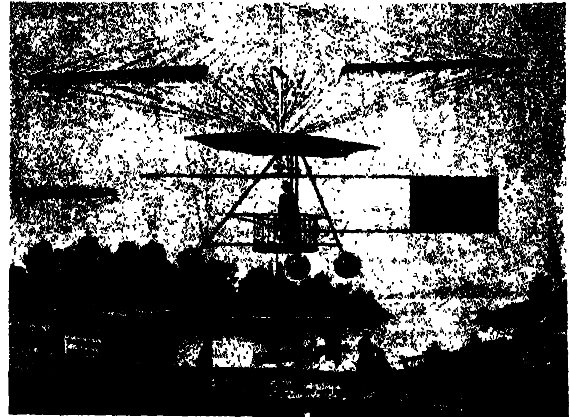
The prospect now seemed to be quite hopeful for Ganswindt. But suddenly in 1893 the War Ministry issued a decree stamping him as a liar and a cheat before the world. At this distance of time it is difficult to account for such extraordinary official action. He must have in some way or other offended the 'All Powerful' in the land. One can only suggest the cause of such imperial disfavour. Ganswindt had distinctly socialistic tendencies, which he expressed in a petition addressed to the Ex-Kaiser on the 7th April, 1892 and later incorporated his views in a book.

Undaunted by royal disfavour Ganswindt proceeded with redoubled energy towards realization of his aims. In May, 1893, he delivered an address before an audience of one thousand in the Music Hall, Berlin, and in the following June opened an exhibition, in which an air screw aeroplane with a couple of men on board actually took off into the air to the bewilderment of the onlookers. This was probably the first instance of an aeroplane carrying passengers going up in the air. It is even on record that the scene was filmed and was shown in the Zoological Gardens, Berlin, for some days until the shows were peremptorily stopped by official orders. And all this was done "in the public interest."

His adversaries thus found yet another opportunity of holding him up before the world as a rogue, whose sole object was to get money out of the simple-minded folk by promising them something fantastic. A generous friend of his tried to meet his adversaries by offering a prize of 35,000 marks to any one who could copy his air screw device. Needless to add, there was no response.

These repeated acts of slander from the public and the State served only to intensify the activity of the inventor. Ganswindt launched upon a gigantic advertising campaign and this had the desired effect. In 1902 he was still hoping of turning out finished aeroplanes from his factory but it was destined to be otherwise.

On the morning of the 17th April, 1902, the Chief of the Police sent him his compliments and expressed his desire to inspect the air screw propellor in the afternoon. Ganswindt was overjoyed at this unexpected official favour; putting on his best suit and top hat, he expected the arrival of the distinguished visitor with feverish excitement. At the appointed hour another gentleman of the Criminal Investigation Department came and declared him under arrest. This was indeed the last shock and the greatest of all. For weeks together he racked his brain in the prison cell in vain to make out why he was subjected to such humiliation. The trial lasted for a long time; all his attempts to secure legal help were in vain. At the end of the protracted trial the presiding judge expressed the opinion that the charge of cheating the public by false pretences could not stand and acquitted him accordingly. Once again a free man, Ganswindt tried to vindicate his honour by bringing an action for damages against the State. Strangely



The Airship constructed in 1888 with the treadle motor on the ground

enough he found that the relevant papers had in the meantime mysteriously disappeared from the archives.

From now on Ganswindt was an absolutely broken man and an ex-convict, although the court of law had pronounced him innocent. Nobody would trust him any more. His factory had to be dismantled and the machinery sold off as scrap iron.

His wife, who had valiantly stood by him in all his misfortunes, could no longer bear all this. In her deathbed she had hallucinations of arrest by the police. About the same time, Baron von Gersdorff, a courtier of the inner circle of the royal palace and one of his best friends, who had all along financially helped Ganswindt in his undertakings, suddenly committed suicide and his wife followed suit. Thus the last prop was removed—Ganswindt was now utterly helpless. As a last effort he appealed to the War Ministry for permission to sell his patents to foreign powers. In a sarcastic reply the War Minister permitted him to sell his patent "anywhere he liked," but all his attempts in this direction had to be abandoned as he soon found, he was being constantly shadowed by the criminal police.

It is indeed a strange irony of fate that a life so full of promise was ruthlessly suppressed. Few people in his Fatherland, fewer in foreign countries, know what a rare type of inventive genius Ganswindt was. Strangely enough, on the day of his death, President Stark, on behalf of the German scientists, sought to atone for the past injustices by presenting him with a purse of one thousand marks. But a more insistent call had come from above; in the full possession of his senses Ganswindt gratefully accepted the offer and then slowly fell asleep for ever—a life-long fighter, vindicated in his honour and triumphant at last! *

* I am indebted for the subject-matter of this article to my friend Dr. Wolfgang Ehrenberg of Munich, to whom my best thanks are due.

RICE CULTIVATION IN ITALY

By ASHUTOSH SEN, M.Sc., Ph. D. (Lond.), A.I.C.,
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Introduction

Italy's share in the world's gross production of rice is insignificant. Yet she, like Spain, has made her position recognized in the sphere of rice production by maintaining a very high yield per unit area. Any information on rice cultivation in Italy, therefore, should be of special



Laddering of paddy fields

interest to India, particularly Bengal, which devotes such extensive areas to the production of this crop. Year before last (October, 1935), the author had an opportunity of visiting the Italian Rice Experimental Station at Vercelli and whatever information he could gather there is here recorded. It should be mentioned that figures given here were supplied to the author by the staff of the Experimental Station. The author himself cannot guarantee their absolute accuracy.

Italian area under Rice

Rainfall being insufficient the rice culture in Italy is mainly confined to these areas where irrigation facilities exist. That is why rice is



Paddy sowing by broadcast

mainly grown in the valleys of the northern provinces of Piemonte, Lombardia, Veneto, Emilia and Toscana, although the warmer climate of southern Italy should be more suitable for this crop. The total area under rice

at present is roughly 338,390 acres (=137,000 hectares*), which can be extended to an estimated maximum of about 370,000 acres (*i.e.*, 150,000 hectares). It may be of interest to note that, whereas the acreage under rice in Italy is roughly one-third of a million, that in Bengal alone exceeds 22 millions.

The Italian rice area may be broadly divided into three groups of farms as follows :—

Table I

Grouping of farms	Area of each farm	Total area under the group	Area under each group as per cent of the total area under rice.
Large	Above 250 acres	197,600 acres approx.	58.4
Medium	Between 50 and 250 acres	98,800 „ „	29.2
Small	Less than 50 acres	41,990 „ „	12.4



Transplantation of paddy by men and women labourers

It is evident from the above that large-scale farming is a special feature of rice cultivation in Italy. In general, farms are run there by those who own them but there are farms which are let out on rent paid in kind. There is no co-operative farming.

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* 1 Hectare = 2.47 acre
1 Quintal = 100 Kilos
= 220 lbs.
= 2 Mds. 30 srs. approx.

Exchange (official rate)
Italian coin is lire (L)
60L = £1 = Rs. 13-8 approx.
1L = 4d. = 3½ as. „

VARIETIES OF PADDY

A large number of varieties is grown but mention may be made of the following varieties of special importance.

Table II

No.	Type	Varietal name	Average yield per hectare in quintal	per acre lbs.	Mds.
1.	Heavy yielding	"Chinese Original"	60	5345	65
2.	„ „	"American 1600"	60	5345	65
3.	Med'um „	"Vialane Nero"	53	4720	58
4.	Small „	"Bertone"	45	4010	49



Tractors used for Paddy Cultivation

About 80 per cent of the total rice area in Italy is put under the first two varieties, *viz.*, the "Chinese Original" and the "American 1600" in almost equal proportions. The two varieties ripen at different periods, thus allowing ample time for easy harvest to those who grow them simultaneously. For the names of other varieties reference may be made to Burnett (1930, Agric. Jour. British Guiana, 3, 134).

Incidentally the author had the opportunity of collecting a number of paddy ears from fields growing "American 1600" and 'Vialane Nero' just before harvest. A count of filled and empty grains in each ear was made so as to see how the average compared with that of a good *Aman* (winter) paddy grown at the Dacca farm in Bengal. The comparison is given below, which speaks for itself.

Country	Variety of paddy	*Average grain per ear* Filled	*Average grain per ear* Empty (husks)	Dry weight of 100 filled grains in gms.	Average yield per acre in mds.
Italy	'American 1600'	199	19	2.16	65
"	'Vialane Nero'	177	27	2.52	58
Dacca, India	'Indra Sail'	78	15	2.42	30 (in good unmanured field).



Motor-machine which pulverises, harrows and ladders the paddy soil in one operation

Rotation of Crop

The following 6-year course rotation of crop is generally followed in rice cultivation in Italy :—

1st. year	..	Rice.	
2nd. "	..	"	
3rd. "	..	"	
4th. "	..	Wheat	
5th. "	..	Grass	Several grasses are grown during the year including clover.
6th. "	..	"	
7th. "	..	Rice	

Manuring

Both Organic (stable) and Inorganic manures are applied to the rice fields in Italy in the quantities shown below.

Per	Organic manure	Super phosphate	Potash chloride
Hectare	100 quintals	6-8 q.	2-3 q.
or			
Acre	4 tons	534-712 lbs.	178-267 lbs.

Calcium cyanamide (14 p. c. N)	or	Am. S. O. 4 (21 p. c. N)
3 q.		2 q.
267 lbs.		178 lbs.

The manures are applied to fields which have had rice in the preceding year. They are also applied when wheat is grown in rotation, but in this case the quantity of organic manure used is 2 instead of 4 tons. During the years under grass the soil receives super-phosphate and potash chloride but seldom any nitrogenous fertiliser. No manure is applied during the first year of rice following grass.

In soils rich in calcium, ammonium sulphate is used; while in soils poor in calcium, calcium cyanamide and Thomas slag (at the rate of 534-712 lbs. per acre) instead of superphosphate are used. The Italian experience is that pH 5-6 is suitable for rice. Soils with pH below 5.0 is limed.

Cultural Operations

First, superphosphate is applied followed by dung to the undisturbed soil which is then ploughed. Calcium cyanamide and potash chloride are given followed by harrowing Water is then let into the field followed by sowing or transplantation. The rice crop is sown in April and harvested in September-October.

Rice seeds are sown by broadcasting as well as by machine drilling. The approximate areas under broadcasting, drilling and transplantation are as follows :—

Sowing by		Approximate area of sowing in acres	As per cent of total rice area in Italy
Drilling	..	44460	13
Transplantation	..	111150	33
Broadcast	..	182780	54

It will be noticed from above that more than half the rice area in Italy is sown by broadcast. This is because broadcasting is the cheapest of the three methods. But the Italian experience is that transplantation gives an earlier crop and, if done at the right time, 700-900 lbs. more grain per acre than is obtained by broadcast or drilling. On the other hand the great advantage with drilling is that the field can be cleaned afterwards by machine, which saves the expense of weeding by 40 to 50 per cent. Weeding is one of the most expensive items of rice cultivation in Italy. Although drilling is very expensive, the saving made in weeding makes it more economical in the long run. But drilling requires strong horses or bullocks as well as a fairly expensive machine and is therefore beyond the means of small farm-owners. In transplanted and broadcast areas weeding is done by human labour. Even in some drilled areas human labour is employed for weeding.

Irrigation

It has already been stated that rainfall is insufficient for the rice crop in Italy. Consequently the rice fields require to be irrigated. This is done by a network of canals. Water is allowed to flow continuously through the rice fields from April to September at a rate of one litre per second per acre excepting for the three breaks stated below. The average height of water in the field is about 10 cm. in the beginning. Later on when the crop is growing vigorously the water level is raised to 15-20 cm. high. Further raising of the level is avoided on account of the low temperature of the irrigation water in Italy, which prevents the maturity of the crop in time.



Transplantation of paddy by an automatic machine

The rice field is drained and dried for 3 to 4 days thrice during the growth of the crop. For the first time it is done about 8 to 10 days after sowing when the rice roots begin to come out. It is done again in early June when top-dressing of ammonium sulphate is given and for the third time it is done sometime in July. The field is drained once again about one to two weeks before harvest. The draining is particularly important for clay soils. Otherwise the plants are attacked with diseases.

Cultivation by Machine

Although in the major portion of the rice area in Italy cultivation is done by horse- or bullock- driven light implements, sowing by broadcast and transplanting and weeding by human labour, in some large or wealthy farms it is done by tractors, and motor-driven and other heavy implements, while sowing transplanting and weeding are done by automatic, semi-automatic and other labour-saving machines. Harvesting, however, is still done by human labour in all farms. The pictures published with this paper illustrate clearly the practices on rice culture in Italy and the working of the various machines used therewith.

	Picture No.	Showing
Cultivation etc. by native farmer	1	Laddering after ploughing and harrowing
	2	Sowing by broadcast
	3	Transplantation by men and women labourers
Mechanical cultivation etc.	4	Tractors for paddy fields pulverises, harrows and
	5	Motor-driven machine which ladders in one operation
	6	Transplantation done by the automatic machine
	7	Harvesting by human labour

Miscellaneous Information

Price of paddy : The Italian farmers sell almost their entire produce of paddy to rice-millers.

The price of paddy is 60 lires per quintal
= Rs. 5 per maund approx.
The price of cleaned rice is 110-120 lires per quintal
= Rs. 9-10 per maund approx.



Harvesting of paddy by human labour

Consumption of rice : About two-thirds of the total production of rice in Italy is consumed internally, while one-third is exported mainly to Argentine, Switzerland, Germany and France.

Wages for farm labour: Daily wages run at 10 lires (Rs. 2-4) for men and 8-10 lires for women. During harvest the wages are often paid in kind at the rate of 16 litres of paddy per head per day. The price of 16 litres of undried paddy is 10 lires approximately.

Economics of Paddy Farming in Italy

In the following table various items of expenditure of paddy farming calculated per hectare are given. The figures stand for conditions prevailing in Italy during the first half of 1935, *i.e.*, before the Italo-Abyssinian war.

No.	Item	Expenditure per hectare in lire
1.	Ground rent	700
2.	Water (irrigation)	120
3.	Cultivation operations in spring	250
4.	Manure	400
5.	Seed	200
6.	Weeding	500
7.	Work done for controlling irrigation water	33
8.	Harvesting	300
9.	Transport	50
10.	Threshing	150
11.	Drying and stocking	70
12.	Insurance against hail-storm etc.	400
13.	Interest on the capital	80
	Total ..	3,253 lires

Taking the average production at 60 quintals of paddy per hectare the return to the farmer for his paddy at 60 lires per quintal will be found to come up to 3600 lires, thus giving a rather poor profit of 350 lires per hectare or Rs. 32 per acre approximately.

Acknowledgement

The author takes this opportunity to thank the Director and members of the staff of the Rice Experimental Station at Vercelli, Italy, for facilities given to him to visit the Institute and to collect the information reported herein and the High Commissioner for India, London, for arranging the visit.



West and East: a literary re-union in London
Johan Bojer (*centre*) at a party given by Mr. Amiya C. Chakravarti to meet the famous Norwegian author

IMPRESSIONS OF GIRLS' EDUCATION IN ENGLAND

By Miss JYOTIPRABHA DASGUPTA, M.A., B.T., DIP. IN EDUCATION (London)

II

The *St. George's School, Harpenden, Herts,* was next visited. It is a mixed public school for boys and girls with the range of ages in the Upper School from 12 to 19 and in the Lower from 6 to 12.

The school is situated in a lovely countryside 400 ft. above the sea-level, 36 minutes' drive from London. The school grounds cover 35 acres of charming garden plots and playing fields. The school buildings include a Chapel, a Library, Science Labs, Manual Shops, Art and Crafts department, Swimming Baths, Gymnasium, Pavilion for games, covered squash racquets court and a well equipped Sanatorium. The whole school is electrically fitted. There are boarding houses for boys and girls. There is one common room for boys, another for girls and also a mixed common room. The boys and girls have their meals together as they have their classes. The staff sits at the High Table on the platform and before meals Grace is sung in Latin according to the tradition of English Public Schools.

The girls have their cookery lessons while the boys are busy with gardening or the boys have their wood-work class while girls have their sewing. All other classes are taken together except those just mentioned and the class for physical exercise. The same amount of care and attention is paid to the girls' physique as well as to the boys'. Of the 35 acres of school grounds 30 acres have been taken up by the school gardens and playing fields.



The Roedean School—the Quadrangle

The fees are 120 and 126 guineas a year. Boarders who sleep at home are charged at a lower rate; parents of such boarders can live in houses in the neighbourhood rented from the Governors.

fortunate enough to obtain a scholarship receive £8 for the first and £12 for the second year as a maintenance grant. Two-thirds of the hours are devoted to vocational subjects; the rest is spent on English, Mathematics, a little of Science and Art. The education imparted is chiefly vocational, whereas that in the Central School is rather cultural and general; that is why the students spend 1|3 of their time on vocational subjects. The curriculum at *Barret Street Trade School* comprises dress-making, embroidery (hand and machine), Hair-dressing and Ladies' Tailoring, Practical Cookery, Home Decoration, Laundry and Household Economy.



The Speech Day. St. George's School, a mixed High School for boys and girls

Condition of Indian Girls' Education at School

In India provision has been made for the education of boys and girls from the age of 6 to 16 or 18. But there is no differentiation of education into pre-school, senior, central or trade schools. What exists is the primary, middle or the high school besides a few technical or industrial schools. Nobody cares to ascertain whether the child is properly adjusted to the various grades. One has to go to a school and pass the class examination. During the school life little attention is paid to the proper grading of pupils according to different aptitudes and inclinations. Nor is due consideration given to the training of teachers in such a way as to develop expert guidance in different directions. The schools in this country have, in a majority of cases, not grown out of the national life of the people to meet their vital needs, but most of them, both for boys and girls, have sprung up as a result of private or missionary enterprise, rivalry, communal jealousy or through the efforts of the Government. The so-called "National Schools" could not evoke public support; economic depression or rather the pinch of poverty in rural areas has damped the enthusiasm of pupils in rural schools; curtailment of financial support by Government and other public bodies to educational institutions has crippled their already meagre resources.

"Promising beginings, especially in the education of girls, in the education of adults, in medical inspection and treatment have been nipped in the bud."[1]

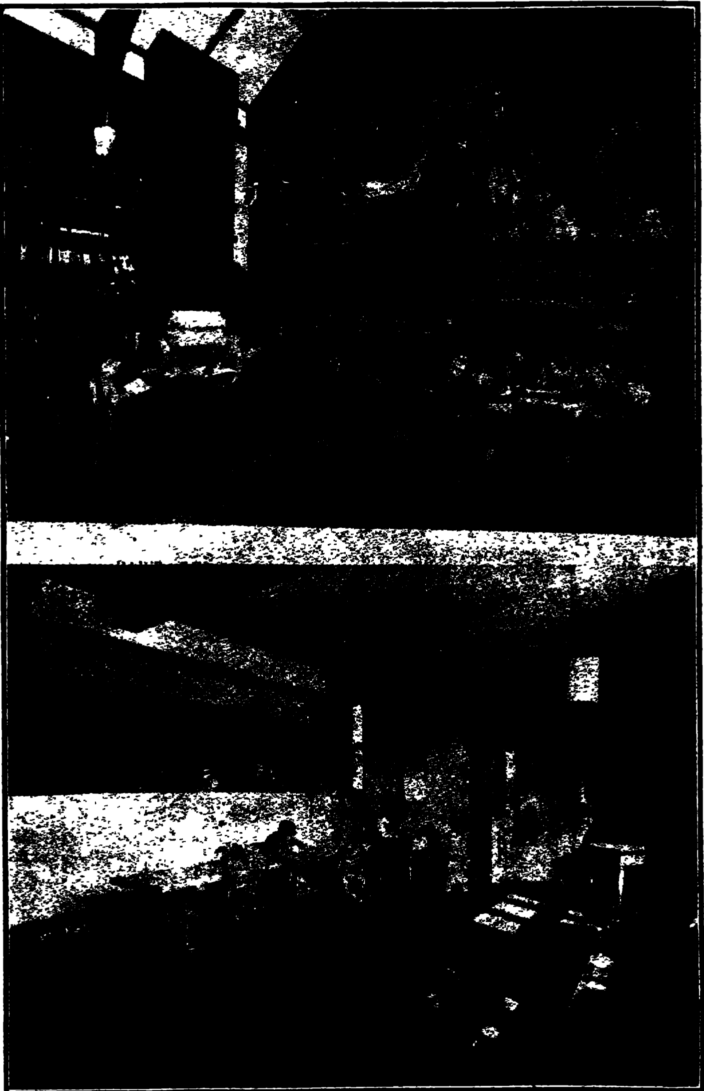
The picture is rather gloomy. To carry out educational responsibilities a carefully planned policy in Education has to be evolved and vigorously followed. Unless this is done

1. Sir George Anderson—*Recent Development in Education.*





Top : The Children's House in a Montessori School
Bottom : The Pottery Corner of the Studio
showing walls tiled by the girls



Top : Study room : part of the Library
Bottom : Corner of the common room
Furniture and Decoration by the pupils

all educational progress will, in the words of Sir George Anderson, be "at the mercy of ill-timed doles on the one hand and of ill-timed retrenchment of the other."

The Hartog Committee pointed out only a few years back that *the lack of a carefully thought-out educational policy formed the gravest defect of our educational system;*

"The expansion and improvement of education do not depend merely on money. Money is no doubt essential but even more essential is a well-directed policy carried out by effective and competent agencies determined to eliminate waste of all kinds. We were asked to report on the organization of education. At almost every point that organization needs reconsideration and strengthening."

These words of warning have not yet been fully considered in all their seriousness. It is hoped that in the near future tremendous wastage in all phases of education will be gradually eliminated by evolving a settled forward policy in education consistent with the tradition and the genius of the people and suited to modern conditions of life. The wastage in elementary education is appalling as will be evident from the following comparative figures :—

	* Proportion of Boys in			Proportion of Girls in		
	Class I 1928-29	Class IV 1931-32	Class V 1932-33	Class I 1928-29	Class IV 1931-32	Class V 1932-33
Madras	100	26	11	100	13	6
Bombay	100	40	36	100	24	17
Bengal	100	13	10	100	3	2
U. P.	100	23	17	100	8	6
Punjab	100	28	18	100	20	17
Burma	100	17	8	100	9	3
Bihar & Orissa	100	11	9	100	3	2
Central Province	100	46	12	100	19	4
Assam	100	37	32	100	25	17
N.-W. F. Province	100	20	13	100	20	10
Delhi	100	26	18	100	20	17
British India	100	21	14	100	10	6

Quite recently there has been a growing desire in many provinces to face facts. Demand for educational reconstruction has been insistent. The idea has steadily gained ground that the Government of India also have an important part to play in the coming reconstruction.

Regarding the education of our girls the position appears to have improved a little since the time when the Hartog Committee advocated that "priority should be given to the claims of girls' education in every scheme of expansion".

* *The Year Book of Education 1936.*

Two chief signs of improvement in girls' education are—(1) more girls are now attending school and (2) what is more significant, they tend to stay there longer and have thus greater benefits of schooling. Girl matriculates increased from 1565 in 1927 to about 5000 in 1934; number of graduates rose from 188 to about 600 during the same period. Percentage of success of the girls is also on a par with that for boys.

Hit by acute financial depression some provincial Governments are trying to solve the problem of girl's education by advocating co-education in the primary stage. At the present moment 40% of the girls at primary schools are reading in boys' Institutions. Unfortunately the system of co-education in this country applies only to pupils and not to staffs; girls are admitted to boys' schools by sufferance. If boys were admitted to good girls' schools in large numbers the results would have been more gratifying.

The persistence of communal Institutions like Maktabs, Pathshalas, Tols, Madrasas etc. is another disturbing factor in our educational system. In the words of Sir George Anderson it may be said, "It cannot be right, specially during the present stage of India's development, that so many pupils should spend the impressionable years of life in the narrowing atmosphere of an exclusive communal Institution."

Moreover in India girls have but few alternatives at present. Most of the girls who receive some education have to take to the teaching profession. Special aptitudes, special skill die out for want of suitable opportunities for exercise. What is needed in Indian schools at present is a wider variety of courses—commercial, technical, industrial, trade and art and crafts. Girls should be given as free access to these schools as boys.

More attention need be paid to games, physical education and the diet of girls. The pressure of both home work and school work should be lessened, and the time gained should be spent in excursions, games and various other social and physical activities.

We cannot resist the temptation of quoting the following words of His Excellency Sir John Anderson in this connection :—

"There is no civilized state in the world today that can afford to neglect the physical and recreational education of its young people; Germany for one has shown the world what can be done to remould a rising generation : whether the policy there followed will ultimately lead to good or evil here we are not qualified to say; but nobody can deny its effectiveness or ignore its lessons."

Education of the Defective and Feeble-minded Children in England

As education is compulsory here, ample provision has to be made for defective children. There are schools for the blind, for the deaf and the dumb, for the partially sighted and partially deaf, cripples and for those who are mentally deficient. The writer had the privilege of visiting one of each type. The most striking common feature of these schools is that they are all mixed schools. Children come to these schools with guides and some again by public 'buses or trams for which they get a ticket free of charge. Almost all these schools provide lunch, for which they charge the parents who can afford to pay, 4d. a day. The class work is mostly individual so that the children do not suffer for their backwardness. *Special stress is laid on practical instruction.* The schools are generally day schools in which the instruction is entirely free. But the *Hugh Middleton School* for the deaf and partially deaf children which the writer visited, had residential departments for both boys and girls.

The progress made by the pupils in these schools is really wonderful. When a student comes to the school he can hardly speak or write but when the same student leaves the school, he can read, write and answer questions though the articulation is not very distinct. In M. D. (mentally deficient) schools also, such as the *Offord Road School*, there are many who can express themselves somehow or other but who could not speak at all at the time of entrance. They had no control over their tongue or lip or the muscles of the face. The *Plassy Road M. D. School* is a little more advanced. It does not receive such extreme cases as the *Offord Road School* and it was there that the writer was entertained by a puppet show in the elder girls' class, the dolls, the stage for display and all other requirements being made and designed by the girls. It will not be out of place here to mention that in the M. D. Schools, the boys and girls are separated after the age of eleven. In these schools the teacher's first care is to *make the lessons as practical and concrete as possible.* Medical Inspection takes place usually once every 9 months in all these schools, but in the *Mary Ward P. D. School* and in a few other schools for physically defectives, it is done once a fortnight. In special cases again nurses are provided as in the *Ravensbourne P. S. School,* who are to take special care of children. These special schools are equally open to pupils of both sexes. Girls are not deprived of this benefit on the score of sex as they still are in many parts of India. The finances of India are limited and the grant that the local educational authorities receive from Government is so small that it is practically impossible for them to provide for special education of defectives on a large scale.

In our country very few people realise what a blight has come over our society in the shape of Venereal Diseases. Mental deficiency is not the only result of the poisoned birth-right. A good percentage of the deaf and crippled children appears to suffer from inherited V. D. Children are diseased mentally or physically often before they are born. The race-poison silently works havoc reaching down to the third and the fourth generation, if it is not eliminated early.

In England the epoch-making report of the Royal Commission on Venereal Diseases was published in 1916; since that time various steps have been taken in almost all the States of Europe to combat the spread of race-poison by direct legislation, by setting up free clinics to treat the V. D., by imparting education in social hygiene or racial health and by many other preventive measures.

In London alone the sum spent for the diagnosis and treatment of V. D. in a year is over £85,700 and the expenditure for the treatment of mental deficiency comes up to over £2,30,000 apart from the cost of mental hospitals where the cost per head is £77. 17s. 5d. per annum. The cost of treatment in England and Wales of V. D. entirely for the clinics is £4,34,909 per annum.

The burden on the rate-payers is further increased by the educational institutions for such classes of boys and girls. The charges in elementary day schools per head per annum for normals and defectives are given below :—

	Normal	Defective	Blind	Deaf
Elementary School	£ 16.75	£ 39.6	£ 97.8	£ 70.8

A normal child remains about seven years in an elementary school and the cost for such a child for this period comes to £150.75 per annum, whereas for 9 years the costs for a blind child, a deaf and a mentally defective child are respectively £881, £637.2, and £336.6.

This is what is being done in England by special schools for these classes of pupils. The people of Bengal should realise that they are not merely to legislate for the citizen of today but they should also take legal steps to safeguard the birth-right of the would-be citizen, if we are to maintain the glorious heritage that is ours and to reach a very high level of *Racial Health,* so that we may not be thrown on the scrap-heap of humanity. *The Bodhana*

School at Belghoria for the feeble-minded children is the only infant institution in India. There are only a few schools for the Deaf and the Blind. They are scattered sparsely in India and are too few for the large number of such children in this country.

RURAL EDUCATION IN ENGLAND

The progress of the reorganisation of voluntary schools in rural areas on the lines of the *Hadow Report* has been slow. It depends on the economic condition in the area. Many Local Education Authorities have put up buildings of a temporary nature but even that is not within the reach of several L. E. A's for their meagre resources. It is understood that National Government contemplates a legislation giving power to L. E. A.'s to give grant to rural voluntary schools. The scattered nature of population in rural areas is another handicap towards progress. Again a certain class of people is positively against the scheme. Their objection is based upon the fact that "Junior School children when conveyed to senior schools with a distinct industrial outlook will develop a 'town mind' and will shrink from undertaking agricultural occupations." To obviate this difficulty the L. E. A's in the county area of Essex like a few others, have opened "centres of practical instruction" in areas without senior schools, where senior students from schools in adjacent areas attend 2½ days a week on an average.

The writer, through the kindness of the High Commissioner, was able to visit several rural schools near *Ipswich* such as the *Playford and Kesgrave Area Senior Schools, the Bramford Area Senior School* and the *Stowmarket Area Senior School.* These are co-educational schools, run more or less on the same lines and they follow the same curriculum with slight local variations here and there. The name "area school" has been given to them because each serves a specific area.

The villages in England are quite different from those of India. They are so well-kept that no comparison can be drawn between the two. There is no standing water, not even a little mud in the streets; they are so clean and tidy that the children take pleasure in coming to school by riding bicycles which are provided free by the council on condition only that the parents keep the bicycles in good order. There is a junior department in the Area Senior School. It is reserved for the smaller children of its own area. The schools are substantially but very economically built. They are built of brick and tile, requiring only a small outlay. In the middle of the school premises there is a big open space, on both sides of which there are the two halls facing each other, for practical instruction, one for handicraft, and the other for domestic science. On the remaining sides there are the two rows of class rooms, with open space in between. Thus the class rooms are open on both sides having windows that can be folded completely. Almost all the rooms are very bright and sunny. The object is to spend as little money as possible on the buildings. That is why the hall as well as the dining rooms have been omitted from most of these schools. The rooms for practical instruction serve the double purpose of refectory and class room. Lunch is provided in most of the schools. There is a school kitchen and in some of the schools there is a domestic science room.

The writer spent a whole day in the *Eye Senior School* watching the children doing their work, till they eat their meals. The writer had never seen a happier group of children. As soon as it struck mid-day 12, the boys came forward, spread the folding tables and arranged the chairs in order round each table. The girls helped the service of the boys and washed the utensils after the meal. The teachers had their meal a little later in a separate room. The writer took her lunch with the headmaster, as she happened to be his guest that day. The teachers had the same food as the pupils. The food provided was adequate and well balanced. There were three kinds of tickets—weekly, daily and family, for lunch, which were given to the children beforehand. The holders of the weekly ticket pay only 1s. a week for their lunch whereas the holders of the daily ticket pay 3d. a day. And if there are several children from the same house these charges are reduced from 1s. a week to 10d. These payments are quite insufficient to meet the expenses of providing the meal. Although they are as large as poor parents can afford, the deficiency is made good by the local educational authority from the education rate.

The aim of these schools is to make the children as happy as possible and it is *this homely and friendly atmosphere that has most appealed to the writer.* The children are so trained that they take a real interest in all the school activities.

All these rural schools have extensive gardens growing flowers and vegetables and their output depends on the children's efforts. The boys grow fruit and pick it when it is ripe; the girls make jam with it. The *Eye Senior School* has

a wonderful garden. Gardening is a special feature of all these Area Senior Schools. The first year's work in the *Bramford Area Senior School* is flower gardening and the second year is devoted to the work of growing vegetables while the third year they spend in cottage gardening, that is, mixed garden work to grow flowers and vegetables. The system at Bramford is typical of English rural schools in general. Sometimes a particular piece of land is given to each child and sometimes they work in pairs upon a common plot.

As already stated, *practical instruction* is an important feature of the Senior School. The *Stowmarket Area Senior School* is specially famous for hand-work. The boys in their wood-work lessons make cigarette cases, lamp stands, hand-looms for the girls to weave and so on. Even the green house and the iron gate of the school have been made by the boys. In the case of girls again special emphasis is laid on *carpet-making, knitting, cutting, weaving, sewing, embroidery, working out designs* and the like.

In each class there are 40 children, 20 boys and 20 girls. When the boys are engaged in wood-work the girls do their sewing or while the boys do gardening the girls take their cookery lesson as in the Mixed Public Schools. Other subjects such as English, History, Mathematics, Geography are taken together. In some schools again as in the *Eye Senior School* for example, the girls occupy separate desks in the same class room and the explanation for it that was given, when asked for by the writer, was that the girls of the higher classes felt a little shy and naturally they wanted to be among themselves.

Some of the teachers in these schools are certificated while others are not. In some schools again a *pupil teacher's course* has been introduced as in *Wickham Market* though the number of these centres are very few. This course is intended for girls only. They enter the senior school at the age of 11 and follow the usual school course for three years; then for five years between the age of 14 and 19. Special instruction is given to those girls who want to be uncertificated teachers. They practise teaching in some other school or in the same school from which they come. But they do not have any practical examination, as the training college students do. The examination that they are to take at the end of 5 years' course is known as the *Oxford Examination,* the examiners being the members of the University Board and not the local authorities. The subjects are seven in number. Girls who have had the five years' course are allowed to go straight to the college, if they want to.

What India Needs

What is needed in India at the present time is more rural schools, efficient, well-organized and well-distributed for boys and girls,—schools where more attention may be paid to the local needs and possibilities, schools with a bias for agriculture and rural occupations and cottage industry. This idea appears to be predominant in the mind of our educational authorities here. It is really a very hopeful sign of the times that attempts are now being made to have such schools in certain areas and the curriculum is being revised with that objective. In some schools in Bengal, village occupations, gardening, agriculture and other rural activities are being introduced. The gardening work which is the most important feature of the English rural schools could be introduced in almost all the village schools in this country. Such a step will prove to be very useful.

There are only a few schools for boys started quite recently with a *rural bias*. Their number could be counted on the fingers. Vegetable gardens in *Ushagram* are the result of group enterprise, five boys working together in each garden plot. The school at *Moga* in the Punjab also is a recent development in this direction where rural teachers are trained in village leadership. The aim is to develop in boys a taste for rural life and equip them with practical skill in rural occupations so that they may live fuller, richer and happier lives.

The agricultural school at *Surul,* Birbhum, too, is working on the same lines and it aims at teaching agriculture and its related industries. The instruction that is provided in this school includes weaving, dyeing, farming, carpentry, dairy keeping and so on. The course in agriculture is compulsory. The *Girls' Middle School* at *Sarisha,* 24-Parganas, founded by Ram Krishna Mission Asram is a new experimental school for girls in this direction. But such schools are very few in number and most of them are intended for boys; they hardly meet the needs of the girls. Nor do they stand comparison with what is happening in many countries of the West, with regard to the education for village life.

The Future

In the course of the last few years a new consciousness has awakened in the people of this country for an efficient system of physical and intellectual education for our boys and girls.

There is an insistent demand for educational reorganization as the basic condition of national reconstruction. The need for drastic reform is admitted; words now need fulfilment in action. Measures of reform are being widely discussed to reconstruct the school foundations as well as to initiate a new and vigorous policy. For success a combined drive from the public and administrative authorities against orthodox ways of thinking and vested interests is necessary. The education of the whole life of the pupils, boys or girls, with all their desires for study, games, recreations, social and other various activities has to be thoroughly understood and provided for. " The new education must enable our society to *secure increased freedom for the individual, i.e.*, a maximum of opportunity and minimum of compulsion for each unit, through *integrative creative work*." Groups, corporate bodies, institutions should serve the individual. The method of group activity should be the method of integration in which the best contribution of every individual will be fully used in the solution of the problems of living.

'*A wider equality of opportunity to live and to earn*' should be provided to different sexes and classes of people, so that everyone may get a real chance to know where one is to fit in according to one's taste and training.

As a corollary to above '*all children must be kept free from conscious and unconscious perversion of the sources of information*' through mis-education by advertisement and propaganda. They must have the means to know what the real facts are. They must have a keener grasp of significant facts. The press and the radio should be placed under Boards of Supervisors and correct information must reach the school children through groups of specialists whose services will always be available for public good. '*Thus the school walls should become transparent and children will be free to move about in the larger life of the community.*'

Fourthly, *children need be helped to find out avenues of real happiness through the early education of their emotions, which is sadly neglected in the school system.* To this is due the break-down of family life and consequent friction and disorder in the social system. The school has so long concentrated all its efforts upon the education of the intellect; we help our pupils to secure the means to human comfort while they are hardly able to play the game of life with joy and zest. Most of them appear to be lacking in proper emotional adjustments to the people about them. It is therefore no wonder that jealousy, mistrust, competition, fear, inferiority complex and many other products of maladjustment have cast a paralysing pall over us everywhere.

And lastly, '*the spiritual life of each one of our children has to be evolved through proper early education.*'

The consciousness that all life is one, an expression of one being, need be awakened in early life; this truth 'ममवांशो जीवलोके जीवभूतः सनातनः' has to be built into a living concept of life. A new type of co-operative relationship, binding all human beings, need be discovered early and woven into the very texture of our soul, so that the individual may have a full vision of life as a whole and rise to a higher level far above all clashes and conflicts due to sectarian, religious, political, caste or communal differences. The educator, too, need be convinced that there is a basic unity underlying all forms of life; he must have a " vision of the spiritual unity of the world comparable to its material unity." He must explore the " basic principles of co-operative living which are really the principles of a new social order."*

(*Concluded*).

*In the first part of the article published in *The Modern Review* for February, *read* 'Comparison' *for* 'Company,' p. 205, col. 2, line 17; *read* 'golf-course' *for* 'gold-course,' p. 209, col. 2, line 11; *read* 'aims' *for* 'aimed,' p. 209, col. 2, line 13.



King Farouk on tour of Upper Egypt
He is seen here returning the cheers of the crowd



Gas Masks for all
Girls seen at work on gas masks at the Government factory, Blackburn



Ethiopia's agony: Ras Imru captured
Ras Imru *(centre)* photographed at Addis Ababa prior to his being taken to Asmara



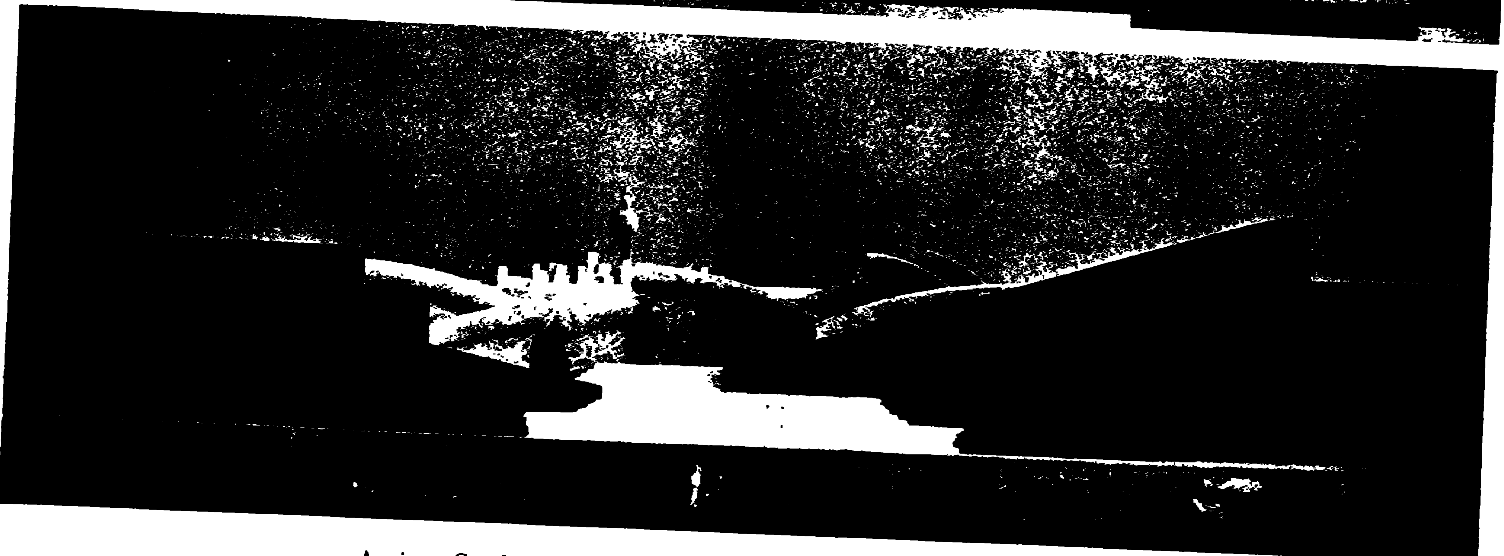
French aid for the Spanish Government
A boat fully equipped with food and clothing intended for the Spanish Government leaves Paris



Josef Kimpbeck making a spectacular jump from the great Olympic Ski

The Saar celebrates the second anniversary of the Plebiscite





Ancient Greek stage at Syracuse reconstructed by Duilio Cambellotti
Top: Stage setting for Euripides' "Ippolito"
Bottom: Stage setting for Sophicles' "Oedipus"

THE NATIONAL CHARACTER OF THE CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY

By RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE

That Rabindranath Tagore delivered his address in Bengali at the last convocation of the Calcutta University, undoubtedly shows its national character so far as Bengal is concerned. That its graduates can receive their degrees dressed in *dhotis*—as many did at the last convocation, also shows its national character. It is my intention to show briefly in this article that in some other respects it has been national in character to a considerable extent for years, so far as the whole of India is concerned.

India is a large country, inhabited by a very large population with varied needs and cultures. Many languages with literatures of their own are spoken here. It is not possible for any single university to provide facilities for the higher education of all its people. Even the sixteen universities, recognized by the State, which it has, are too few for the purpose. Japan is a much smaller country with a much smaller population; and the mother tongue of the people there is one. Yet Japan has 46 universities, of which 19 are Governmental. Germany also is a smaller country with a smaller population and a single mother tongue. It has 25 universities. So is France, and has 17 universities. In Great Britain, which also is a smaller country, with English as the mother tongue of the vast majority, there are 16 universities.

For years after its foundation some eighty years ago Calcutta University was the only institution of its kind for the people of Bengal, Assam, Bihar, Orissa, Chota Nagpur, Agra and Oudh (then N.-W. Provinces), the Punjab, Central Provinces and Berar, Burma, and even remote Ceylon. At present it is meant to provide for the higher education of the people of Bengal (*minus* a small area in Dacca) and Assam. But it has been more national in character in recent decades so far as the whole of India is concerned than it was for more decades after its foundation. I say this with reference to the principal languages and literatures of the people of India embodying their culture.

The Calcutta University allows candidates for its Matriculation to pass their vernacular language examination in any one of the following vernaculars of India :

Bengali,	Malayalam,
Hindi,	Kanarese,
Urdu,	Gujarati,
Oriya,	Marathi,
Assamese,	Manipuri,
Nepali,	Modern Tibetan,
Maithili,	Khasi,
Burmese,	Garo,
Telugu,	Lushai,
Sinhalese,	Modern Armenian,
Tamil,	and Portuguese.

Most of these languages are not the mother tongue of any section of the native born permanent inhabitants of Bengal and Assam.

"Bengali is the mother tongue of 923 in every 1,000 inhabitants of Bengal and, if it be assumed that persons born elsewhere than in Bengal speak other languages than Bengali, 955 in every 1,000 of the native born population use Bengali as their mother tongue."—*Census of Bengal*, 1931, p. 349.

In Bengal "Hindustani is the next most prevalent language, but less than 4 per cent. speak it in the whole of Bengal." The vast majority of speakers of Hindustani in Bengal are illiterate immigrant labourers, for whom it was not necessary for the Calcutta University to recognize their mother tongue as a vernacular either for its Matriculation or for its M.A. degree. It was because this university is pan-Indian in its linguistic and cultural nationalism that it has recognized Hindi and Urdu and some other non-Bengali advanced languages of India for its Matriculation and also for its M.A. degree.

As regards Indian languages (with literatures) which are not the mother tongue of the native born permanent population of Bengal, the numbers per 1,000 of the total population using them in Bengal are given in the subjoined list.

Tamil	.. 0.11
Malayalam ..	.. 0.006
Kanarese ..	.. 0.002
Telugu ..	.. 0.62
Marathi ..	.. 0.06
Oriya	.. 3.13
Bihari (60 per cent. of Hindi and Urdu)	.. 22.21

Eastern Hindi (35 per cent. of Hindi and Urdu)	.. 12.96
Western Hindi (5 per cent. of Hindi and Urdu)	.. 1.85
Gujarati	.. 0.13

For the Matriculation of the Calcutta University candidates can take up any of the following "second" languages:

Sanskrit,	French,
Pali,	German,
Arabic,	Italian,
Persian,	Classical Armenian,
Greek,	Hebrew,
Latin,	Syriac.

The inclusion of so many non-Indian languages in the above list shows that the Calcutta University recognizes the international character of world culture.

The M.A. degree of the Calcutta University can be obtained by passing an examination in anyone of the following vernaculars of India, either as the principal or a subsidiary language, or both:

Bengali,	Marathi,
Hindi,	Tamil,
Maithili,	Telugu,
Urdu,	Malayalam,
Oriya,	Kanarese,
Gujarati,	Sinhalese.
Assamese,	

The Calcutta University is national in character in another direction, namely, in its treatment of the classics and culture of all the main religious communities of India. Of the religions dating from antiquity which had their origin in India, namely, Hinduism, Jainism and Buddhism, the classics and scriptures are written in Sanskrit, Pali and Prakrit. The University recognizes and encourages the study of all these. It also encourages the study of Chinese and Tibetan, which are connected with the study of Indian antiquities, scriptures, classics and cultures.

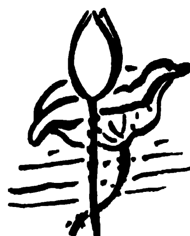
As regards non-Indian religions prevalent in India, Muhammadanism has the largest number of followers. Its scriptures are in Arabic. The University recognizes and encourages its study. Persian also is claimed by the Muhammadan community as containing its classics. Apart from that fact, the knowledge of Persian is necessary for the study of many source books of Indian history. Recognizing these facts the University encourages the study of Persian.

Candidates for some examinations have to read portions of the Bible. This is a recognition of the Christian community. There is, besides, the Stephanos Nirmalendu Ghosh Lectureship for the delivery of "a course of lectures on Comparative Religion."

"The donor (Mr. G. C. Ghosh of 2, Simla Street, Calcutta) stated that his desire was that the lecturer should, in dealing with the subjects of his lectures, endeavour to show that the highest ideal for man lay in love and service to his fellowmen according to the essence of the teaching and life of Christ, and that life lived under the guidance of this ideal constituted the highest advancement of human personality, the acceptance of a particular creed or dogma being of subordinate importance."

The study of the Zoroastrian religion, one of the most ancient in the world, is encouraged in connection with the study of Persian and of Philology for the M.A. degree.

I may be permitted in conclusion to point out two defects. Bengal—in fact, the whole of India, is predominantly an agricultural region. But, though the University has its Guruprasad Singh Professorship of Agriculture, it has no agricultural studies and degrees. Similarly, on the cultural side, though there is the Rani Bageswari Professorship of Fine Arts, there are no studies of and degrees in Indian Fine Arts. The State is chiefly responsible for these defects, which detract from the national character of this University. As far as I am aware, it is only Visva-bharati that teaches Fine Arts, not any State-recognized University in India.



THE STUDY OF INDIAN ANTHROPOLOGY BY INDIANS

By R. R. MARETT, M.A., D.SC. (OXON.), LL.D., F.B.A., *Rector, Exeter College, Oxford*

THERE is a saying that 'the world knows little of its greatest men,' and I am inclined to apply it to the case of Mr. Sarat Chandra Roy and India. Nay, I dare say that in this country too his books, printed as they are in India, are not often seen in the windows of our booksellers; though over here few of my anthropological brethren, to do them justice, would seem to be unfamiliar with his writings. But, as regards India, I have a strong suspicion that there still prevails a general lack of interest among the cultured classes in respect to the diversified customs of their ancient land, teeming as it is with folk who have worked out the problem of life for themselves in a thousand different patterns, all alike worthy of intensive study on the part of one who would understand the laws of human life in order to improve it. Now I doubt if there is any part of the world that can compete with India in the sheer number of those who are anxious to frame a philosophy of life, and to do their best to live up to it. Quite rightly, however, they associate this philosophy as intimately as possible with their religion; for, since philosophy and religion are in common concerned with ultimate questions, this is undoubtedly the attitude of mind most likely to unify and harmonize the sadly distracted energies and aspirations of the human spirit.

But, if on the whole of inferior status, science, as the study of the actual conditions that have hitherto attended and in some sense determined the development of all life, and of our own life in particular, deserves its fair share of attention from the seeker after the highest and most comprehensive truth. Idealism makes sickly food unless a pinch of realism be added by way of salt. Just as a healthy soul involves a healthy body, so the quest of spiritual good entails a reasonable acquaintance with the art of retaining our precarious hold on the surface of this planet. As earth-bound creatures we owe it to our higher selves not to neglect those lower things which happen to be essential to our continued existence. Nor is it simply a matter of keeping on good terms with matter. As members of society we condition one another from without no less than, so far as real sympathy is established, we can do so from within. Hence history and such historical disciplines as sociology and social psychology can well afford to aim at an objective treatment analogous to, if distinct from, the empiricism of the physical sciences. Before spiritual contact can be made between one people and another, they must have come to realize in a more or less disinterested manner the nature of the differences that keep them apart. An engineer would be a fool if he tried to throw a bridge across a river without having previously explored the further bank. Thus, though I believe that Kipling's jingle about East being East and West West involves no more than a half-truth, the most well-meaning efforts of Europe to promote a mutual understanding of our several needs, so that we may the more usefully give and take, must have little result unless India is willing to take an equal hand in the game. And it must begin with acquiring an adequate self-knowledge. At present, I think, we at this end know our Europe for all the good and the bad that it contains far better than the educated Indian knows his India; nor indeed does he often know his own part of India as thoroughly as objective methods would help him very easily to do.

Now it would be an impertinence were I to touch on those difficulties caused by caste which may be partly responsible for that slight air of self-righteousness with which some of my Indian students—though by no means all—are wont to profess entire ignorance of the habits of certain of their more backward folk, almost as if the latter belonged to another order of Nature. But this at least may be said for science that it recognizes no taboos. For the pure man of science all things are pure. Unfortunately the 'man in the street'—who is to be found wherever there are streets, and often too where there are none—indulges in his 'colour-prejudice' and what not, and thus accentuates those superficial peculiarities that form the chief excuse for all kinds of sectional selfishness. I can testify that in my own case anthropology has convinced me, once for all, of the utter narrowness of such an outlook. May I then venture to recommend to India—and I speak more especially to young India, with which I am in closest touch—to master and to help forward the anthropological study of their own country?

Again and again I have noted in the examination papers of some Indian student a real gift for the subject; though sometimes one cannot but suspect that he is exploiting that gift for what profit it may yield at the moment. I would, then, that Mr. Roy might convert a host—I observe with pleasure that he has converted his son—to follow in his footsteps; for this way, I am sure, lies not only present enlightenment but the future moral welfare of India.

By way of postscript I might perhaps be allowed to make a few suggestions, directly arising out of my experience as a teacher of Anthropology, that may serve to guide a beginner through the veritable jungle with which the student of primitive life is faced—a prospect so alarming that too often he withdraws in cowardly despair. Such trouble, I think, comes from starting from the wrong end of the subject, and filling the head with long words and sweeping theories derived from text-books of the epitomizing type. But anthropology is a science that thrives on induction—in other words, proceeds from the particular to the general, and throughout adapts its architecture to the nature of its material. I recommend, then, that by way of a start our student should read some monograph—or, better still, several of them, so that he should be led to draw comparisons on his own account—wherein is set forth what I might call the biography of some social group of simple habits in all its wealth of detail. Moreover, for the Indian student—since, like charity, anthropology should begin at home—I recommend that he acquaint himself with some of the simple folk who dwell near at hand. In and about Chota-Nagpur, for instance, he will find plenty of suitable specimens, with the additional advantage that Mr. Roy will be at his elbow to show him exactly how such facts need to be treated.

Now there are technical matters, such as the anthropometry or the linguistics, that provide tough meat calling for a matured power of digestion; but this objection does not apply to most of the social anthropology, which consequently can be assimilated by any mind that comes to it with that appetite for fresh experience which so often deserts a sophisticated palate. After all, there is an elemental quality in the simple life that ought to appeal to the young, more especially if we believe with the psychologists that a certain recapitulation of rudimentary tendencies is implicit in mental development. Let it be noted, too, that the simple life ought to be, and, as Mr. Roy proves, can be, described in simple language; all that parade of terminological grandiloquence being singularly inappropriate in regard to peoples possessed of no more than a vocabulary expressive of their very limited outlook. Science at its best is the enemy of all cant, and what it asks of its devotee is only that he should try to be objective in his attitude towards nature, including human nature—that, as it were, he should forget himself in the object. This principle applied to the empirical study of Man means that, above all else, it is necessary to seek to put oneself in the other fellow's place.

Translated, then, into terms of method, the principle in question bids us begin by forming a picture of the habitat, and of its demands on folk who for the most part depend on it directly, and, owing to the feebleness of their arts, are not in a position to modify it greatly; but, on the contrary, are largely at the mercy of a Nature untamed and correspondingly harsh. Thus, without going outside the little world of the Kharias, we have a sharp economic contrast as between the hillmen who mostly depend on hunting and the gathering of the spontaneous produce of the jungle; the Dhelkis, who, though on the right side of the line that divides the food-raiser from the mere food-collector, are still addicted to the wasteful method of *jhum* cultivation; and, finally, the Dudh section of the population who understand terracing, and, in general, have a better command over their food-supply. Here, then, are all the makings of an intensive study of human ecology within a single and manageable area.

Passing from environmental control to social organization, we need not be accused of overdoing the economic interpretation of history if we detect a close correlation between the conditions of the food-quest and the forms of social grouping respectively associated therewith. A demographic survey will immediately reveal differences in sheer density of population that cannot fail to affect the degree of co-operation possible in each set of circumstances. Thus we find every grade of social cohesion from the collectivism of a rude family system to a nascent individualism involving distinctions of rank—one that, however, does not interfere with intermarriage and freedom of intercourse. At the same time there develops a centralized authority, so that the community through its acknowledged representatives has a far better chance of holding its own in the face of all those modern tendencies that threaten to rob the lesser peoples of that individuality which is their birthright and the source of their spiritual strength.

This last consideration leads us on to the subject of the moral life which it must be the

supreme task of Social Anthropology to endeavour to view as it were from the inside. But a primitive community does not 'wear its heart on its sleeve.' It is comparatively easy to provide it with an exterior history; but, however thorough and replete with statistics, this can never suffice as a true account until supplemented with a portrayal, as intimate as it can be made, of the 'soul' of the people concerned. Needless to say, one must be able to commune with them in their own tongue, and must have acquired the social tact that will alone persuade them to impart the 'lore'—the songs, proverbs and so forth—that is the key to their inner life.

It is, however, needless to explain to an inhabitant of India that the final clue to the whole character of a people is provided by the religion, a term, however, that must be understood in a liberal sense, so as to include a great deal that, to an educated mind, might seem to verge on superstition or even magic. Here let the student start from exterior facts open to direct observation, such as the whole system of rites, both occasional and periodic, and especially from the latter which will yield a complete guide to the 'calendar customs,' or, as one may call it, the religious year. Then comes the more delicate task of interpreting all this ritual, one that needs not only knowledge of the language, but sympathy and an open mind; for a very crude symbolism will often be found to co-exist with feelings, thoughts and actions worthy of admiration as a credit to our common humanity.

So much, then, for what I deem to be the only fruitful method of that insight into human conduct and character which Social Anthropology is able to bestow on every friend of mankind, and I am sure that Mr. Roy's work is a model of how such research should be conducted. So my advice to India is, briefly, this: LEARN TO KNOW THYSELF.

The foregoing article will appear as the foreward to Mr. Sarat Chandra Roy's work on the Kharias.—Editor, *The Modern Review*.

COMMENT & CRITICISM

The opening lines of my article, *The Myth of the Aryans*, published in the January number of *The Modern Review*, convey the impression that the credit of pointing out for the first time the affinity of Sanskrit with some European languages lay with Sir W. Jones. This is incorrect. The credit for this is due to Halhed who wrote the first Scientific Grammar of the Bengali language.

He observed in 1778: "Shanscrit, a language of the most venerable and unfathomable antiquity . . . appears to have been current over most of the Oriental World; and traces of its original extent may still be discovered in almost every district of Asia. I have been astonished to find the similitude of Shanscrit words with those of Persian and Arabic, and even of Latin and Greek: and these not in technical and metaphorical terms, . . . but in the main ground work of language . . . and the appellations of such things as would be first discriminated on the immediate dawn of civilization." [N. B. Halhed, *A Grammar of the Bengal Language*, (Printed at Hoogly in Bengal, 1778), Preface (Pp. iii-iv). Most writers unconsciously change "Bengal" into "Bengali," while giving the title of this book.]

In 1786, Sir W. Jones stated before the (now Royal) Asiatic Society of Bengal: "The Sanscrit language, whatever be its antiquity, is of a wonderful structure; more perfect than the *Greek*, more copious than the *Latin*, and more exquisitely refined than either, yet bearing to both of them a stronger affinity, both in the roots of verbs and in the forms of grammar, than could possibly have been produced by accident; so strong indeed, that no philologer could examine them all three, without believing them to have sprung from some common source, which, perhaps no longer exists: there is a similar reason, though not quite so forcible, for supposing that both the *Gothick* and the *Celtick*, though blended with a very different idiom, had the same origin with the *Sanscrit;* and the old Persian might be added to the same family." [*The Works of Sir William Jones* (6 v., Lond. 1799): The Third Anniversary Discourse, (Vol. I. P. 26).]

Portions of the above extracts from Halhed and Jones were given by M. M. (9) (p. 223) and (p. 224) respectively.

There are also a few typographical errors: (1) F. N. (8)—For "I. T. (5)" read "I. T. (6);" for "in the light of (1)," read "in the light of (2);" and for "A. H. Keane (25)," read "A. H. Keane (26)." (2) For "Vischow" (first col. bottom, and second col. top, at p. 35), read "Virchow" convey the impression, that at p. 35), read "Virchow."

S. K. DEB.

Book Reviews

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in The Modern Review. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.
--Editor, The Modern Review.

ENGLISH

MEDIEVAL MYSTICISM OF INDIA: *By Kshitimohan Sen, Sastri, M.A., Principal, Vidyabhavan, Visvabharati. With a Foreword by Rabindranath Tagore. Authorized Translation from the Bengali by Manomohan Ghosh. Luzac & Co., 46 Great Russell Street, London.*

Very appropriately the book has as its motto as it were two lines quoted from the Bengali poet Chandidas which are translated thus:

"Listen, O brother man,
The Truth of Man is the highest of truths,
There is no other truth above it."

In the course of his foreword to the book Rabindranath Tagore writes:

"India has a *sadhana* of her own and it belongs to her innermost heart. Throughout all her political vicissitudes its stream has flowed on. A wonderful feature of this has been that it does not glide along any embankment of scriptural sanctions, and the influence of scholasticism on it, if any, is very small. In fact, this *sadhana* has mostly been unscriptural and not controlled by social laws of any kind. Its spring is within the innermost heart of the people whence it has gushed forth in its spontaneity and broken through the barriers of rules, prescriptive as well as proscriptive.

"Most of the persons from whose heart this spring has come forth belong to the masses, and whatever they have realized and expressed was 'not by means of intellect or much learning of the sacred lore' (*na medhaya na bahuna srutena*)."

It was, therefore, no easy task for the Author to be acquainted with and give to the world the teachings of these saints and sages, most of whom are unknown to fame. He had to explore "Secret India" both externally as well as internally or spiritually. He had to visit many obscure and inaccessible villages for the purpose to find out either the mystics themselves, if alive, or their teachings, if they were dead. His early life had attracted him to them. "It is nearly thirty-five years ago," says he, "that I came to know in Benares *sadhus* and *santas* of various sects . . . So charmingly deep and liberal were *sadhana* and the sayings of those old *sadhus*, that I felt an intoxicating attraction for them all even at a very tender age. During my student life, too, I passed most of my time in studying these sayings. Luckily enough I secured then the favour of some good guides in this field, the like of whom it is very hard to meet now-a-days."

He has been able to produce a work of unique value and interest. It consists of translations of two lectures delivered in Bengali at the Calcutta University and some Appendices. The first lecture was on Orthodox Thinkers, from the days of the meeting of Dravidian, pre-Dravidian and Aryan cultures downwards. The second dealt with the Liberal Thinkers. The sects and teachers whom he treats of are too numerous to mention. We who are called educated or consider ourselves educated have not even heard the names of most of them, though we ought to know more than their names. The four appendices consist of papers on Dadu's Brahma Society, Dadu's Path of Service, Dadu and the Mystery of Form, and Baools and Their Cult of Man.

BENARES HINDU UNIVERSITY, 1905-1935. *With a Foreword by H. H. the Maharajah of Bikaner. By V. A. Sundaram. Illustrated. Tara Printing Works, Benares City. Rupees Ten.*

This is a thick clothbound octavo volume of 632 pages. There are eighteen illustrations, Ayurvedic College and Sir Sunder Lal Hospital being a coloured plate. The editor, Mr. V. A. Sundaram, writes in his preface:

"It is hoped that the history of the Benares Hindu University will soon be written. In preparing it the materials collected in this volume will be found useful. It is, a chronological record of the birth and growth of the University. The object has been to put together in one volume the writings and utterances of some of the principal personages who lent moral or material support to the University in its infancy, or who have contributed to the growth of its prestige as an All-India institution of high academic aims and ideals."

He hoped that "this survey of the achievements of the Benares Hindu University will deepen public interest in its future progress." Those who will read the volume will no doubt have their interest in the Hindu University quickened. But perhaps the bulk and price of the volume will stand in the way of its getting many readers. By choosing type and paper of a more suitable kind, its bulk and price could have been greatly reduced.

In addition to the First Prospectus of the University and a paper explaining why it was wanted and what it aims at—both by Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, and besides the Benares Hindu University Act, the volume contains among other things many convocation and other

addresses by such eminent men as Dr. Rabindranath Tagore, Sir J. C. Bose, Sir P. C. Ray, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Sir C. V. Raman, Sir Ashutosh Mukerjee and others. All these make instructive and ennobling reading.

The editor rightly states that, though this noble institution, whose object is "to create a synthesis of the East and the West," has a denominational name and has some denominational features, yet, apart from these features, "the Hindu University is a Catholic Institution. Subject to the Regulations, it is open to persons of both sexes and of all classes, castes and creeds; so are its freeships, stipends, and general scholarships of merit. There are Mussalman, Christian and Parsi students also on its rolls and they live in the same hostels with Hindu students. So also do students of the so-called depressed classes, who are exempt from the payment of all tuition fees. Religious instruction is not compulsory in the case of non-Hindu students. Excepting teachers of Religion, professors are selected without any distinction of race and creed."

The book has for its frontispiece the Front Elevation of the proposed temple of Shri Vishwanath. That the prevailing form of Hinduism inculcates the worship of images in temples cannot be questioned. But Hinduism stands also for the worship of the Formless Deity. A Hindu University should stand for that kind of worship also, and should have an edifice or a grove or a garden set apart for such worship.

THE HISTORY OF THE DECCAN EDUCATION SOCIETY. (1880-1935) *Compiled and in part written by P. M. Limaye, M.A., Professor of History and Economics, Fergusson College, Poona, Life Member, Deccan Education Society. Price Rupees Five.*

In length, breadth and thickness it is a bigger volume than that relating to the Benares Hindu University. It contains 742 pages of smaller print and 79 illustrations separately printed on art paper. Besides there is a pictorial supplement, kept in a pocket of the volume, relating to the Golden Jubilee of the Society. The price is Rs. 5 only. It can be had of the Deccan Education Society, Poona.

The Deccan Education Society is admittedly the pioneer private educational body in Maharashtra. In other parts of the country, too, educationists will find the story of the pioneering educational efforts of the Society in the introduction of experimental science in the school curriculum, in the organization of physical instruction for all pupils, the provision for manual training, the adoption of the vernacular as a medium of instruction in the higher school standards, and the like, useful. Some of the most prominent figures in the public life of India, like B. G. Tilak, G. K. Gokhale, &c., were members of this society. Many of its members voluntarily led a life of poverty and self-abnegation and at the same time were great scholars. Their example has been followed in various parts of the country. A record of the lives of such men cannot but be instructive and inspiring.

ANNUAL BIBLIOGRAPHY OF INDIAN ARCHAEOLOGY *for the year 1934. Kern Institute, Leyden. E. I. Brill Ltd. 1936. Rs. 6.*

This is a very useful annual publication. It is in fact indispensable for those who want to keep their knowledge of India's ancient history and culture up-to-date.

The Introduction describes the work of the Archaeological survey of India during 1933-34. There is a chapter devoted to Indian Numismatics in 1934. A section describes acquisitions to the Mathura Museum, and another, archaeological work in Hyderabad (Deccan). There are sections relating to Ceylon, Further India and Indonesia. The list of periodicals includes English and Vernacular periodicals published in India. The Bibliography for the year 1934 has six sections—General, India, Ceylon, Further India, Indonesia, Adjoining Territories. The Indian section relates to Archaeology and Art History, Painting, Iconography, Palaeography, Epigraphy, Chronology, Ancient History, Ancient Geography, Numismatics. The plates and text illustrations are satisfactory. The Index facilitates reference to the volume.

A BETTER LEAGUE OF NATIONS: *By F. N. Keen, LL.B., of the Middle Temple, Barrister-at-Law, Author of "Towards International Justice," etc. 5s net. George Allen & Unwin Ltd., London.*

In this book Mr. Keen has made some proposals for the abolition of war. He holds that this is possible only through the establishment of a world system of justice. His book, therefore, aims at the conversion of the League of Nations into a universal organization with effective means of assuring peace and providing for the settlement of all international disputes and the making of international laws. All this may be good on paper. But just as the laws of a country are effective because of the consent of the majority of its inhabitants to obey them and because of the existence of means to coerce those who break the law, so international laws can be effective if the majority of countries agree to obey them and to provide means for coercing those who may not obey them.

ETHIOPIA MEMBER OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS? *By Ellen Horup. 19, Rue Henri Mussard, Geneva. Price 50 Centimes Swiss, or six pence.*

This booklet contains papers on the following subjects: The covenant of the League of Nations, Sanctions, The Conflict, The Policy of the Great Powers, Ethiopia and Collectivity, Treaties, Two Pacifists (Romain Rolland and Felicien Challaye).

The authoress writes in her preface:

"The Great Powers save Peace at the cost of Justice. They allow one robber after the other to make war and get away with his booty." "But to save Peace at the cost of Justice is to put the cart before the horse. We who want real Peace—we fight for Justice. Both Justice and Peace are far away, but we know that we shall never experience Peace until we have recognized the Right to live of every people, every race and every class."

INDIA'S NON-VIOLENT REVOLUTION: *By Haridas T. Muzumder, M.A., Ph.D., Gandhi's Companion on the March to the Sea, Author of "Gandhi the Apostle," etc. 25 cents. 20 Vesey Street, New York City.*

This book contains five chapters entitled, The Dandi Salt Party, India's Non-Violent Revolution, India's Battle for Freedom, India and England, and India and America.

SOYA BEAN: *An Ideal Foodstuff for India and for the vegetarians. By Prof. D. D. Kanga, M.A., A.I.C., I.E.S. (retired). Price not mentioned. Published by the Author, Adyar, Madras.*

Those who are interested in dietatics will find this booklet useful.

C.

HINDU PHILOSOPHERS ON EVOLUTION: *By Dr. Balakrishna, M.A., Ph.D., with a Foreword by Dr. A. Berriedale Keith, D.C.L. Pages XIV+296+VI. Published by D. B. Taraporevala Sons & Co., Bombay. Price Rs. 10.*

The volume is a zealous attempt on the part of the author to demonstrate that the modern scientific theory

of evolution is really not an original one, inasmuch as the idea of a gradual growth through ages was a current coin amongst the ancient Hindh philosophers, *e.g.*, in the conception of the gradual purification of the soul through transmigration. To substantiate his thesis he has put together materials from various ancient texts, metaphysics, puranas, ayurveda, politics, etc., and has dwelt upon such topics as cosmic evolution, evolution of the state, and so on. These topics, as has been pointed out by Dr. Keith in his foreword, have generally been neglected by the Western scholars. Dr. Balakrishna certainly deserves the thanks of all students of Indian Philosophy and Culture for making accessible to them within the compass of a single volume a mine of information not generally known and appraised.

While fully appreciating the spirit of the author the reviewers definitely feel that he has attempted to prove too much. His evident bias has led him astray in many places and has compelled him, perhaps unwittingly, to put new meanings to many loose speculative passages of the ancient texts and to stretch certain early rudimentary notions to the level of modern ideas. Apparently the author has not sufficient grounding in technical sciences and has therefore not succeeded in picturing in his mind the modern theory of Evolution in all its concrete details. Beyond an abstract idea of Evolution, he has not shown any intimate acquaintance with the current problems of the Evolution theory, with the result that a student of science in perusing the book necessarily gets a sense of unreality running through the medley of facts and imaginative interpretations. Chapter after chapter of passages, either from Greek Philosophers or modern scientific writings, parallel with those from early Hindu treatises may be interesting reading but they prove nothing. We note in passing that the references for all the passages quoted above have not been given.

His treatment of the Sankhya doctrine is illuminating though the orthodox views are not given in their entirety. The Hindu doctrines of Cosmic Evolution, of Botany, of Zoology have on the whole been well presented but this remark does not apply to the chapters on Social Evolution and the Evolution of the State. A certain scrappiness in the presentation of the materials is noticeable throughout while the interpretations seems in many places to be forced ones. This is an inevitable result of a preconceived theory.

We admire the courage of the author in trying to substantiate by actual evidence all the forty-six items of "Hindu Discoveries" (pages 26-28), but his self-imposed task seems to us to have been too ambitious for him. Nevertheless we do not hesitate to say in conclusion that the book is certainly a valuable treatise, its value lying not so much in the interpretations of the materials collected, but in the amassing of the relevant materials themselves from different texts and sources. This itself is not a mean performance and anyone who accomplishes such a task creditably as Dr. Balakrishna has done deserves to be congratulated.

M. N. Banerjee
S. C. Mitra

CHRIST, YESTERDAY AND TO-DAY: *By George B. Jeffery, F. R. S. Published by George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., London. Pp. 59.*

We have enjoyed the elevated tone and bold idealism of the author.

SPIRITUAL LESSONS: *By Sri Swami Sivananda Saraswati. Published by P. K. Vinayagam, The Vaman Press, 31, Broadway, Madras. Pp. 152. Price 12 annas.*

The book is a collection of the author's writings and is dedicated to all the Rishis and Maharshis. "The materials" the author himself assures us in his foreword, "are well classified, beautifully re-arranged, amplified, enlarged and divided into sections." The English is quite simple, but for an occasional Shakespearean touch here and there, (*e.g.*, p. 37, where we have an expression like "the *more* better"). The Lessons are of quite a matter-of-fact kind. The advice given is also quite sound, though it may not be relished by all. "My dear friend," the writer tells his readers, "never become a lawyer or a policeman, if you wish to attain salvation. Become a Professor or a Doctor" (p. 139). This is a compliment to Professors and Doctors and the reviewer being a Professor, is thankful for the compliment, though he is not anxious for immediate salvation.

U. C. Bhattacharjee

LOCAL SELF-GOVERNING BODIES AND EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS OF ENGLAND: *By Manindra Kumar Sen. Chuckerverty, Chatterjee & Co., Calcutta, Crown, pp. 95.*

The author is a member of the Bengal Civil Service and has been employed for some years as a sub-divisional officer. He visited England on long leave and had opportunity, through the assistance of the High Commissioner, of coming into direct touch with the working of a few local self-governing and educational institutions in that country. As a sub-divisional officer he was directly associated with some of the local bodies in Bengal and was expected to have intimate knowledge of the problems which they were called upon to tackle. It might be expected that a gentleman with such experience to his credit would utilise his opportunities of personal investigation in England in producing a volume which would facilitate the adoption, by our urban and rural bodies, of new methods of work and new lines of approach.

But the work under review not only does not reach the expected standard but it can hardly be given the dignified title of a book. The results of his investigations in the field of local self-government in England are practically embodied in the first forty-seven pages of the work. These few pages again are not devoted to the study of any particular problem of local government. We are given in these pages only a bare outline of the organization of the Ministry of Health, the County Council of London, the County Council of Berkshire, the County Borough of Reading, the Municipal Borough of Guilford, an Urban District Council and a Rural District Council. As so many institutions are taken up for study within such a short compass, we are treated only to a few elementary facts about the organization of these bodies. These few facts again are pieced together in a fashion that makes a very sorry reading.

His account of the educational organization in England is also equally bare, haphazard and disjointed. Within a compass of twenty-five short pages even the fringe of the subject can hardly be touched. Before any officer of the Government is sent abroad for studying any subject, the authorities should be sure that he has developed the habit of independent investigation of administrative problems and the ability and knack of drawing up full and clear reports.

MUNICIPAL ADMINISTRATION AND FINANCE IN PRE-BRITISH DAYS: *By B. G. Bhatnagar. The Indian Press Ltd., Allahabad, 1936, pp. 86.*

The author is associated with the Department of Economics, Allahabad University, and is an ambitious scholar. He conceived in 1928 the idea of producing a great work on the "Evolution of Local Self-Government in British India." But as he wanted to be definitely clear whether the local self-governing institutions

developed by the British in India were entirely exotic or had some indigenous inspiration behind them, he left aside the study of his main subject for a while and undertook the study of Indian local government institutions from the Vedic period. He first of all glanced through the works on Ancient Indian Political Institutions like those of Dr. Radhakumud Mookerji. But to his disappointment he found that the authors "had not kept the elementary principles of historical research steadily in view." As he made "these discoveries," he could not naturally "persuade myself to put my entire faith in these works." Inevitably he had "to fall back upon the original authorities on which the conclusions of these learned authors were based." Some of his friends however regarded this attempt at original investigation on his part as "almost a mad decision." He makes a confession, simple and scholar-like as he is, that he "does not know a word of Sanskrit, Pali or Prakrit" and "has but a smattering knowledge of Persian." His attempt at original research might consequently be regarded as presumptuous. But he tells us that "fools rush in where angels fear to tread" and he "did rush in." If he did not know one word of Sanskrit himself, that however was not to be a handicap. He engaged Pandits "of course always one at a time, but in all four, and a Maulvi, to read and explain to me the original texts of the English references." This hunting up of references through the help of Pandits and Maulvies "took me full two years and a half." As the work did not otherwise make any progress, he was persuaded by his friends to give up the attempt. "But sometime in 1931 an eminent University Teacher happened to talk rather disparagingly of my investigations in the Pre-British period" This spurred him on again. He now girded up his loins and undertook to show that he was quite equal to the demands which investigation in Ancient Indian political institutions might make upon a scholar. So he worked hard and has now produced this volume of boldly printed 86 pages, which is supposed to give us a true and accurate account of local institutions in ancient and medieval India. This is a book which might rather have been left unwritten. The writer of this review does not want to disparage the merit of this work in so many words lest the learned author should be spurred on to greater efforts and produce another volume which again one may be required to read and review.

NARESH CHANDRA ROY

A HANDBOOK OF ANTHROPOLOGY: *By Jyotsna Kanta Bose, M.A., B.L., P.R.S. Visva-Bharati Book-Shop, 210, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta. Pp. vii & 105.*

AN INTRODUCTION TO ANTHROPOLOGY: *By Rakhal Krishna Mondal, M.Sc., M.B., D.P.H., D.T.M. & Minendra Nath Basu, M.Sc., 1936. The Book Company, Limited. Pages 148.*

ELEMENTS OF PREHISTORY: *By Rakhal Krishna Mondal, M.Sc., M.B., D.P.H., D.T.M. & Minendra Nath Basu, M.Sc., 1936. The Book Company, Limited, College Square, Calcutta. Pages 72.*

These three books have evidently been written for Intermediate students studying Anthropology under the Calcutta University. The first is divided into seven chapters dealing with Man's place in the Animal Kingdom, Human Skeleton, Fossil Men, Prehistory, Ethnology, Racial History of India and Language. It thus does not include Social or Cultural Anthropology within its scope. The second covers nearly the same ground but also topically deals with Social Organization and Primitive Economic Life and Religious Ideas. The third book is specifically concerned with Prehistory. The printing and get up of all the books is fairly good, but frequent typographical errors make reading anything but a pleasure. Occasional errors also go to prove that the books were hurriedly rushed through the press and not subjected to careful revision. Some of the errors are of such a serious nature that they deserves more than a passing consideration.

In defining Race, the first author says, "Race signifies a group of people who have certain well-marked characters in common. But how many characters will be taken into account is only a matter of individual opinion . . . Three factors are necessary for the classification of a race—culture, language and physical characteristics. Every people has a culture of its own and this also depends upon their mode of life which is largely an expression of geographical conditions. Language is also a branch of culture and is an important factor in the classificaion of a race. The physical characters are by far the most important factor in classifying a race." (*Handbook*, pp. 66, 67-68). We should here like to point out that physical characters (both anatomical and functional) are the only dependable basis of racial classification; culture and language having nothing to do with it. Race is a biological concept; and all modern anthropologists are agreed that some stable, hereditary characters least subject to environmental influences should form the basis of racial classification. There may be difference of opinion as to which character is more and which less stable; but all are agreed on the piont that language and culture are useless for purposes of racial classification. Several decades ago, scientists did not draw such clear demarcations between Race, Language and Culture; but that is a thing of the past. So when we find the author of the *Handbook* advocating an antiquated view, we have grave doubts if the biological nature of the modern race-concept has been duly appreciated by him.

We are further surprised when Dr. Mondal and Mr. Basu speak in the same strain, "Race is defined as a group of people that has certain characteristics common (physical and cultural) to all the individuals of the group, by way of ancestry. A Race may be classified in two different ways: Physical and Cultural." (*Introduction*, p. 70). The substance of the two definitions is the same; so it is probable that both have been derived from some common antiquated source.

In another part of the *Handbook*, we are told, "The first occurence of life is almost as old as the earth itself" (p. 3). This is profoundly wrong, for the earth was already millions of years old before it could bear even the lowliest forms of life. This might perhaps be excused in an author who has had nothing to do with geological science; but when mistakes in Anatomy are discovered in the *Introduction*, one of whose authors is a Bachelor of Medicine, it can hardly be overlooked. On p. 27 of the book we are told about the Femur that its "lower end articulates with *tibia* and *fibula*." This statement is assuredly wrong in the case of the fibula.

Scientific matters apart, the language of the books is also of a very poor quality. Few Indian scientists have the reputation of writing good English; for, after all, it is foreign to us. But one is hardly prepared for such passages as "The nose is a good feature of attraction" (*Introduction*, p. 77) used to mean that it is a prominent physical character which lends itself to racial classification. Or for one like this, "in the Pacific region crude agriculture and domestication of chicks and chickens were the basis of life." (*Introduction*, p. 114). Or say, "The Eskimos and the Canadian Indians live in the tract—the former depending on seals and caribles, (caribous ?) and the latter on the reindeer alone . . . South of this area the bison was hunted by buffalo."

(*Introduction*, p. 113). We do not know what is exactly meant in the last instance. Such passages apparently provide more entertainment than instruction; although it must be said in extenuation of all the three books that they do provide a large mass of information within a small compass. But that is seriously off-set by the disadvantages of inaccuracy and bad presentation.

There is one more matter which the reviewer feels called upon to notice in connection with the *Handbook of Anthropology*. A whole section of that book dealing with the Old Stone Age (Pp. 43-57) reads like a running summary of MacCurdy's *The Coming of Man* published in 1932 by The University Society of New York. Often sentence agrees with sentence, and paragraph with paragraph, except for omissions, verbal alterations and occasional additions; and only in one place is there an use of quotation mark (p. 53), but that is without reference. Nobody objects to the use of standard authors for purposes of compilation; but decency requires that the source should be acknowledged even if it be for once only.

Nirmal Kumar Bose

PROPHET OF ISLAM AND HIS TEACHINGS *with an Appendix—Islam's contribution to Science and Civilization: By Maulavi Abdul Karim, B.A., M.L.C. Pp. 95 + XXX. Price Re. 1.*

Maulavi Abdul Karim's little book on the Prophet of Islam has been highly praised by men like Sir Bsojendra Lall Mitter, but it is doubtful whether such high praise is really deserved. The author is more an apologist of the present-day Islam than a biographer of the Prophet. Of him he says: "Book knowledge and school learning he had none" (p. 5). He tries to justify polygamy, and the Islamic injunctions regarding the preservation of beard and trimming of moustache. "The founders of the great religions with the exception of Buddha, were all bearded men—Moses, Jesus, Muhammad. The Greek tragedians and philosophers like Sophocles and Plato were also long-bearded men. Tagore, the representative of Hindu wisdom, is heavily bearded." Why does he omit all mention of the bearded and matted Hindu Rishis? Some statements in the book are positively misleading, *e.g.*, "as regards divorce, the woman has as much right to divorce the man as he has to divorce the woman." (p. 67). As the author is a legislator we would advice him to read Amir Ali's Muhammadan Law to cure him of his ignorance. He gives the total number of Muhammadans in the world as 603 millions. The World Moslem Conference held at Jerusalem in April 1924, claimed the total number of Muhammadans in the world to be 234 millions. From 234 millions in 1924 to 603 millions is a far cry. In fine we cannot congratulate the author on his production; we expected much better from him.

THE KINGDOM OF GOD AND PEACE ESSAYS: *By Leon Tolstoy. The World's Classics, Oxford University Press. Pp. XIII+591. Price 2s.*

Tolstoy's great manifesto on peace and government, approaching Christianity not as a mystical doctrine but as an understanding of life, was never more tunely than in these days of gathering war-clouds. The printing and get-up is of the usual standard of excellence one is accustomed to associate with the World's Classics of the Oxford University Press.

PROGRESSIVE JAPAN: *By C. L. Nayar with a foreword by Sir Gokal Chand Narang. Pages 148. Price Re. 1-8.*

Japan has a lesson for us. That lesson is—in unity, faith, character and organized effort lie success and what is of greater merit, the dignity and progress of man. The author, who had been to Japan, tries to convey this lesson by a survey of Japan's industrial and political progress. Though there are some obvious errors, we believe the author has succeeded in his self-appointed task in a popular manner.

HOW TO DEAL WITH CREDITORS: *By 'Solicitor.' Pages 91 with an index. George Allen & Unwin Ltd., London. Price 2s. net.*

The author, apparently a solicitor in good practice, has produced this non-technical and very useful book for the guidance of debtors in England, whereby they can save unnecessary costs and gain many other advantages. How we wish some of *our* lawyers had written similar books dealing with the British Indian Law for laymen in a popular style. "Ignorance of Law is no excuse;" but as a matter of fact we find in our everyday practice even educated people completely ignorant of all law. Such a book would benefit them, and spread the cognosciblity of law.

J. M. Datta

MODERN PROBLEM PLAYS, *a paper in The Dacca University Studies, Vol. I, No. 1, by P. K. Guha.*

The plays which the writer has in view in making the statement that the 18th century drama was composed of "light and frivolous farce, burlesque, satire, plays replete with sanctimonious pose and morbid sentimentalism, sonorous tragedies, etc.," are those which are referred to in the following authoritative summing up of the dramatic literature of the period:

"The stream of sentimental drama runs strong from Stelle to Hugh Kelly and Richard Cumberland. Pantomimes, ballad-opera, burlesque and farce often oppose its progress . . . . Moralized tragedy and moralized comedy contribute alike to the stream of sentimental drama."—*Cambridge History of Literature*, Vol. X, p. 92. Reference may also be made to satirical burlesques like *Tom Thumb* (Fielding), *The Critic* (Sheridan), sentimental comedies like *False Delicacy* (Hugh Kelly), *The Jew* (Richard Cumberland) and ponderous and artificial tragedies like *Sophonisba* (Thomson), and *Cato* (Addison).

The ground on which *The Cenci* of Shelley has been picked out by the writer as an exception among the insignificant plays of the first half of the 19th century, is that, as Prof. Allardyce Nicoll says in his *Readings from British Drama* (p. 296), "*The Cenci* is usually acclaimed as the greatest tragedy written in England between the time when *Venice Preserved* made its appearance and modern days." Again in his book *British Drama* (p. 324) Prof. Nicoll says, "It is certainly true that this is one of the most striking tragedies among the many poetic plays of the century."

We have it on the authority of Prof. Nicoll (*Reading from British Drama*, p. 297) that "it was first performed by the Shelley Society in 1866, and has seen some revivals in recent times under the direction of Miss Sibyl Thorndike."

Somerset Maugham may be said to have 'emerged,' after the war, as Mr. Guha states in the paper, because though Maugham was born in 1874 and had published plays like *Lady Frederick, Land of Promise*, etc., before the war, it was by his post-War dramas, *The Circle* (1921) and *Our Betters* (1923) that he really 'emerged' or came into prominence. This view is supported by Mr. J. W. Marriott, who in his introduction to Maugham (p. 585) in his famous selections, *"Great Modern British Plays,"* says:

"He is a craftsman of rare competence (for example, *Lady Frederick* and *The Land of Promise*), and had he

travelled no farther than that, it might have been deemed unnecessary to represent him in this book. Mr. Maugham did travel farther, ... Two serious comedies of Mr. Maugham's post-War theatre stand out definitely—*viz., The Circle* and *Our Betters.*"

X.

EPILOGUE. *A critical summary. Twice a year. Vol. 1. Editor, Laura Riding. Seizin Press; Deya, Majorca. Constable, London. 7s. 6d. net.*

This is a periodical, as its sub-title shows, mainly of literary criticism in the form of a book. The object and ideal of the Editor will be gathered from the following: "our general subject is thought and the most chaotic elements of thought are ideas; we begin at ideas. And our object is, first of all, a statistical one; to survey ideas in their numerical abundance." "We do not expound opinions but report besides what has happened (been thought) the single event possible after everything has happened; a determination of values." Besides the Editor, there are nine contributors to this volume and it contains articles on such varied subjects as, The Idea of God, Germany [written before the Nazi revolution], Film-making, Pictures, Photograph and Photography.

PEER GYNT: *By Henrik Ibsen. Trinslated by R. Ellis Roberts. The World's Classics. Oxford University Press. 2s.*

This translation of Ibsen's famous play, first published in 1912 and first used in a stage production at the Old Vic in 1935, has now been included in the World's Classics and will be welcomed by all.

C. C.

SANSKRIT-ENGLISH

SRI HARSHA'S RATNAVALI. *With Sanskrit Commentary. Edited with Introduction, Translation, Notes and Appendix by P. V. Ramanujaswami, M.A., Principal, Maharajah's Sanskrit College, Vizianagaram. Published by V. Ramaswamy Sastrulu & Sons 292, Esplanade, Madras.*

This is a popular edition of the well-known Sanskrit drama *Ratnavali* accompanied by a long introduction, a Sanskrit commentary by Narayana, a running English translation of the text, short explanatory notes and three appendices. The introduction gives a synopsis of the story, a critical estimate of the drama and its characters, an account of the author and his works besides a short discourse on the origin and development of Sanskrit drama with its various types. The commentary is stated to be the twenty-sixth work of Narayana who composed it in the year 5002 of the Kali Age. But unfortunately no account of this polymath of the modern age and of his works has been given in the introduction. Of the appendices the one quoting extracts from the *Kathasaritsagara* and the *Brihatathamanjari* dealing with 'the story of Vatsaraja as far as it is connected with the plot of the present drama' will be found to be useful in giving an idea of the original story on which the plot of the drama is based. Of the remaining two, one describes the important metres of Sanskrit and the other explains the bearing of the *nandi* stanzas on the plot of the play.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

PANCHADASI GITA: *By Jatindra Mohan Chatterjee, M.A. Published by the author from 49|9, Hindusthan Park, Calcutta. Price Re. 1-8.*

In this book, the author has re-arranged the Gita into fifteen chapters, according to the principles of the three systems of Yogas, and has rightly emphasised the unity of the three well-known paths of Karma, Bhakti and Jnana. He has also incorporated the English translation of the Sanskrit verses. Parallel passages have been quoted from the Vedas, the Upanishads, the Bhagabat and the Mahabharata. This makes it easy for the reader to understand the true import and meaning of the original verses of the Gita. The book may be recommended to all lovers of the Gita.

JITENDRA NATH BOSE

GUJARATI

CHAMDAN PAKAVVANO UDYOG: *By Mahomed Alu Saleh Nizami. Printed at Gita Press, Ahmedabad. 1935. Page 77. Price Re. 1-8.*

The writer is a native of Madras and well versed in the art and process of tanning skins and hides. He has given the benefit of his experience in this little book to those who desire to enter the line. He himself manages a tanning factory and hence the facts mentioned are the result of hard experience.

SADASAK VICHAR VINOD: *By Jamnadas V. Mehta, Amreti, Kathiawad. Printed at the Joshi Art Printing Works, Bombay, 1935. Pages 960. Price annas eight.*

In sixty-two chapters thoughts on worldly and spiritual matters are set out in easy language, which will help to make the attempt popular.

MAYA NI CHHAYAMAN: *Under the spell of Cosmic Will: By the late Vachlal Motilal Saha. Printed at the Vir Vijaya Printing Press, Ahmedabad, 1935. Pages 48. Price annas six.*

A caustic essay by the late writer on the delusions of the world. It is an incomplete writing.

PRASTHAN BHED: *By Prahlad Chandrashekhar Divanji, M.A., LL.M. Printed at the Babji Electric Press, Jalgaon, 1935. Pages 32+59. Price annas twelve.*

This book is a translation of a Sanskrit work of the same name by Madhusudan Saraswati into Gujarati with explanatory notes. In his introduction the translator discusses the question whether the Sanskrit book is an independent work or part of another larger work. His other works, incidents in his life, comments on his style and allied subjects also find place in the introduction which discloses a close stury of the subject of the book and Madhusudan's works. Students of Hindu metaphysics should feel obliged to Mr. Divanji for the publication.

(*1*) CHELLO PAVAPATI. (*2*) KISMAT NO SITARO AND TWO OTHER PLAYS: *By Gajendrashankar Lalshankar Pandya, M.A., B.T. Printed at the Pratap Printing Press, Surat, 1935 & 1934. Price annas 5 and annas 6.*

The first book is a three-act play, and depicts the very stirring life-events of Pratap Sinh—commonly known as Patai Raval—the last of the Chauhan Hindu kings of Pavagadh in Gujarat before it fell into the hands of Mahommedans after a continuous fight and siege lasting for twelve years under Mahmud Bejada. The play is meant for acting by schoolboys and the language used is suitable for that purpose. The second book contains a batch if three plays written with the same object. They have been successfully staged.

VASUNDHARA (Samvat year 1991).

This is an annual published by Chaturbhuj Nagardas Acharya of Karachi. It contains contributions from various writer's for use of women and children.

K. M. J.

THE WISE MAN SAYS

By YONE NOGUCHI

Be broken apart—thy being's rusty door,
Be blown in across thy mind a rapturous wind,—
Oh, the wind, wind, wind!
Let the wind sweep the dust of centuries away,
Let the wind sweep thee to the end of the world where life begins anew!
From gazing too long on the ruin of ages,
From carrying too long the emptiness of the world,
Thine eyes become dim, the back is bent,—
Oh, the slanting brow and loosened jaw are thine!
Return to the Thing the Lord God made thee first
To cross the sea in search of surprise,
To climb the hill for meeting with the sun!
See the birds sailing over the waves without a chart,
See the flowers climbing the peaks of beauty with no guide!
Whose is the hand that made thee a sad debris of flesh?
Thou art lost in the labyrinth of knowledge,
Busy to dig thy grave, a brother to the bats and gnats.
Unload thy property, knowledge or sense, to raise thee lighter on wings,
Dissolve thyself into elements in which possibility prevails.
And save thee from life's censure and limit!
Leaving all personalities at the devil's door,
Knock at the unseen world where naked men are welcome guests!

(Thus said the wise man with a smile—with a smile hinting
That the final thing remained still untold.
Then he lifted his fingertips to point the way one has to pursue.
Oh, if he but knew how!)

Benares

FRESCO AND MURAL PAINTING IN BENGAL

By SUDHANSU KUMAR ROY

As regards painting our artists are generally accustomed to draw miniatures. For them mural painting is a new departure. Bengal has her own magnificent *stupa* like Paharpur, monument like Mathurapur. In the remotest villages in Bengal we find large and wonderfully painted scroll-works and cottages beautifully decorated. But we have no Ajanta, Bagh and Segiria, where fresco and mural paintings are seen at their best.

However, the authorities of the cinema houses in Calcutta have directed their attention towards the interior decoration of their houses and they have selected fresco and miniature painting as a part of the decoration. Our artists are fortunate enough to get work in a new line which is quite unfamiliar to them. The artists, who have ventured in this unknown path, have successfully established their reputation they gained in the field of miniature painting.

Mr. Sudhansu Chowdhury, Mr. D. K. Dev-Barman and Mr. Ardhendu Banerji, so far known as finished miniaturists, have also shown their talent in executing large drawings on the walls of cinema houses with remarkable technical skill. Mr. Dev-Barman with his assistants is now engaged in decorating the Library room of the Calcutta University with fresco paintings. In these frescoes Mr. Dev-Barman is trying to depict the whole chronological history of the Indian civilization (Plate 1).

The original mural painting (Plate 3) is actually 24 feet long. The feature characteristic of this and his other mural paintings is the faithful and spontaneous representation of the landscape in all its natural details. Mr. Sudhansu Chowdhury, fully aware of the relative advantages and disadvantages of mural painting, has mastered its technique which has been supplemented by the Indian method. There is no place for extensive criticism of these paintings here. I hope, from these few plates the reader will have a clear perspective into the primary production in India of mural paintings.

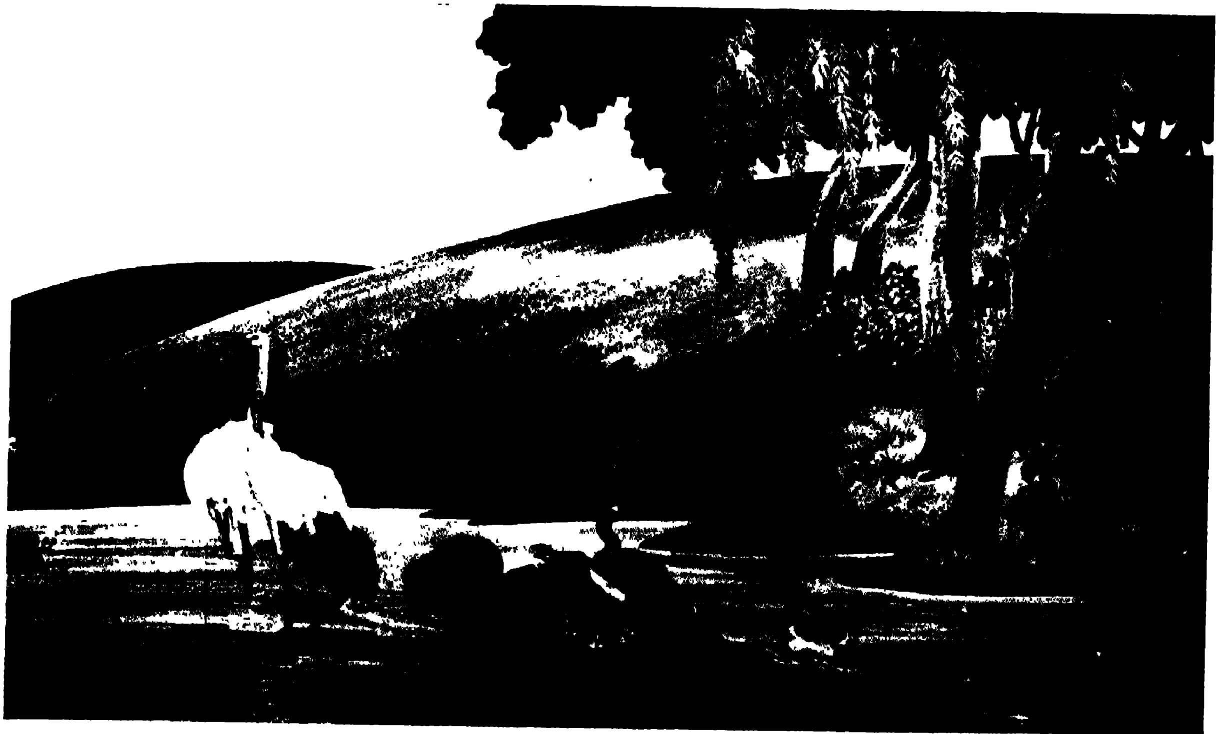
Both Mr. Chowdhury and Mr. Dev-Barman were in the little group of artists who were invited to London to decorate the walls of the India House. I am indebted to them for permission to utilize photos of their work to illustrate this note.



1. Mural painting in the Calcutta University Library by D. K. Dev-Barma

2. Mural painting by S. S. Chowdhury





3. *Top and bottom* : Two halves of a Mural painting by S. S. Chowdhury

RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION IN SCHOOLS

By A. N. BASU

[Being his note of dissent, as a member of the Bengal Primary Education Curriculum Committee, on the question of religions instruction in primary schools.]

In the matter of religious instruction my views are opposed to those expressed in the main body of the report and shared by my colleagues on the Committee. At the outset I should like to say that I am not opposed to religion. Religion occupies or should occupy the central place in our life. But at the same time I hold that religion is primarily a matter of personal belief, and it should be allowed to remain so. To confuse religion with the church and to claim for it a secular organization of the type of the State have been, among others, two of the chief sources of evil perpetrated in the name of religion. Furthermore, I hold that the State, representing as it does or should do the various interests of diverse types of people composing it, should take a neutral view in the matter of religion, and all State institutions, including educational institutions, should be secular in character. The education the State should provide should also be secular. As the State gives freedom in the matter of religious opinion, similarly the State should see that no indoctrination is allowed specially in the matter of personal religious beliefs in its institutions. I therefore strongly dissociate myself from my colleagues when they recommend the introduction of religious instruction in our primary schools.

Then again I hold that religion is to be caught and that it cannot be taught. Can we teach religion in the way we are thinking of by introducing it as another subject like Arithmetic or Geography on the curriculum? I hold we cannot. In this connection the following quotation from Tagore may be of interest:

"Religion is not a fractional thing that can be doled out in fixed weekly or daily measures as one among various subjects in the school syllabus. It is the truth of our complete being, the consciousness of our personal relationship with the Infinite; it is the true centre of gravity of our life. This we can attain during our childhood by living in a place where the truth of the spiritual world is not obscured by a crowd of necessities assuming artificial importance, where life is simple, surrounded by fulness of leisure, by ample space and pure aim and profound peace of Nature; where men live with a perfect faith in the eternal life before them."

No one, I hope, will hold that our primary schools are or are going to be in any near future places of the type envisaged by Tagore. The atmosphere that prevails there is anything but helpful for the development of the true religious spirit in our children. I am also reminded of the words of Carlyle where he says:

"Can droning of articles, repetition of liturgies . . . bring ethereal fire into human soul, quicken it out of earth by darkness into heavenly wisdom? Soul is kindled only by soul. To teach religion the first thing needful, and also the last and the only thing, is finding of a man who has religion."

Carlyle, I believe, puts the whole problem in a nutshell. Unless we can get hold of competent men worthy of the great task it will be futile, nay it will be calamitous to impart religious instruction. We all know of what calibre our primary school teachers are, and we cannot expect any change for the better in the near future. In their hands religious instruction will become a travesty of religion—it will lead to dissension and disharmony. Then again there is every possibility of creating contrariant attitude in our pupils through bad methods of religious instruction and through efforts of indoctrination which is bound to accompany such instruction. This evil cannot be ignored. In fact, I feel that by imparting religious instruction we shall be defeating our purpose; instead of making our pupils religious we shall end by making them irreligious; they will hate religious and shun it. No religious instruction is certainly better than bad religious instruction.

Then again granting for a moment that in spite of the dangers mentioned above, we should introduce some sort of religious instruction in our schools, what is the religion that should be taught? My colleagues have prepared a scheme for Muhammadan religious instruction which they hold would meet the demands of that community. Similarly, they have prepared a syllabus for Hindu religious instruction. The assumption seems to be that every religious group should have its own syllabus of religious instruction. Now suppose several groups are represented in a school community. Can we make provision for all the different communities? Are not some minority communities in danger of being neglected? The people of Bengal have so many different religions, they are divided into so many different sects that there is every danger of our not providing for one or the other of such sects. There can apparently be no greatest common measure in the matter of religious instruction. If it were so, my colleagues would have recommended a single syllabus, but they have not done so. And even if among the Hindus any such greatest common measure is found, such measure is apt to be like the chemical properties of hydrogen—tasteless, colourless and odourless, in a word, absolutely ineffective. Of course, it may be argued that in their essence all religions are the same. But this is only true of religions in their philosophical aspects. The theologies differ, and it is the warring theologies which create dissension. We have seen enough of sectarian and religious conflicts in this country. Let us not recommend any measure which will add to the already existing dissension.

Shall then our children go altogether without the inspiring influence of religion? I hold that they need not, provided we are ready to make some sacrifice and take some pains. Let us, every parent and guardian, divide and share the task of educating the youth of the nation with the schools. Let us not shift the entire responsibility to the schools. If we believe in religious instruction, let us, every parent and guardian, come forward and say, because the problem of religious instruction in schools bristles with so many difficulties we shall, in our homes, give that instruction, we shall individually take charge of it. Are we not sometimes demanding too much from our schools? Why in the matter of educating the children the home should entirely abdicate its rights and avoid its duties in favour of the schools, and why should the school arrogate to itself all the functions and duties of the home? The modern ideal of education desires a closer co-operation between the home and the school and nowhere does it advocate the supplanting of the former by the latter. When we

think that the school should do everything for the child, do we not thereby give schools a far more prominent place than what belongs to them legitimately? In the matter of religious instruction, therefore, the home should divide the responsibility with the school, thereby creating a deeper and closer union of the two great institutions of humanity. And who can doubt that the loving initiation by the parents into spiritual life will be a thousand times more potent than any religious instruction that we may give in our schools. It is thus alone that the problem of religious instruction may be satisfactorily solved, and we can avoid the conflict of sectarianism and differing religions and also pave the way to positive national unity—the greatest need of the country today. Even if the homes refuse to co-operate, I recommend that no religious instruction should be provided in our primary schools.

The 13th October, 1936.

HARIJANS MANUFACTURED IN TEA ESTATES OF ASSAM

By A. V. THAKKAR

THE little known province of Assam, lying quite out of the way and in the extreme north-east projecting corner of the country, has a number of its important social problems which are much less known, except to students of public questions and administrators. Assam is a conglomerate province with a large number of races and jungle tribes and depressed people. Having been ruled in the past by races like Chutiya, Kachari and Ahoms, and in the present day by the British including the European tea planter, having been predominated by neighbouring Bengali intelligentsia and by the Marwari commercial community, and having been invaded in recent times by the land-hungry Mymensingia Muslim agriculturists from East Bengal, the province will very likely cease to be an Assamese province in the near future. I am mentioning this all as a mere background to my subject of describing the problem of the manufactured Harijans of Assam.

With the introduction of tea industry in the province over 75 years ago, a large population of coolies has been recruited from different provinces of this vast country and imported into Assam year after year under indenture for work in tea gardens for the period of a year or two or three. On termination of their agreement period, they settle down as agriculturists on state land or tea planters' non-tea land. These coolies come not only from the adjacent provinces of West Bengal, Bihar and Orissa; but also from the distant C. P., Madras, U. P., and even Bombay. They speak different languages, have different manners and customs, and are drawn from different grades of society. The aboriginal tribes of Santhals, Gonds, Mundas and Oraons supply a large quota. The depressed classes of Pans and Tantis from Orissa, Malas and Madigas from Andhra Districts, Chamars and Dusadhs from C. P., Bihar and U. P., also Chasas, Kurmis and similar agricultural classes of Orissa, Bihar and the U. P., form a very large majority. These castes are legion. Their number is so large that the census superintendent of Assam of 1931, because of the orders for economy, but more frightened by the hundreds of these castes from all parts of India, even the names of which were not heard of before by the ordinary enumerator, despaired of entering and classifying the names of these numerous castes in his census schedules and invented and adopted the crude method of classifying them all as belonging to one caste called "Tea-garden-cooly castes." Happy solution, indeed! A very apt disciple of Raja Ballal Sen, who flourished in Bengal in the eleventh century and is famous for his social reforms and his enquiries into matters of caste.

A COOLY IS ALWAYS A COOLY

The reason is evident and not unjustified. As Mr. M. A. Mullan, the census superintendent of 1931 says, "A cooly, in Assam, is always a cooly, and whether he works on a tea garden, or whether he has left the garden and settled down as an ordinary agriculturist, his social position is nil." By the Assamese, he is always talked of either as a cooly, or 'Bengali,' meaning by the latter term a man from some other province, and thus remains outside the pale of Assamese society as any Harijan indigenous caste like Namasudra, or Kaibarta or Hira (Potter). They cannot secure the services of a Brahman for marriage and other ceremonies, they are not admitted to the village 'Namghars' or prayer halls, nor do the rural boards of Assam take the trouble

of providing them with school teachers. The tea-planter, 75% of whose tribe are Europeans, do not care to provide him with a school teacher, much less with a welfare worker, and thus his life is the most barren and colourless imaginable. Divorced from any public opinion to curb him from going morally wrong, also from any cultured life to come in contact with, and from any means of innocent entertainment or social and economic improvement, he or she is easily led into breaking all moral laws and falls an easy prey to drinking habit. That is the genesis of his fall, which is complete within a year from his entry into tea garden. Having associated with untouchable castes in the garden and perhaps lived or married among another caste, he is completely looked down upon, as a rule, by the Assamese society, which refuses to look at him or her as a decent human being.

Abysmal Ignorance

"They are educationally terribly backward," says Mr. Mullan. Such strong words could not have been used by an official without good reason. He gives extracts from a memorandum submitted by the Government of Assam to the Royal Commission on Labour in 1929 to prove "abysmal ignorance of the tea garden population of the province—a population which amounts to about *one-tenth* of the whole population of Assam." I will not quote the same here, but refer the reader to section 131, p. 159, of 1931 Assam census report. I may mention here that in 1930-31 there were only 9 Government schools, 52 schools maintained and *controlled* by tea-planters, receiving grant-in-aid, and 48 schools owned and controlled by planters and not aided by the Government. These 109 schools exist for over 1000 estates with a total population of about nine lacs. One school to every 9000 of tea plantation labourers, who are scattered over a vast area, whom the Government helps to recruit by a special Act of the Legislature, but whom the Government fails to help by providing means for education and uplift in their wild surroundings, after bringing them hundreds of miles from their homes and their old moorings, and dumping them on tea estates and uncultivated wastes of Assam. Another important evidence of their great illiteracy is supplied by the fact that in 1921 census it was found that there were only 5,858 coolies out of a total of 9,22,000 censused on tea gardens were literate, or one in every 157. Compare this with the all-India average of one literate in every 12. In 1931 the census superintendent says, "There is no reason to believe that the proportion of literate coolies has increased since 1921."

"They have no recognized leaders or associations to press their claims, or to work for their social advancement" is the next very apposite remark of Mr. Mullan concerning the tea garden cooly castes, whose number in 1931 was nine lacs on the tea estates and five lacs outside, on agricultural land, the total being 14 lacs. How is it possible for such a mass of people recruited from ten provinces and states and speaking not less than 20 languages, if not more, terribly backward in education and deeply poverty-stricken and on the borderline of starvation, to produce leaders from amongst themselves? And tea-planters of Assam—and Assam is said to be a planters' *raj*—would not tolerate any public labour leader, not even a Joshi or a Giri or a Jamnadas to come within a mile of their sacred domains and let them address a small group of coolies, even on education or cleanly habits or sanitation, or allow them to exhibit a magic lantern show. They would themselves make no provision for their entertainment or uplift, except the provision of liquor in their canteens, and would not let others do a little brotherly act towards the coolies. Where are then the recognized leaders to come from? No trade unions can be formed under the present circumstances. There seems at present no way out of this utter darkness and despondency for the social advancement of this ignorant mass of nearly one-sixth of the Assam population.

40% Harijans

Assam has a population of 92½ lacs only and it is divided into following religious communities :

Hindus	..	52 lacs.
Muslims	..	28 "
Tribal (Hill and Plain)	..	10 "
Christians (mostly tribal)	..	2½ "
Total	..	92½ lacs.

Out of the 14 lacs of cooly and ex-cooly population not less than 13.16 lacs are Hindus, 53,000 only tribal and 34,000 Christians, mostly tribals. Thus one-fourth of the total Hindus settled in Assam, and all coolies come to settle down in Assam, whether on tea gardens or on land for agriculture, are in abysmal ignorance and thoroughly degraded. They are more "untouchable" than the untouchables born in Assam and more "exterior" than the "exterior" castes, like Namasudras and Kaibartas. The indigenous Harijans number over 6½ lacs, mostly Namasudras, Kaibartas, Patnis, Jogis, Malis and sweepers. Non-Assamese cooly castes, who are not less degraded than Harijans proper,

added to these Assamese Harijans, number 20½ lacs out of 52 lacs of Hindus, or are close upon 40% of the total Hindu population. This is a blot on the whole Hindu society of India, which tolerates this recruitment of unprotected masses in a distant province; and having tolerated it, fails to provide any means for the social and religious advancement of their people, quite forgotten and placed permanently in depressing surroundings and working under employers, who would do nothing but exploit them of their labour on minimum wages and would not provide any amenities of life for them.

Appeal

But will not the all-India organizations like the Hindu Mahasabha, Varnashrama Sangha, the Ramakrishna Mission, the Arya Samaj, the Harijan Sevak Sangha, the Hindu Mission of Calcutta, the Servants of India and the Servants of People Societies, and the Trade Union Congress and Conference hear the distant cry of these tea-coolies? Will not this appeal reach the ears and the hearts of the charitable philanthropists of large cities like Calcutta, Bombay, Delhi and Rajputana, if not of Dibrugarh, Jorhat and Sylhet, who thrive upon the labour of these wretched labourers? I earnestly hope that this will not be a cry in the wilderness.

One more appeal, and that is to the newly formed Legislature of Assam. In the popular house the largest party is formed by the Congressites, who are however not in a majority, nor likely to accept office. But they can, with the help of other parties, either have a certain sum set apart for the amelioration of tea garden coolies and ex-coolies or compel the planters by a short Act to ear-mark funds for the purpose. Of course the upper house is dominated by capitalists and may not allow any bill taxing the tea industry to any extent to be passed. But in any case this evident duty devolving upon popular representatives should be undertaken and pressed at least in the popular house in the interest of the mute tea cooly, who has no champion at present anywhere.



A Portrait bust of Rabindranath Tagore
By Sudhirranjan Khastgir



Bombay Presidency Women's Council
A group of members of the Council with Lady Brabourne (centre) who opened the handicrafts exhibition

INDIAN WOMANHOOD

MRS. S. L. KASTGIR, wife of Mr. S. L. Kastgir, Barrister, Chittagong, is a well-known figure in Chittagong social circles. She is an accomplished lady and has travelled in India and Europe. Mrs. Kastgir is a grand-daughter of the late R. C. Dutt and maternal aunt of the late Deshpriya J. M. Sen-Gupta.



Mrs. S. L. Kastgir

Recently Mrs. Kastgir organized a successful charity performance of oriental dance and Rabindranath's play, *Valmiki Prativa,* in aid of local and provincial charities.



Miss Vishini Jagasia

Miss Vishini Jagasia of Karachi gave an excellent display of Indian classical dance at the All-India Music Conference, Lucknow, and was awarded seven gold medals. Her *Arati* and *Puja* dances deserve special mention.

Miss Rama Bose, a grand-daughter of the late A. M. Bose and a daughter of Mr. S. M. Bose, who joined the Oxford University about



Miss Rama Bose

two years ago and worked under Dr. Thomas, Boden Professor of Sanskrit, has been admitted this year to the D. Phil. degree. A brief account of her distinguished academic career in the Calcutta University is given below.

Miss Bose stood first among the women candidates in the Matriculation Examination of the Calcutta University, securing the Inglis Memorial and Keshabchandra Sen prizes and a scholarship; stood second among all the candidates in the I. A., Examination, securing the Duff and the Senior Government scholarships; stood First in the First Class in Philosophy (Honours) in the B. A. Examination and was awarded the Jubilee Post-graduate Scholarship, the Gangamani Devi Gold Medal and numerous other medals and prizes; was the recipient of the Hawkins Gold Medal as the best student of the year graduating from the Scottish Church College; stood First in the First Class in Philosophy in the M. A. Examination and was awarded the University Gold Medal, the Kamalrani Gold Medal and a special Research Scholarship; was awarded a special scholarship of Rs. 200|- a month by the Calcutta University with a view to carrying on further studies at Oxford.



Mong Raja Nanoomah

Manickchari, a hill station in the Ramgarh sub-division in the Chittagong Hill Tracts district, recently witnessed a notable event in the official installation, as the Mong Raja, of Srijukta Nanoomah, the widowed daughter of the late Mong Raja Nephrusain, Chief of the Mong Circle. She is the first lady chief of the Mong Circle.

DR. M. WINTERNITZ—THE MAN AND THE SCHOLAR

By Principal KSHITIMOHAN SEN, M.A.

Dr. Winternitz was one of those persons whose greatness cannot be gauged by the events of their outer life only. I have not met any one who could come up to him in the depth of devotion to Indian literature and in a scholarly understanding thereof.

Dr. Winternitz was born on December 23, 1866, in Lower Austria. At the age of 17 years, he entered the Vienna University and commenced his study in Philosophy and Philology. It was then that he met the great scholar, Prof. Bühler. At that time he was attracted by Ethnology. In 1888 he obtained his Doctorate. His first literary work was "Apastambiya-Grhya-Sutra." It revealed for the first time the extent of his erudition.

In the eighties of the last century, Prof. Max Müller was engaged in bringing out a second edition of the "Rigveda." For this purpose he was on the look-out for a competent collaborator. He accordingly invited Dr. Winternitz to join him in the work. The scholarly manner in which this young man of twenty-five years of age edited the work placed him at once among the foremost orientalists of the world.

Interested as he was in the subject of Ethnology, Dr. Winternitz felt deeply interested in the marriage ceremony of the Vedic times. He published, therefore, in due course, his "Mantra-Patha" or the "Prayer Book of the Apastambins."



From the left : Dr. Winternitz, Ramananda Chatterjee, Rabindranath Tagore and Prof. Lesni : Prague, 1926

To give, as it were, precision to his love for Indian literature he addressed himself to the comparatively dry task of preparing an index of the Vedic books in the Bodleian Library at

Oxford, as well as an index of the South Indian Sanskrit manuscripts in the libraries of Great Britain and Ireland. While engaged in this task he realized the greatness of the "Mahabharata" and also the urgent need of bringing out a critical edition of the same. This realization, too, can be traced to his love for Ethnology. It was at this time that he published his book on "Position of Women in Brahmanical literature." For the same reason he felt drawn to the study of Mahayana Buddhism.

The work on which his fame rests for all times is his *magnum opus*, "History of Indian literature," which was in German and which was completed in 1922.

Soon after this he came to India. Dr. Winternitz had great respect and affection for the Poet Rabindranath Tagore. And it was at the latter's invitation that he visited the Visvabharati, at Santiniketan. It was here that I had my first personal contact with the great scholar. During his stay in this country he delivered a number of lectures at several Universities, the principal among which was a series of six Readership lectures at the Calcutta University. He wrote a large number of works. Two academic journals also owed their inception to his inspiration. His work was, therefore, his own monument.

Before coming to Visvabharati, Dr. Winternitz spent some time at Poona, where the work of editing the "Mahabharata" was in progress at the Bhandarkar Institute. He suggested the method for bringing out a critical edition of the epic, after collating the existing manuscripts of the same. This method was a synthesis of his own critical acumen and deep devotion.

His study of Indian literature was no doubt dynamic. His first-hand contact with this country, however, opened up and illumined many new aspects of his versatile genius.

Thus equipped, he began to translate his "History of Indian Literature" from German into English. In 1934 the second volume of the English version was completed. The work of the third volume was in progress when he fell seriously ill. We felt concerned about him. But before long he recovered, to our great joy, and he informed us that he was soon taking up the work where it had been interrupted by his illness. The English version was not a mere translation, but a new creation into which he poured the erudition, experience and illumination of his later life.

When I first saw him at Santiniketan I was struck by his great humility, gentleness and sweetness of disposition. The way in which he asked questions concerning our literature was an unmistakable proof of his devotion to it. So great was his humility that he hesitated to tell us of his unique methods of critical study, but when he showed these to the students and we observed them we were filled with unusual admiration for his scholarship and synthetic vision. There was a happy harmony between his critical faculty and his love for our literature, hence the uniqueness of his methods of study.

Sometime I had a slight doubt whether a European could with the aid of his erudition, however extensive and intensive it may be,—ever attain to a vision of the inner beauty and breadth of our literature. But Dr. Winternitz dispelled this doubt immediately. He was himself great; so he could envisage and understand the true greatness of our literature, for otherwise this would have been impossible.

नायमात्मा बलहीनेन लभ्यो
न मेधया न बहुना श्रुतेन ।*

(*Katha*, II. 23)

It is so difficult to understand even the depth of a single individual's life; far more difficult it is to do this in the case of a nation or a whole people. Therefore, an understanding of India can be compassed only through fruitful devotion. Dr. Winternitz had this in an abundant measure; and so he realized in his own life the teachings of the Buddha, which are a continuation of those of the Upanishads.

When staying in India he had his first real introduction to Tantric literature and to Yoga and "Yoga-Vasishta." This was not possible for him so long as he was in Europe. All the obstacles in the way of understanding the above, however, were overcome by him by dint of his own devotion to truth. He used to say that it was excusable for a foreign scholar, thousands of miles away from India, to have only an intellectual concept of the greatness and truth of our literature, but for those who lived in India and studied it or edited studies in the same it was absolutely necessary to give to their work the true touch of life of realization at first hand.

Dr. Winternitz and I had many a talk on the subject of the mysteries of the Tantra, the approach to truth of the medieval mystics and *bauls*, and I was astounded at his vision of the heart of things.

Personally I am deeply indebted to Dr.

* The soul is not realized by one who is weak, or through intellect or erudition only.

Winternitz for his far-reaching encouragement and friendly advice to continue my work on the mediæval mystics of India—a work in which I was first encouraged by the Poet Rabindranath Tagore,—at a time when, as a result of the newly-started Chinese and Tibetan studies at Santiniketan, I was being gradually drawn more and more to the pursuit of merely academic attainments. It was then that he said to me that I must not succumb to the temptation, for if the treasures of mystic thought of mediæval India were once lost under the pressure of the clash of the ideals of the East and the West the loss would be irreparable.

In due course Dr. Winternitz returned to his own country. But he never forgot the Visvabharati. He helped it in every way. Even when his health was failing he published in German a biography of the Poet.

His love for humanity is known only to a few, though his scholarship is well-known all the world over. The loss of his dear wife some time ago was a severe blow to him. He has now passed out of our sight but not out of our mind, because we have enthroned him on our hearts for all time to come.

INDIAN WOMEN IN SCIENCE

By RABINDRA MOHAN DATTA, M.SC.

WITH the progress of education in our country Indian women are gradually getting themselves interested in science as will be evident from their researches. The following papers were read at the last session (twenty-fourth) of the Indian Science Congress held in the first week of January last in Hyderabad (Daccan).

IN THE SECTION OF AGRICULTURE

1. The inheritance of habit in Saccharum spontaneum L. By Dr. E. K. Janaki Ammal.
2. Tetrasomic inheritance in two Saccharum Officinarum × Saccharum spontaneum hybrid. By Dr. E. K. Janaki Ammal of Coimbatore.

IN THE SECTION OF BOTANY

1. Value of the study of epidermal character of the leaf and fruit skin in the identification of mango varieties. By Miss R. Shah of Sabour.
2. Chromosome studies in Saccharum arundinaceum L. By Dr. E. K. Janaki Ammal of Coimbatore.

IN THE SECTION OF ANTHROPOLOGY

1. Women and social progress in India. By Miss Thakur Dass of Lucknow.

IN THE SECTION OF PSYCHOLOGY

1. Child Psychology—play instinct. Rhyme and rhythm in education. Psychological aspect. Sublimation. By Miss S. Ghosh of Mayurbhanj.

IN THE SECTION OF CHEMISTRY

1. Viscosity of thorium molybdate gels during formation. By Mata Prosad and Miss Rathnama of Bombay.
2. Aqueous solutions of sodium aluminate. By S. M. Mehta and Miss Olive Joseph of Bombay.
3. The melting points of mixtures of boric acid and hydroxylic substances. By S. M. Mehta and Miss K. V. Kantaka of Bombay.
4. Studies in geometrical isomerism. Part V. The action of diethylaniline on L-bromo-stearic acid and its methyl ester. By Miss P. Devi and P. Ramaswami Ayyar of Bangalore.
5. Studies in geometrical isomerism. Part VI. The action of bases on L-bromoeicosanic acid. By Miss P. Devi and P. Ramaswami Ayyar of Bangalore.
6. Synthesis of 4-methyl-6-acetyl-8-acetyl-8-ethyl-7-hydroxycoumarin. By Miss Indu Ghate of Poona.
7. Essential oil from Spheranthus Indicus. By Miss Mary Mathen and B. S. Rao of Bangalore.

We shall be glad if more ladies take keen interest in science and do research work in their respective spheres. We hope the Government will encourage those ladies by offering scholarships, stipends, etc., in the future.

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Asia, Source of Species

N. I. Vavilov is Director of the Institute of Plant Industry at Leningrad. He writes in the February number of *Asia*:

During the past ten years Soviet scientists have conducted a series of expeditions to collect the varietal resources of the most important crop plants. About three quarters of the globe has thus been studied, including Afghanistan, Asia Minor, Persio, India, Java, China, Japan, Formosa, Korea, Mongolia, Syria, Palestine and certain countries in South and North America, Africa and Europe.

The great majority of the cultivated plants of the world trace their origin to Asia. Out of six hundred and forty important cultivated plants, about five hundred originated in southern Asia. In Asia alone we have established five of the principal regions of origin of cultivated plants.

First among these is the Chinese center, including the mountainous regions of central and western China and the adjoining lowlands. This center has given origin to less than one hundred and forty different cultivated plants. Here is the home of various species of millet, mustard, soya beans and many unusual vegetables. The largest number of fruits originated in China: there is no other region so rich in wild fruits as China proper. Here is the home of various citrous fruits, of the tea plant, the camphor tree, the tung-oil tree and of a very valuable fiber plant, rami.

A second region of origin of cultivated plants is the Hindustan center, including Burma, Assam and the greater part of India but excluding northwestern India (Punjab and the Northwest Frontier Province). Here is the home of rice, embracing an enormous number of wild and cultivated forms. Here is the home of many *Leguminosae*, of different tropical fruits, of various species of lemons and oranges, of the mango, sugar cane and other plants.

A third region of origin is the Indo-Malayan, including Indo-China and the Malay Archipelago, with such large islands as Java and Sumatra and, according to some authorities, Borneo and the Philippines.

A fourth region is the Central-Asiatic Center, including northwestern India (Punjab, the Northwest Frontier Province and Kashmir), all of Afghanistan and the mountainous part of Soviet Turkistan (Uzbekistan, Tajikistan and a portion of eastern Turkmenistan). This region is not so rich in the number of different aboriginal species of cultivated plants, but it has great importance as the home of soft wheat. Here we have established the greatest diversity of this cereal. Here is the home of such *Leguminosae* as the common or garden pea, chick pea, lentil, horse bean, and so forth, in a great diversity of forms.

A fifth region of origin in Asia is the South-Western-Asiatic center, and includes A ia Minor, Transcaucasia, Iran and western Turkmenistan.

As regards domesticated animals, he writes:

Our studies show definitely that Asia is not only the home of the majority of modern cultivated plants but also of our chief domesticated animals, such as the cow, the yak, the buffalo, the zebu, sheep, goat, horse and pig. Poultry originated in southern Asia, in India and Indo-China. India is the home of the peacock, the zebu and the buffalo.

The writer comes to the conclusion:

Many facts indicate that southern Asia is also the chief, primary home of mankind. Here there is the greatest diversity of races of mankind, of many types and colors. In China and in Java there have been found the most important fossils of primitive man. India is the home of several anthropomorphic species of apes. The tropical and semitropical conditions, the healthful climate of the mountains, the possibilities for isolation of small tribes in mountainous regions, the riches of animal and plant food—all these circumstances were favourable for the development of mankind. Southern Asia is the real cradle of life. In this respect Asia occupies a unique place among the continents of the world. Here we may expect in the future new discoveries of great importance, which will bring light to bear on the evolution of flora, fauna and man himself.

A New Day for "Untouchables"

Dr. F. C. Southworth, president emeritus of the Meadville Theological School, who made an extensive tour in India some years ago, has contributed an article on a new day for "untouchables" to *The Christian Register* of Boston, with reference to the Travancore Maharaja's proclamation throwing open temples to the "untouchables." In the opinion of the writer:

The emancipation of two million outcastes leaves many millions still in bondage. But the way along which they may move toward spiritual freedom has been pointed out. The unqualified approval of the Indian press and the deluge of congratulations which have poured in upon the courageous young prince, point to the dawning of a better day for the untouchables of India.

To this end Dr. Ambedkar has made an important contribution. But the future years are likely to recognize as the chief contributor the elderly ascetic upon whom his countrymen have lovingly conferred the title of mahatma or saint, whose undimmed eyes have seen from the beginning that the removal of untouchability must wait not upon a new political division among the Hindus nor upon

the abolition of the Hindu faith. It will depend upon the progress of education among the Hindus themselves; the gradual sloughing off of superstition and the substitution of the spirit of brotherhood for the spirit of caste. Gandhi will share with many others the credit for this consummation: with Rajah Rammohun Roy, "Father of Modern India;" with the members of the Brahmo Samaj; with the Tagores—father and son; with Keshub Chunder Sen, and with many others of whom America has not yet heard. And there will be laurels enough to go around.

Issues Behind the Conflict in Spain

The fortnightly *Foreign Policy Reports* published by the Foreign Policy Association of New York are the results of careful study and are well documented. In the report on the issues behind the conflict in Spain, prepared by Charles A. Thomson, the conclusion arrived at is:

The Spanish civil war was not provoked by Communists, either in Spain or Moscow. Those immediately responsible for its outbreak were the army generals, who feared loss of their control over the country's armed forces. The evidence available to date affords no substantial support for the charge, so assiduously fostered by certain sections of the American press, that communism was mainly to blame for plunging Spain into bloodshed. The Communist party has been credited by most authorities with not more than 50,000 supporters in all Spain, an inconsiderable group in a total population of 29,000,000. At the same time, Moscow has sought to avoid any threat to European peace which might endanger the internal progress of the U. S. S. R. Rumors were current in Spain that some form of "Marxist revolution" was contemplated by the Socialists and other labor groups. But the program of the Spanish Popular Front government, against which the army rebelled, called for liberal rather than radical reforms. The wave of death and disorder which preceded the revolt was due as much to Fascist as to Left-wing aggression.

Spain's civil war is to be understood only if an attempt is made to go back of its immediate causes. The present conflict represents the culmination of a struggle which has been gathering strength since the establishment of the republic in 1931. The fall of the monarchy brought to power liberal and labor groups pledged to effect by democratic methods fundamental changes in the country's economic and social system. This system had condemned the masses of the people to misery, poverty and ignorance. The reforms initiated by the republic threatened the privileges long enjoyed by army officers, the large landholders and industrialists, and the clergy. At the same time, change came too slowly to satisfy the workers in city and country. Tension between Right and Left had thus been heightened to the point where recourse to violence appeared to each faction as the easiest road to the fulfilment of its objectives.

Industrial Recovery in Japan

Yoshio Kamii, writing on "Industrial Recovery in Japan: Its Causes and Social Effects" in the *International Labour Review,* observes:

The weakness of the present prosperity in Japan is twofold: the lack of uniformity in its distribution, and the presence of artificial measures.

In the first place, rural recovery has lagged far behind industrial revival. And even among manufacturing industries, the munition industries have been especially prosperous, while other industries have been less favourably affected, and small-scale undertakings in particular have encountered many difficulties. Moreover, the sharp rise in the volume of production has not been accompanied by a corresponding advance in the purchasing power of the working masses.

Secondly, as has already been stated, the return of industrial prosperity in Japan has been brought about to a remarkable extent by the devaluation of the yen and the expansionist policy pursued by the Government. The development of foreign trade, therefore, has been the real strength of the economic structure of the country. The rate of increase of Japan's export trade, however, is declining rapidly, owing to the increasing difficulties placed in the way of international commerce by various restrictions. During the first half of 1936, the total value of exports showed an increase of only 3.8 per cent over the corresponding period of 1935, as compared with an increase of 17.3 per cent from 1934 to 1935. On the other hand, the total value of imports increased by 10.8 per cent over the same period of 1935, and the adverse balance was the largest since 1931. Since January 1936 exports of cotton piece goods have shown a decline for the first time since 1931, and there are already signs of overproduction in the textile and other branches of industry. At the present time, production is being curtailed by cartel agreements in many important industries, and in the textile branches efforts are being made to divert sealed spindles to the manufacture of yarn from artificial fibres.

In order to overcome these difficulties, the Government and industrialists have been exerting every effort to extend control measures, make the country as far as possible independent of imported raw materials, and find new market for Japanese goods.

Germany's Import of Spinning Material Via Hamburg

In an article with the above heading in the *Bulletin of the Hamburg World Economic Archives*, November 1, 1936, we read:

In 1935 Brazil became Germany's chief supplier of cotton, and in fact the young cotton-growing countries have come forward with a rush. Thus in 1935 the three South American states already delivered 40% of Germany's total cotton requirements. Their deliveries rose to fifteen times what they had been in 1933. True, the first half-year of 1936 shows a retrograde tendency, mainly due to Brazil's ban on deliveries through clearing, also for the future.

Increased imports from the new cotton-growing countries brought a considerable improvement in Hamburg's cotton business. In 1935 and in the first half of 1936 43% of Germany's total cotton imports passed over Hamburg harbour. as compared with 16% in 1933 and 27% in 1934.

Concerning importation of cotton waste it must be said that during the past three years the quantities have remained fairly constant, though for these goods, oo, there has been a change in the buying countries. The chief provider continues to be the United State, 60% of whose deliveries arrive via Hamburg. The Russian, British Indian and Chinese waste enters Germany exclusively via Hamburg.

British Indian spinning material, which forms the main item in Hamburg transit traffic, as well as North

American, Brazilian and Egyptian wool, the quantities of which, however, are comparatively small, have increased considerably in transit via Hamburg since 1933.

Considering the important role played by the importation of spinning materials in German foreign trade, it will call for an enormous achievement to make Germany independent of foreign countries for her textile trade—as far as can be justified.

It will be the task of the German spinning material trade, in collaboration with science and technology, to do its utmost to extend the national raw material basis to the limit of possibility during the four years at its disposal.

Symbolism in Japanese Art

In the course of an article with the above caption contributed to the *Cultural Nippon,* F. Saisho observes :

What the Japanese appreciate most in their Art is its powers of suggestion, of evocation. The best illustration of this is Haiku, the seventeen-sound Japanese poetry. Japanese are naturally shy of outspoken lyricism of any kind, yet this does not mean that they are devoid of emotions. So they have learned to express their subjective self in as brief a form as possible. The mission of Haiku is to transcribe the moods of the four seasons. The distinction of Haiku is the confinement of its theme to seasonal objects only, there being no place in it for a direct expression of one's feelings. But this does not mean the essential innocence of Haiku from lyricism. Haiku in itself is not lyrical poetry and is devoid of emotional expression; but in handling objective phenomena of the four seasons, emotional moods and sentiments of the poet reveal thmselves, this being the distinct beauty off the poetry. The subtle beauty of Haiku then, is the delicate weaving of the subjectivity of the poet into the apparently objective handling of the theme.

As Japanese literature in its most typical form is dominated by Nature, so are the other forms of Japanese Art. As Nature-lovers, Japanese are more like English; their literature is always full of the streams, the fields, the running brooks, stars, waves, and flowers. However, the difference is this : that in going to Nature, in appreciating her manifestations, the Japanese never reproduce their impressions and joys in realistic representational form as the English would do. Symbolism is the only means they know, or used to know before the inflow of Western culture, to express their subjective self. The techniques of realistic representation are foreign to the basic conception of Japanese Art.

Symbolism is equally obvious in the world of sculpture as in painting. Perhaps the symbolic nature of Japanese Art is better illustrated in the quaint pieces of work in the Nara monasteries. There it is plain that an attempt is made to break through the narrow limits of realistic representation, and infuse therein something of profound spiritual significance.

When we come to seek the reason why Japanese resorted to symbolism the answer is that their very nature requires them to see through objective manifestations and fall upon that which lies beyond. The nature of the Japanese is predominantly Buddhistic, moulded particularly by the cult of Zen. Symbolism in Japan is thus deep-rooted, because it is not a mere phantasy, or a passing whim of artists, but is based on the nation's mental experience.

Arms Budget of the World

The Living Age for February observes editorially :

It is no longer news that the world is spending more for armaments today than it was in 1914 : we all got used to that fact some time back. Yet few of us realize how much more is being spent for guns and airplanes and warship now, and most of us would be surprised and shocked to know the truth. Francis Williams, financial editor of the British Labor Party's newspaper, the *Daily Herald,* has gathered some figures on the subject which make anything but soothing reading. He finds that, between them, the United States, Britain, France, Germany, Italy, Japan and Russia spent roughly $2,200,000,000 for arms in 1914 : their combined arms bill today he estimates at well over $11,000,000,000. The largest increase has, of course, been Germany's, rising from approximately $470,000,000 in 1914 to nearly $4,700,000,000 in 1936 : 1,000 per cent. Next comes Russia, with an expenditure of about $2,950,000,000 in 1936 as against $450,000,000 in 1914. The third largest arms bill for last year went to the United States : over $1,000,000,000, to be compared with $250,000,000 in the year of the outbreak of the World War. France spent $350,000,000 in 1914, and plans to spend over $900,000,000 in 1937. Britain's current outgo for armaments is $800,000,000; in 1914 it was $380,000,000. Italy has increased her arms budget from $180,000,000 to $750,000,000, and Japan's has jumped from $95,000,000 to $300,000,000. Mr. Williams warns that the difficulties of conversion make both the Russian and the German figures appear somewhat larger than, in terms of domestic purchasing power, they actually are, and, because Japan's standards of living are so low, the Japanese figures appear abnormally low. But, on the other hand, says Mr. Williams :

By comparing the amounts spent on arms in the various countries with their populations, it can be seen how enormously over-armed Germany is and how the Russian figure, though large, is dwarfed when it is realized that she has a much longer frontier to defend.

Germany has 11.8 per cent of the total population of these seven Powers, but 41 per cent of their combined arms bill is spent by her. Russia, with 29.8 per cent of the population, spends 26 per cent of the total arms bill.

The United States with 22.5 per cent of the population spends 8.8 pr cent of the arms bill; Japan has 12.3 per cent of population and spends 2.6 per cent of the arms bill; Britain has 8.3 per cent of the population and spends 7 per cent of the arms bill; France has 7.4 per cent of the population and spends 8.1 per cent of the arms bill; Italy has 7.8 per cent of the population and spends 6.6 per cent of the arms bill.

Is the Bible dead literature ?

The New York *Sun* observes :

If the Bible is dead literature all the great words and all the great songs of antiquity are dead. It would be easier to believe that taste is dead, that knowledge is dead, that the cultural spirit of our times is moribund. To be sure, the book contains many dull and arid passages which never were living literature in any true meaning of the words. But until there are better tellers of anecdotes than Saint Luke, better dialecticians than Saint Paul, better orators, poets and dramatists than Isaiah, Jeremiah, David, the authors of Genesis, Ruth, Job, the Song of Solomon—until there are seers of

nobler soul and more resplendent vision than Hosea, greater mosters of invective than the author of Lamentations, better pessimists than the author of Ecclesiastes—until these can be found there is always likely to remain a residue of literate persons for whom the Bible will continue to be, as it is now and long has been, the one bit of literature that is clothed in unflagging immortality.

Sir Basil Zaharoff

Commenting on the death of Sir Basil Zaharoff, The New York *World-Telegram* writes:

Since most humans think in terms of personalities rather than ideas, a war-sick world will pretty generally hail the death of Sir Basil Zaharoff as good riddance . . . But was Sir Basil any better or worse than his customers, the governments of so-called Christendom? All of them sought the things he sold. England knighted him. France, Russia, Italy, Greece decorated him. Like the makers of his merchandise—the Armstrongs, Vickers-Maxims, Krupps, Schneiders, duPonts—he found a ready market in the hates and rivalries of nations. The strutting little rulers and cynical politicians who play on these hates and rivalries must share with the munitions makers and sellers blame for the great conspiracy against humanity and the Sixth Commandment.

These Athletes

Paul Gallico observes in *The American Legion Monthly*:

Golfers, swimmers, runners, college football players, all suffer from hero poisoning. (The name under which it is better known is Publicity.) From the time they win the first medal in the home town and break into the columns of the local newspaper until relegated to limbo by the same newspapers that built them up, they are victimized, puffed up and doped with headlines and photographs. They are interviewed, life-historied and praised for nothing but an accidental talent in handling their hands, their feet, a stick, a bat, or any variety of ball—a talent developed over a period of years, usually at a total sacrifice to general useful education and cultural advance as well-rounded human beings.

Education for Life

Harry Levi observes in the *World Order*:

There never was a time when the world was so deeply interested in the cause of educatoin. Of course the interest is not new. The Jews ages ago had an appreciation of the need and value of education. So had the Greeks. So had the Chinese. But the interest was never so widespread. Until comparatively recent times popular education was practically unknown. Such education as was offered was limited to the minority. It was counted not only unnecessary but even dangerous to educate the masses. Even in America the early suggestions of compulsory taxation for general educational purposes met the bitterest opposition. In England, Herbert Spencer denounced the program as "a tyrannical system tamely submitted to by people who call themselves free." Twenty-five years ago there were more public school teachers in the city of New York than in all of Spain. Fifteen years ago 90 per cent of the people of Russia were illiterate. Now popular education is the major concern of practically every country under the sun.

This is especially true in our own land. Recently the Secretary of the Department of the Interior, called attention to the fact that there are 5,000,000 illiterates in the United States and urged that effective measures be taken to reduce the number. Yet three years ago the United States Bureau of Education issued statistics indicating that 25,000,000 of our children attend public schools and 25,00,000 private schools; and that the cost of this educational program is in excess of $2,000,000,000 annually. And the end is not yet. There is a constantly growing demand for wider and larger educational opportunities, an insistence not only that every child shall have an education, but that facilities for higher education shall be placed at the disposal of all who desire to use them.

A Poem

God honoured me with his fight
when I was rebellious;
He ignored me when I was languid.

RABINDRANATH TAGORE
in the Visva-Bharati News

Karl Pearson

Part 4 of volume 2 of *Sankhya*, the Indian Journal of Statistics, contains an informing and instructive article on Karl Pearson, the eminent statistician, by Prof. P. C. Mahalanobis, with a portrait. The whole article is worth reading. We give only a few extracts below :

With the passing away of Karl Pearson in April 1936, a great period in the history of modern statistics came to an end. He was the most eminent statistician of a new epoch which was largely his own creation. He laid the foundations of correlational analysis, constructed exact methods for drawing valid inferences from statistical material, founded the greatest statistical laboratory and built up the most important centre of statistical research of the present time. When he started work, statistics and biometry were not recognized subjects for scientific study. During his own life time he succeeded however in establishing them as independent subjects for academic study and scientific research.

For forty years he had worked to build up the foundations for the "study of man, which is destined in the future to be what theology was in the Middle Ages—the supreme form of knowledge, the queen of all sciences," and had always insisted that "in the future a new race of biologist will arise trained up in Galtonian method and able to criticise from that standpoint both Darwinism and Mendelism, for both now transcend any treatment which fails to approach them with adequate mathematical knowledge." (F. G. 3, vi).

He had once quoted Lord Halifax with approval (*Annals of Eugenics*, I 1925, 4) : "A Difficulty raiseth the Spirits of a Great Man. He hath a mind to wrestle with it and give it a Fall. A Man's Mind must be low, if the Difficulty doth not make a Part of his Pleasure."

If this be the test of a great man, we may be sure that Karl Pearson was a very great man indeed. He lived a full life and enjoyed its difficulties to the full. This perhaps is the greatest thing of all.

He had a good deal of friendly interest in India, and especially in the Indian peoples. He told me that in his younger days he used to know some of our earlier leaders. He was keenly interested in the Indian caste from an eugenic point of view. His earlier paper paper in the anthropometry of living persons was on Risley's Measurements of Indian castes and tribes (1903) in which he came to the conclusion that there was a great mixture of races in Bengal. More than once he asked me whether there was any possibility of re-organizing the caste system on scientific lines for serving eugenic purposes. Some of our customs had a special appeal for him. For example he considered cremation a much more fitting end than burial for what must one day perish.

He was interested in the progress of statistical studies in India, and when we requested him to accept the Honorary Fellowship of the Indian Statistical Institute in 1934 he readily agreed, and yet he told us that he thought what India needed most was the provision of advanced teaching in statistics in the Indian Universities. When I wrote to him in 1935 in connexion with our schme of diploma and certificate examinations in statistics he immediately sent us his frank opinion. He thought the original scheme too ambitious, and again emphasized the need of providing sound teaching. We remember him today not only as an eminent scientist but as a great personality with whom we had the privilege of being associated as fellow-workers in a common cause.

The Meaning and Importance of the Purva Mimansa

For all those who have an interest in and regard for the ancient system of the Hindu Law, a study of the Mimansa is absolutely necessary. Sardar M. V. Kibe, Ex-Deputy Prime Minister of Indore, writes in *The Mimansa-Prakash* :

The Hindu society had always been autonomous in the matter of laws. Although after the advent of foreign invaders, its character began to change to some extent, yet in the matter of socio-religious affairs, they too respected its character. But now the time of pure democracy has come. It threatens the very nature of the Hindu Law. If therefore its real character, and its magnificence, is to be understood and it must be so, if an ancient civilisation is not to be condemned without understanding, and its high qualities are not to be allowed to perish by default, a study of the Purva Mimansa Shastra is an absolute necessity.

On the rise of the Buddhism the science of Purva Mimansa was neglected. The subsequent expansion of the Uttar Mimansa, the philosophy contained in which overwhelmed the Buddha's doctrines, did not help the Purva Mimansa, as its place in the meanwhile had been taken by the Smritis.

The Mimansa represents the legal principles, the Smiritis are akin to codified laws and the Nibandh Granthas are like case law. Although the latter two maintained the characteristics of the Hindu Law, viz : its spontaneity, unlike the man-made laws of the west and perhaps of the rest of the world. The course of the latter has been the reverse. First came the case law, and then, or simultaneously with it came the codes, and then the legal maxims were culled and published.

To illustrate this further, the Mimansa, in connection with the Vishwajit Yajna, discusses the question whether

a king is entitled to make a gift of the land and answering the legal maxim in the negative, lays down that he cannot do so, because the land belongs to the people. In another connection it says that everybody is presumed to know all about the matter he takes in hand, i. e. in other words, "Ignorance of Law is no excuse." In a third case it is laid down that every precept of law is backed by sanction. How all these are like the principles of Common Law?

Without knowing what it lays down, it is neither possible to understand the principles lying behind the Smritis nor the significance or continuity of the case law.

The Future in Education

We reproduce from the *Indian Journal of Education* the concluding remarks of the Presidential Address by Sir Richard Livingstone to Section L (Educational Science) of the British Association:

For adult education to be successful, the intellectual digestion of the masses must be studied. I also think that we shall not succeed, unless—we make our adult education more social. Even in education man remains a social animal. Consider how often education has burned most brightly at a common hearth, where men gathered together in company to warm their hands at its flame: in antiquity, Socrates in the market-place and gymnasium, the great classical schools of the Academy, the Lycum, the Stoa, the Museum of Alexandria; in the Middle Ages, the universities, culminating in the residential university, recognized, at least in the Anglo-Saxon world, as their ideal form; in our own day, the Danish Folk High School and its descendants. These examples may teach us something. No doubt the lamp of wisdom can burn in solitary shrines and even in dismal lecture halls. But for the many its right place is in the simple but pleasant buildings of a Danish High School, with its gardens, its pictures, its music, its corporate life. Few Women's Institutes are so well housed, but there is in them that social, corporate element which exists in a residential university and which both educates and makes education attractive. Here also this country has the germ of the future in summer schools, and in such institutions as Woodbroke, Fircroft, Coleg Harlech, and Newbattle. These are pointers to the adult education of tomorrow.

The Story of the Rayon

Rayon which was known till 1924 as Artificial Silk, is the generic name given to a new synthetic fibre—prepared artificially from cheap materials. B. H. Iyer writes in *The Scholar*:

Robert Hooke a physician was the first to leave any record regarding an artificial fibre. In 1664, while he was examining various kinds of fibres under the microscope he came across one which was very different from the rest. He imagined that it might be an artificial one and even forecast that in the future the new fibre would play an important part. Reaumur, whose name has been connected with the 80 degree thermometer scale, was the next to suggest, in 1734, that in analogy with the process of production of silk by silk-worm, it should be possible to produce an artificial fibre of sufficient fineness from gum-lac or similar pasty substances. These two observations were mere speculations: simple statements of an idea. A further period of 120 years passed before any experimental work was done to solve the problem. Braconnot and Schoenbein had previously indicated that by treating cotton with nitric and sulphuric acids, nitrocellulose or collodium could be prepared. In 1855, Audemars of Lausanne prepared a viscous solution of collodium and caoutchouc in an alcohol-ether mixture from which he drew a continuous silky thread with a steel needle and wound it round a spool. Although this was a great invention it did not lead to anything further than taking a patent on the process.

From 1855 till 1912 when it could be said that a rayon industry had come to stay, many scientists working in different countries in the west made valuable contributions towards the production of a satisfactory synthetic fibre.

The demand for a filament of uniform thickness and quality for the electric lamp industry gave a great impetus to these activities. Pasteur's student. Count L| M. Hilaire Bernigaud de Chardonnet of France, who was the first to advance the artificial silk problem from its almost completed experimental stage to that of technical realization is hailed as the founder of the artificial silk industry. In 1884, he started a concern known as 'Societe anonyme pour la Fabrication de la Soie de Chardonnet' at Besancon in France, with a capital of six million francs. The silk produced by this process *i.e.*, the collodium process has been known as Chardonnet silk. As the chemical substance which formed the fibre was nitrated cellulose, the finished fabrics were easily inflammable. This defect was later on overcome by subjecting the fibres to a denitration process. Further, the use of alcohol-ether mixture as the solvent made the process very costly. For these reasons the Chardonnet factory could not thrive properly. Friedrich Lehner of Germany made several improvements upon the Chardonnet process. He devised an arrangement by which the several threads could be twisted together immediately after spinning.

Basing upon Schweitzer's observation in 1857 that cuprammonium solution dissolved cotton, silk, and wool, Weston—an English Scientist—patented a process where he used a solution of cellulose in ammoniacal copper-oxide solution (Schweitzer's reagent). But the credit of having successfully established, in 1899, the first German factory for manufacturing 'art-silk' by this process should go to Max Fremery and Johann Urban of Oberbruch. Weston's process being quite cheap, this product proved a serious competitor to Chardonnet silk.

In 1891, Cross and Bevan—two English authorities on the chemistry of cellulose—working with Beadle, developed a new process called the 'viscose process.' Still another process known as 'acetate process' was patented by Cross in 1894. All these latter processes are decidedly more advantageous than the Chardonnet process.

The raw material used in the different methods of manufacture of rayon is cellulose in the form of cotton linters or sulphite wood pulp. The fundamental principle underlying all the processes is the same, namely, producing a viscous solution of cellulose either in its original form or in the form of a derivative and forcing the solution through the fine appertures of the spinning unit called the spinneret.

Melpomene or the Muse of Tragedy

In his article in *The Twentieth Century* P. R. Srinivasan discusses tragedy as a branch of literature which exercises a rare fascination over the human imagination and wields a great sway over the human mind :

The distinction between the comic and the tragic, between the domains of Thalia and Melpomene, which is "as old as art itself," is primal and essential, based on fundamental and not merely superficial differences. Comedy and Tragedy represent the two different sides of life, or rather two different ways of looking at life. Comedy represents the brighter side of life and is "gay, bright and animated." Tragedy represents the darker side of life and is "serious, gloomy and sad." The one "unlocks the gates of joy, the other of horror and thrilling fears." "Comedy is," therefore, as Coleridge puts it, "poetry in unlimited jest, while tragedy is poetry in its deepest earnest." Tragedy is thus concerned with the profounder aspects of human life, the more serious issues of human existence. "It is," as G. M. Sergeant observes, "the final experience of life as something serious." Hence it is a "state of mind or soul than a form," a way of looking at life, a way of thinking about the world. It is the atmosphere that pervades it, the general impression it produces that distinguishes it from comedy.

Noble actions and exalted characters were held by the ancient Greeks to be the essentials of tragedy.

Tragedy, it was believed, must restrict itself to personages of high rank and chronicle the struggles and sufferings of kings, princes and nobles. This idea held ground for many centuries and can be traced from the time of Aristotle to the 18th century. It is however now recognised that even the sufferings of the poorest, the lowliest and the lost can be fit materials for tragedy. The modern playwrights, like Ibsen and his followers, have, by making tragedy the vehicle for the presentation of the struggles of ordinary men and women, broken new ground and blazed a new trail, and have demonstrated clearly that the tragic element of life may be found everywhere and that the ruin of the simplest people of a country-girl like Nan, of a fisherwoman like Maurya, of a clerk like Falder, of an ordinary person like Oswald Alving,—can have tragic impressiveness. "Recent tragedy has thus shown that the annals of the poor are not after all too short or simple for tragic treatment and that tragic sympathy can be evoked for the humble as for the great."

In medieval times stress was laid on the ending of a play, and terrible or unhappy ending was considered to be the essential feature of tragedy.

It is also now admitted that mere unhappy ending also cannot be made the criterion of a tragedy. There are many tragedies in which the curtain does not ring down on death. There are also tragedies, like Oedipus Colonus, Alcestis, etc., which end in a note of peace and calmness.

It is clear that the two species, comedy and tragedy, cannot be absolutely distinguished. There is and can be no sharp line of demarcation between them. Comedy, as a writer says, skirts the confines of tragedy, and tragi-comedies—plays on the border-line—are always bound to be written and bound to exist.

Hence all great tragic poets have rightly ignored and disregarded the rule known as "poetic justice."—which consists in distributing rewards and sufferings in strict proportion to the merits of the characters, in other words, in rewarding the good and punishing the wicked.

It is but a truism to say that poetic justice is out of accord with facts.

Unflinching realism is the guiding principle of the true tragic poet. He takes his stand on the firm foundation of facts and brings them home to us by embodying them in striking situations. Hence observes M. Arnold, "Tragedy breasts the pressure of life; comedy eludes it, half liberates itself from it by irony. The tragedian, if has the sterner labour, has also the higher prize."

Tragedy is rooted in a keen consciousness of the reality of suffering, in a poignant recognition of the woe and waste that constitute so much of life.

The Flower Garden

Gardening requires scientific expert handling. There is no difficulty in obtaining a selection to fill the largest garden during the cold months. In the course of his article in the first issue of *The Gardner*, S. Percy-Lancaster, Secretary, Royal Agri-Horticultural Society of India, Alipur, Calcutta, who has many years' practical experience in gardening, enumerates varieties which bloom in the hot weather :

Let us divide the year into four periods of flower which do not correspond with the seasons but are roughly (*a*) Cold Weather, December-February (*b*) Hot Weather, March-May (*c*) Rains, June-August and (*d*) Autumn, September-November.

We come to the Hot Weather, and will consider the annuals that bloom in the dog days.

Argemone, Arctotis, Cosmos late flowering bipenatifida and Klondyke, Celosia plumosa and cristata, Coreopsis, Euphorbia heterophylla, Gaillardia double, Gomphrena, Nicotiana, Portulaca, Petunia small flowered, Sunflower Miniature and argyrophyllus, Tithonia speciosa, Vinca, Zinnia in variety including linearis, and Verbena perennis.

The entire secret of success lies in knowing when to sow the seed. Hot weather : sow in December-January.

When making up the compost for seed sowing avoid too rich a mixture during the moist season adding charcoal dust to prevent damp rot. Let the leaf mould be thoroughly decayed, sun dried and sifted a good month before use. Do not overwater the pans, neither treat them to a surface sprinkling, for then the seedlings will either die suddenly or grow weak. Admit as much sunlight as possible from the commencement of growth and thus obtain study seedlings. Make sure of heights of annuals before planting and if in a moist climate and an inch or two to the height marked on the packet. Do not crowd your seedlings. It might be safe to bed out more than actually required but ultimately thin them out. Stake early all that grow more than a couple of feet high and flood the beds rather than depend on the rose and watering-can method of providing moisture. If the soil is frequently cultivated water will reach the lower roots that are really important.

The Theory of Education in Plato's Republic

In the course of an article on the above subject Prof. C. Swamikonnu Paul writes in *Educational India* :

Plato is admittedly the summit of ancient philosophy as Kant is of modern philosophy, in spite of the fact that their successors have improved upon and developed aspects of thought found in these two master minds. The day before Plato was introduced to Socrates, he is said to have dreamt that a swan sat on his knee ind rose aloft with a sweet cry, the like of which he never heard before. This may be an allegorical way of stating that though Plato sat and learnt at the feet of Socrates, still he rose to heights to which his master never rose, and was heard in regions in which his master was never heard. Besides, Plato is the only ancient philosopher whose works have been preserved to us intact and from them we can learn something thought-provoking on every topic conceivable under the sun, and not least on the most important topic of education(much of which, at least in their main bearing will stand the test of time.

Plato's theory on Education is found in his monumental work the *Republic* which contain a discussion of many more weighty topics intended to produce the welfare of society than education. It ought not to surprise any one who knows anything at all about Plato's theory on education that Plato deals with educaton as part of the wider subject of justice and social welfare. Plato's purpose in education is 'to foster the growth of the human soul towards the good.' But what is the good towards which the soul ought to be educated? He conceives the good in a two-fold way. Objectively, it is writ large in society and subjectively, in the individual himself. Hence, throughout his discourse we find this parallel development of the idea.

In answer to the anxious enquiry of a father as to the best school to which he could send his son, a sophist is reported to have said—'send him to the city with the best institutions.' This answer may reflect in part Plato's own idea on education. But Plato had much more to say than this. While he regarded environment—social and political—to be an important factor in education, the full significance of which will be seen as we proceed further, he also maintained with equal if not greater emphasis, the importance of the individual in education.

We may at this point note a parallel between Indian and Platonic thoughts. The question as to whether in the pursuit of the good, does the individual aim merely at the promotion of social welfare or at the purification and elevation of his soul also, is answered in Indian philosophic thought by emphasising both. It might appear a bit trite to emphasise this, but if we would recognise the tendency in the world at large to hold exclusively to the one or the other as though they are complete, we will see the significance of this ancient emphasis on the integral nature of the good which is at once social and personal. Reflect for a moment on the modern free-morality on the one hand and the ideas of Totalitarian states on the other. One seeks to free the individual from social traditions, good, bad and indifferent and asks him to realise himself; and the other so completely subordinates the individual to the state that the individual is practically denied all freedom to work out a higher destiny. Plato's clear voice rises above this babel of confusion and declares that society is the individual writ large and that the individual is a microcosm in a macrocosm.

Having sounded the clarion call to an organic conception of society Plato proceeds to analyse the individual in such a way as to demonstrate that the individual is an organic member of an organic whole. In Kant's words 'the individual cannot get on without his fellows, or with his fellows.' Paradoxically enough man is a social unsocial animal. Plato who saw this truth long ago seeks to work out the *reconstructed individual in a reconstructed society*. This is Plato's great mission in the field of education.

The Philosophy of Literature

The following is the extract of an article from *The Visva-Bharati Quarterly* in which Rabindranath Tagore deals with literature from a philosophic view-point :

Our scriptures tell us that the One desired to be Many, and the result was Creation. The One that is in me, the individual person, also seeks to realize itself through the many : in its power of such realization is its wealth. On my consciousness there impinges in incessant flow of the waves of form, event, cognition and emotion, and its response to all these is the feeling of "I am." The mingling of these two currents of "I am" and "these are" builds up my particular life. Obstacles to such mingling make my realization of "self" narrow or perverted. On the intensity and depth of such realization depends the degree of my joy : when it is feeble or vague I am depressed and despondent. The greatest torment of solitary imprisonment is the loss of the external current that feeds the flow of consciousness.

This union of the external and internal currents of our being is brought about in two ways : by need, and by emotion. The satisfaction of need makes for a shallow union that affects only the surface of our life. The union effected by the rousing of emotion goes deeper and wider, and causes our consciousness to become richer, our individuality to grow bigger. It is the object of Literature and Art to gain for us the greater joy of such profounder union, such self-enlargement.

Some say that Literature gives joy through beauty. This point is worth consideration. Let us, however, not make the impossible attempt to explain beauty by analysis and definition.

So far as beauty is manifested outside, it appears to inhere in certain things of facts, which by themselves are neither beautiful nor ugly. The rose has its petals, its stalk, its surrounding leaves : beyond and trascending all these there is some principle of wholeness, of unity, which is beauty. This unity appeals to that which is within us as our own inmost unity our individual self. There are conglomerations which may give us the impression of wholeness, but of which the seeming unity is incidental, not essential. These do no appear to us as beautiful. It is the harmony between the separate presentations of the parts of the rose which gives us the vision of true unity,—that "something more" than the bare fact of their existence, which is beauty.

This, however, is not a characteristic special to beauty. Any whole that transcends the facts of its parts presents itself with the like force of truth to the unique self in me which transcends the separate facts of my existence. For instance, in the syntheses arrived at by the higher mathematics, there is this deep-seated harmony between the several formulae from which they are derived, which gives rise to a vision of transcending unity, one that doubtless appeals profoundly to the mathematician.

This harmony, this vision, is a source not of mere intellectual, but of heart-felt satisfaction,—a pure joy not depending on any expected material benefit, but arising from the liberation of knowledge into heights above all need.

The question naturally occursc: Why then does mathematics not find a place in poetry, in literature proper? That is simply because a sufficient knowledge of mathematics is confined to a small coterie, being beyond the comprehension of the multitude. The highly technical language of its expression has not been imbued with life by contact with the lives of men at large; and a language which has thus no means of direct access to the heart is not fit for the creation of literary forms. Machines and factories are, on the other hand, finding an increasing place in literature,, for in our imagination they are coming to transcend their particular uses, wherefore it has become possible for their harmoniously-built wholes to appear real to us, as manifestations of power apart from their various components. It is possible for men to enter into emotional relations with them, like the love of the captain of a steamship for the vessel under his command.

In our system of Rhetoric, literature is described as emotion-charged words. Beauty rouses emotion, but, as we have seen, all sources of emotion may not be given the name of beauty. Nevertheless howsoever they may be evoked, all kinds of emotion have this quality in common, that they immediately penetrate into and stir the depths of our being.

Men wants his water and so needs must bear the burden of the vessel in which to fetch it. Had the matter ended there, the water pot would have been merely a part of his not-self. But he makes it a thing of beauty. That is not necessary for its purpose of holding water,—but by his artistry man takes away its burdensomeness; that which was merely material transcends its materiality; that which was merely a necessity for him is given a value beyond all need and becomes a part of his *self*. This process has been carried on from the very beginning of man's career as a human being. The opposite is also to be seen, of water being carried in shapeless kerosene cans, hung at either end of a bamboo pole, borne over the shoulder—a picture of man compelled to surrender his humanity to the tyranny of necessity, leaving no room for the acknowledgement of his individuality.

Art and Literature belong to that revolutionary region of freedom where need is reduced to unimportance, the material is shown to be the unsubstantial, and the ideal alone is revealed as the truth; there all burdens are lightened, all things are made man's very own.

The solid earth is a lump of close-packed stone and ore, soil and dust. Round it is the roomy expanse of its atmosphere, from which it draws the breath of life,—ineffable life. From this same atmosphere, Life, the artist, gets in turn the colour and light with which its brush variegates the earth with moving pictures. Thus on earth is seen the play of creation in sound and form, in expressiveness. Man also wants his own atmosphere in which he can have his leisure and his play ground where, without being distracted by need, he can express himself in his own creations that do not depend on knowing or getting, but involves only becoming. As I have already said, when outside "becoming" enters into our being, it brings about a corresponding expansion of "becoming" within us, resulting in the play of our own creative activity in art and literature.

Emotions also function in our every-day life, and whether we are engaged in preserving ourselves, overcoming our enemies, or propagating our kind, they give us zest and joy in our work. Within these limits man is not radically different from the other animals. His distinction comes in where his heart longs and endeavours to get rid of the incubus of duty, and with the aid of imagination to qualify for the higher disinterested joy which has no reference to expectation of results. So we find man, even when indulging his destructive instincts, seeking to raise them above primitive need by giving them a trans-utilitarian garb; when he goes to fight he is not satisfied with bearing death-dealing weapons, but rigs himself out in feather, or paint or uniform, and dances or marches along to beat of drum or blare of trumpet—sometimes carrying this kind of thing so far that it may even be an impediment to the practical purpose in hand.

Again we find man occupied with the reverse process of seeking images for his own emotions in outside creation. His love wanders in flowering woodland, his reverence makes pilgrimages to river bank, sea side, and mountain height. He searches for the affinity of his inmost self, not in substantial things, nor in abstract principles, but gets into touch with his Playmate in the blue of the sky, the soft green of young grass. Where there is beauty in the flower, sweetness in the fruit; where pity flows for all creatures, and the self is surrendered to the Hightest; there, in our hearts, we find our eternal relation to the all. That alone I may fittingly call real which has by such relation become my very own.

Thought Relics

Our will attains its perfection when it is one with love, for only love is true freedom. This freedom is not in the negation of restraint. It spontaneously accepts bondage, because bondage does not bind it, but only measures its truth. Nonslavery is in the cessation of service, but freedom is in service itself.

A village poet of Bengal says:—"In love the end is neither pain nor pleasure, but love only.

Love gives freedom while it binds, for love is what unites."

Today is the special day of the yearly festival of our asrama, and we must make time to realise in the heart of this place the truth which is beauty. And for this we have lit our lamps. In the morning the sun came out brilliantly; in the dusk the stars held up their lights.

But these were not sufficient for us. Until we light our own little lamps, the world of lights in the sky is in vain, and unless we make our own preparations, the great wealth of the world of preparations remains waiting like a lute for the touch of finger.

Rabindranath Tagore
in the Visva-Bharati News.

RUSSIA TO-DAY

Random Impressions of the Soviet Union

By SHEIKH IFTEKHAR RASOOL

HAVING heard so much about the social and political institutions of Russia, I decided to visit it during my summer holidays. I purposely travelled 'hard'; that is journeyed on the railways on bare seats. True, it was uncomfortable, for the trains, like the trams in the cities and every other means of transport in Russia, are inefficient and over-crowded. Taking your chance of securing a seat with a crowd of shouting men, women and children with their bedding, parcels and kettles, is anything but inviting, especially in a close barn-like railway coach in which it is regarded almost as crime to open a window for fresh air. Nevertheless, travelling through the country in this way and mixing freely with the people enables one to glimpse the conditions and to grasp something of the secret of that great driving force that has set a whole nation to work on a single, definite pre-arranged plan, the conversion of their country into a highly efficient industrial state.

PRINCIPAL THOROUGHFARE

When you land at Leningrad, as I did, and drive down the Nevski Prospect, the principal thoroughfare (now called October 25th Prospect after the Revolution), to the hotel in October square, you experience a sense of disappointment and depression. The city looks drab, the great buildings are dilapidated, the streets badly in need of repair, and the people are shabbily attired. The only means of transport for the masses are the trams, and these are grossly over-crowded. There is an almost complete absence of shops and stores, for private trading is prohibited. But as you stay in Russia, visiting her factories, workers' houses, their clubs, and those new institutions which have arisen as a result of the Five Year Plan, this impression of dilapidation and backwardness passes, and you begin to understand something of the energy and determination which has gripped the people. It was typical of the way in which Russia was recovering and forging ahead in every department, socially, economically, educationally, and industrially.

STATELY BUILDINGS

Every city produces its own individual impression. Paris excites and intoxicates like champagne; Rome soothes like the notes of an organ, London bores and gives one the spleen, Moscow takes one's breath away because everything there is so huge. And yet 'huge' is not exactly the right word. In America, buildings rise to fifty storeys in height, but no one loses his breath at sight of the Woolworth Building. New York has built high up in the air because it has been obliged to. In Russia, things are on a grand scale not because of pressing external need but because of an expanding urge in the soul of the builders. 'Grandiose' is the word we want. A two-storey house in Berlin is just like a two-storey house in London; in Russia it resembles a castle. The doors are like gateways, the windows like doors; even the bricks are larger and the rooms more spacious. In the centre of Moscow there is a riding school like that of Christianborg; its riding ground is as vast as a desert. The training is superior to all other countries in the world.

And just as the Russian is sensitive to the grandiose in space, so is he also to the limitlessness of time. In Russia, a minute is a small enternity. The word, 'Seichas,' translated literally is 'immediately' or 'at once,' but it is actually used as 'tomorrow.' The Western and American 'jazz' tempo rebounds from the Oriental calm here and seems hectic, febrile, diseased. The tempo of the Russian drives the hustling Occidentals of the machine age into a frenzy of impatience, but the Russian is right; his tempo is native to him. In every respect he is a more natural man. Whereas others try to emulate machines, he lives in harmony with nature's own principles, and closer to nature itself.

ART TREASURES

Russia is commendably preserving the more valuable art treasures found in the royal palaces and the great meseums. The Hermitage, in Leningrad, with its priceless pictures, porcelain, pottery, weapons and jewellery, can claim to be the third museum in Europe, next in importance only to the Louvre in Paris and the British Museum in London. A portion of the Winter Palace in Leningrad has been converted into an art gallery, while the remainder is being used as Government Offices. The Czar's Palace at

Tsarskoe Selo is preserved just as it was when the royal family used it.

Art critics are now established in the castles as curators of the museums. They have thoroughly renovated the interiors, which express the same motifs as the Trianon. Extensions and improvements are constantly being made.

To these halls where once only a single family lived—indeed often only a caretaker, there now come on Sunday afternoons in the summer hundreds of Moscow folk by tram or motor car, and are shown about by expert guides. Everything on these ancient properties has been left unchanged, except that it has been awakened to a new life after its century-long sleep.

At all these places the 'Fresh Air Campaign' is always being taught. Everywhere, in public places, in restaurants, in railway trains, and in the homes, there hangs in the air a peculiar proletarian odour, which resembles the smell of old cast-off clothing. When fresh-air will flow into and over this vast Russia, they will have achieved the object.

Marriage Laws

The new Russian marriage laws are characteristic of the new trends of thought. The reasoning on which they are based runs something as follows: Law must set up rules showing how life may be lived happily and ethically, but it must not be so far removed from actuality that life becomes one thing and law, an entirely different thing. The love relations of men and women is one of the spheres where a harmony between law and life has not yet been discovered, hence the need for constant experiment in the endeavour to find laws that will in the best possible way help mankind in its search of happiness.

The Russian marriage laws are therefore subject to constant revision just as they are in other countries, Denmark, for example; but in Russia the revisions are undeniably much more frequent.

Marriage may be contracted in two ways: by registration and by free consent. Both have binding legal validity. Registration calls for the following procedure: the parties concerned appear before a magistrate (no previous notice is necessary) and make a declaration of their desire to be married. The only question asked by the authorities is, 'Do you know if your prospective husband (or wife) is sound in health?' The answer being satisfactory, the marriage is registered and is *ipso facto* an accomplished fact. 'Free' marriages are entered into without official registration; the parties simply declare themselves married. But both the man and the woman have the same legal responsibilities as in the case of a registered marriage. Proof of their union can always be secured; it can be shown that they have lived together as man and wife, or a third party can be found to whom they have represented themselves as being married.

Formerly, it was quite general for young people to marry legally at a very low age of consent; in the country this was permitted to girls when fifteen years old. The bearing of children and long hours of work in the fields left these undeveloped young peasant girls utter physical wrecks after a few years of marriage. Now, no woman may marry until she has completed her eighteenth year.

A marriage may be dissolved whenever one of the parties wish it; no cause or reason need be given. But the man is obliged to provide for the support of the woman for six months following the separation; if she is in poor health or otherwise unable to support herself, he must continue to provide for her for a full year.

No difference is recognized between the children of registered marriages and those of a free marriage. There are no 'illegitimate' children in Russia—all are equally legitimate. The law makes the safety and welfare of the children its chief concern. However easily the changing moods of love may be gratified by adults, its oscillation must never affect the rights and welfare of the innocent children.

Cinema in Soviet Education

State control and a planned economy, though it may be open to many objections, has this in its favour: it simplifies life considerably. There is a unification of interests which eliminates much hostility between different bodies in the community and prevents waste of energy and, frequently, money. Whereas in countries with private enterprise with its conflicting interests, educationists have to spend much time arguing the importance of nursery schools, of education for leisure, of the cinema in education, in the U. S. S. R. they are free to devote all their energies to the proper business of education, research, experiment and study.

Though the cinema has been used in education for only a few years, Soviet educationists are convinced of its great value as an aid to teaching. The problem now is the rate at which schools can be fitted for the cinema, the production of suitable films and the training of teachers in the use of films. Since my visit I hear a

decree has been issued by the Government enjoining all local education authorities to put it into practice as speedily as possible.

The immediate problem for the U. S. S. R., as for the other countries, is the supply of suitable films. There are 24 million children between the ages of 8 and 17 at school. There are not many films to be shown, though they are being made in all parts of the country and proving great successes. This is a clear sign which shows that the cinema in education in the U. S. S. R. has come to stay.

RUSSIAN 'KULTURA'

Apart from cinema in education, 'kultura' includes education and technique whose mastering Stalin has declared to be the most important job for the country today. Another meaning comes when the Russians speak of the Park of Kultura and Rest, which first was installed in Moscow ten years ago but now has its counterpart in every large city of the union.

The anti-religious museums are a form of Soviet Kultura, with the strange exhibits of human embryos, far too premature for such publicity, to show that there is no wide gulf between man and the lower animals, and of half-mummified bodies of old saints, disinterred to disprove the orthodox church legend that the body of a saint remained incorruptible until the Judgment Day. In the great cathedral of St. Isaac in Leningrad, which once rivalled St. Peter's in Rome and Notre Dame in Paris as the world's most costly temple, there is another device of Kultura. A metal ball suspended from the ceiling swings slowly across a vacant space, moved, it is said, by the oscillation or what-not of the earth. Just why this should prove that no God rules the heavens is obscure to me, but the citizen in charge said so, and a hundred goggle-eyed school children took his statement for granted. So atheism, too, is listed as Kultura.

Although some of the immediate manifestations of Kultura may seem comic or even ridiculous, and sometimes incomprehensible, it is hard for a dispassionate observer not to regard it with respect and admiration. It is literally transforming a nation of 165,000,000 people and has already gone far with the process of transformation. Whatever one may think of this, there can be no doubt that as far as the mass of the people is concerned the change is for the better.

BENGAL WRESTLING COMPETITION

The Byayam Samity of Calcutta which organized the the Bengal Wrestling Championship deserves credit for the manner in which the details of the competition were carried out. This competition was opened by Mr. J. C. Mukherji, Chief Executive Officer, Calcutta Corporation, on the 31st January at Kali Singhee Park, and continued till the 7th February. The wrestling was of a sufficiently high standard for the hope to be expressed that Bengal can hold her own among the amateurs of other provinces. Messrs. Manindra Nath Bose and Ram Chandra Mazumder acted as judges and Mr. Dwijendra Nath Bagchi as referee, all of whom are the worthy disciples of the late Bengali wrestler Kshetra Nath Guho (alias Khetu Babu) of All-India repute in Indian Wrestling. Messrs. D. N. Guin, J. K. Seal, P. K. Ghose, and N. R. Mukherji acted as time-keepers. Major P. K. Gupta and Dr. Narayan Chandra Das acted as judges for the Best Physique competition.

The prizes-winners were as follows :—

7 Stone Group	Winner	Rajkumar Mallick (Vivekananda Byayam Samity)
	Runner-up	Madhu Das (Byayam Samity)
8 " "	Winner	Balai Ch. Dey (Darjipara Tarun Sangha)
	Runner-up	Provash Chatterji (Sankaritola Manick Babu's Akhara)
9 " "	Winner	Ghonosyam Das (Byayam Samity)
	Runner up	Bhola Halder (Darjipara Tarun Sangha)
10 " "	Winner	Anil Bose (Byayam Samity)
	Runner-up	Sudhir Ghose (Garifa)
11 " "	Winner	Sudhir Shaw (Panchanon Byayam Samity)
	Runner-up	Malay Ghose (Sankaritola Manick Babu's Akhara)
12 " "	Winner	Phani Biswas (Champatola Youngmen Gy. Club)
Heavy Group	Winner	Ranjit Roy Chowdhury (Unattached)
	Runner-up	Murari Bose (Byayam Samity)
Best Physique		Ghonosyam Das (Byayam Samity)
Club Championship :		Byayam Samity
Special prizes : Best fighters amongst the losers :		
7 Stone Group		Sunil Dutt (Darjipara Tarun Sangha)
8 " "		Narayan Dutt (Jorabagan Byayam Samity)
9 " "		Abhoy Das Pramanick (Byayam Samity)

PEASANTS' POVERTY—THE ROOT CAUSE

Some Interesting Figures

BY MADHUSUDAN RAMCHANDRA DALVI, LL.B.

THERE is a class of village artisans known as Dhors in the up-country. They are local tanners and servants of the village. No Indian village would be an autonomous unit without them. To purchase hides from the local dressers and to manufacture "mots" or large leather buckets used by the cultivators to draw water from wells is their age-long profession. Their tanneries are crude and antiquated in appearance and their mode of tanning is quite indigenous.

At some places in Nasik District quite a number of their families have settled down in colonies. Sayyad Pimpri is one such village in the Niphad Taluka. Nearly a dozen of their families have permanently settled down in the said village. They had with their own efforts and labour built up a fine business in the local markets and weekly bazaars and a casual observer would never have dreamt or even suspected a few years back that this prosperous class of village artisans would, in a couple of years, be reduced to chill penury and utter destitution.

The past is, however, a dead letter and they are today experiencing, like most of the up-country artisans and craftsmen depending on the peasant customer, the worst and severest effects of the general depression throughout the length and breadth of the country. Was it competition from foreign goods in the local market that was ruining their industry and killing their business? The question naturally arose in my mind and in my attempts to get at the root of things, a woeful tale of their present plight was unfolded to me by their spokesman in my conversation with him. The following is the gist of our conversation :

'Is the business slack and dull at present?" I began.

"Nothing otherwise," he responded. "There is as fair a demand for the goods manufactured by us as before. The forced reduction in the prices of our manufactures alone accounts for our present plight. I shall illustrate what I have to emphasise with representative figures. The following is the table showing the total costs for tanning one khandi or twenty hides :

Article		Rs.
(1) Twenty hides (one khandi)	..	80
(2) Bark of Babhul (Acacia Arabica)	..	10
(3) Myrabollum	..	6
(4) Chunam		3
TOTAL	..	99

Thus the total costs of tanning twenty hides amounts to Rs. 99. Out of the twenty leathers thus obtained, eighteen mots or leather buckets are manufactured. One man has to work from dawn to dusk to manufacture one mot ready for use. Irrespective of the cost of labour power spent in manufacturing the mots, each one of them costs Rs. 5-8as. to the manufacturer. At the present market rates of Rs. 5 8as. per mot, the whole lot of eighteen mots does not fetch more than Rs. 99 the amount spent on raw material and tanning. At the present market rate of Rs. 5-8as. per mot, we are hardly able to recover the cost of production excluding, of course, the wages of workers and the costs of transportation. Does this show any margin of profits? "

"Well," I retorted, "in the past, the costs of the materials of production were also very high.. The same materials can now obtained at a cheap rate and at a low cost to the manufacturer. So the profits must proportionately be the same as before."

"You are wrong here," he exclaimed. "In those days even if the materials of production were dear, the articles manufactured used to fetch a fancy price on account of the prosperity of the primary producer. Today the customer not only deprives us of our profits but also of the cost of our labour power."

"How then do you account for your maintenance, if what you have said is true?" I asked.

"On the scanty contributions of grain from the cultivator for repairing his mots," was his reply.

"Is it true that the competition in the market from the iron bucket and the centrifugal pump reduced the prices of your manufactures and ruined your industry? "

"This is merely beating about the bush

without going to the root of things. Do you suppose that the impoverished cultivator, even unable to give a fair price for our manufactures, would purchase such costly implements? Only the rich peasant proprietors are making use of the centrifugal pump. The rest are still relying on the mots for drawing water from the wells."

"Do you mean to suggest that your poverty should be ascribed to pauperization of the Indian cultivator?" I ventured to ask.

"Aye, you have hit the bull's eye," was his prompt reply. "This the moot point all those sturdy reformist champions of the revival of village industries fail to grasp or pretend to ignore. PEASANTS' POVERTY is the root cause of all our miseries and impoverishment and unless vigorous efforts are made to reclaim him and to improve his lot, there is no hope of better days for the village artisans like ourselves who have to depend entirely on the peasant customer."

It would be quite clear from this that the activities of reformist nature would not solve the problem of the revival of village or cottage industries but that every avenue must be explored and no stone left unturned to improve the condition of the peasants on whose welfare depend the welfare and prosperity of the entire rural population.

VENICE—BY NIGHT AND BY DAY

BY HIRALAL GODIWALA, B.A. (OXON.)

AT last we were in Venice. We had excellent company in train. A young man in white and and a young girl travelling in the same compartment turned out to be Jewish couple leaving Germany (for good, probably) after spending their life there. They were going away to Palestine with only £10 in their pockets. They had hopes of settling down there. We were all looking out for a modest hotel. So we went to the Swedish pension.

The husband had gone out to the barber's the next morning for a shave. The wife and I were waiting for him in the pension. We were then to go out to the Lido. "What exactly happens there?" I asked. "It's a famous beach" she said. "When in Rome go to the Pope; when in Venice go to the Lido. It sounded like a German proverb. We used to smatter German and even attempt Italian!

Venice was a dream-city by night. We passed through narrow old picturesque streets, across little canals, past the 'Judeka'—the stews, so the two pretty girls on the way seemed to imply—to the Grand Canal. Gay lamps danced on the waters and dreamy music was wafted across by the night-breeze. That was Venice by night.

Venice by day a dirty, dingy, old, poverty-stricken town. We wandered through its narrow streets, past crumbling old houses with dark rooms where scarcely any daylight entered. We saw a cobbler working in a small dingy room where eyes could scarcely see. A young girl sat sewing in a back room where there was even less light and less fresh air. We wondered whether she would be able to preserve her youth for five years!

It was all picturesque, of course, and old and romantic. Venice remains, when all is said, a city with character, with its past still clinging to its houses and canals. But what a depressing city once you are off the Grand Canal! We saw beautiful glass-ware being produced—one man almost forced us to visit his glass-works—but where was the market for it? There were plenty of lovable children wandering in every street or square, but how dirty and unhealthy they looked! Apart from the section of the town—and it was a big section—employed in feeding and comforting and chasing the tourist, the whole town seemed to be trying to exist—trying desperately.

I learnt, during one of the many interesting discussions I had with an Italian girl, of a young man who joined the army (to be sent to Abyssinia) a few days ago because he had no other means to support his wife and mother. More and more cannon-fodder!

One discussion moved round Venice—its industries and poverty. We came to modern Italy and her struggle to exist. There was a newspaper in my hand (published in Florence)

with a cartoon—it was 14th August, 1935—showing 'White Italy teaching a lesson' (with a naked sword) to the black Abyssinian. The Abyssinian was shown holding in his arm a black girl in chains, and below ran the title :

'This is Addis Abbaba which should liberate the slaves and allow the civilisation of Eternal Rome to go forward.'

And above was written in bold letters :

THE MISSION OF ROME

I was discussing the topic with the cultured and accomplished lady who ran the pension. Neither she nor I believed in the bosh of the 'mission'; but she tried to defend the imperialism of Italy on grounds of necessity. 'What England did more than a century ago, what Japan is doing now, what Germany will do as soon as she can afford to do it, we are trying to do today . . . ."

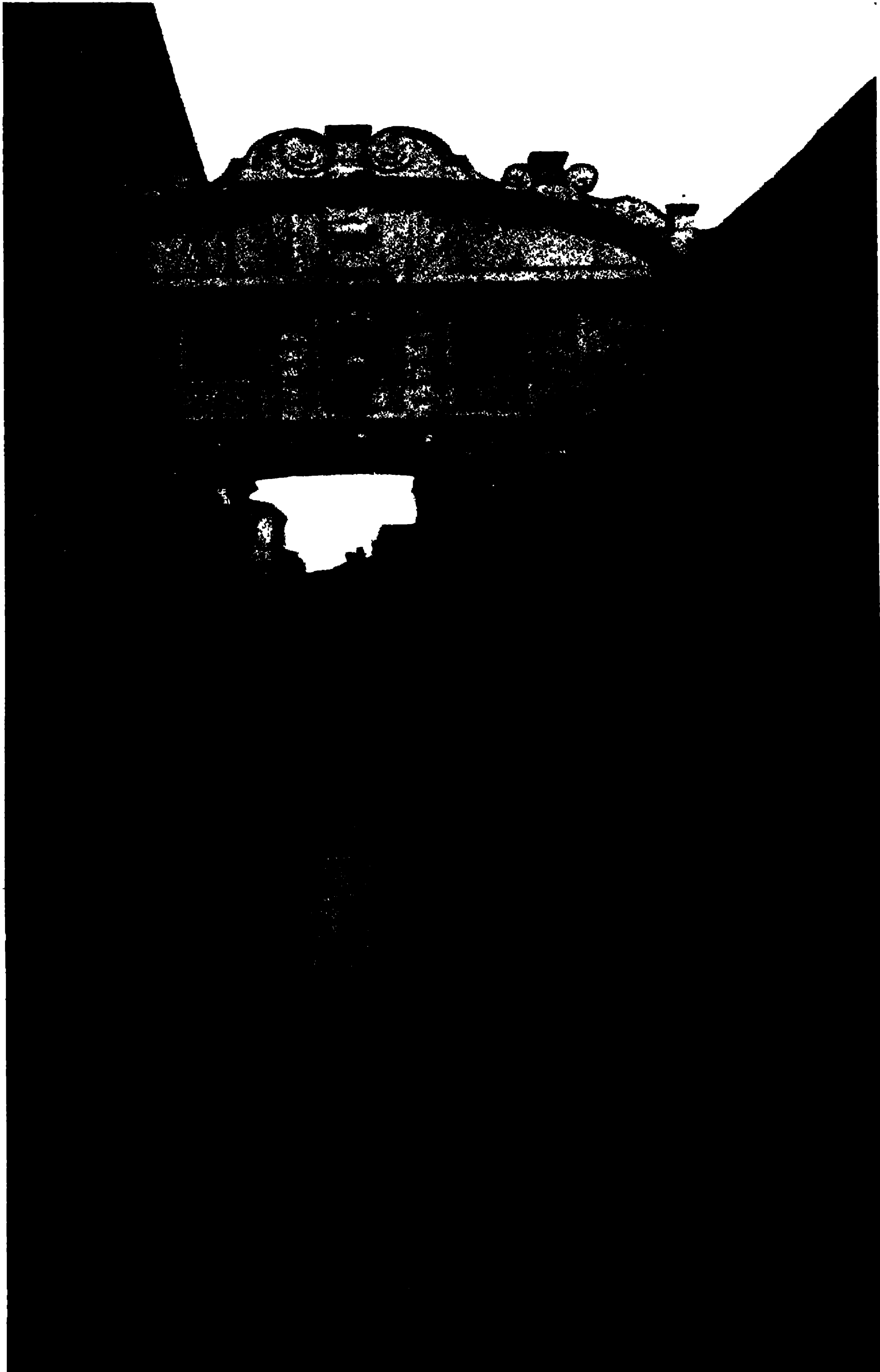
That was one discussion. In that homely pension one met Germans, Swedes and (of course) Americans. I had a long thought-provoking discussion on India, old and new, with a Swedish teacher of Geography. He had spent eight months travelling in India and had even the experience of visiting a venerable old Brahmin pandit who, unfortunately, still cherished the racial pride which prompted him to wash his house after the visitor had left! Geography, art, politics, psychology, civilisation—every aspect was touched; and the fact that he was interested in art and archæology—he had even been to Java—and that I knew something of Sweden and the coincidence of our meeting in that Benares-or-Agra like old city made the discussion more interesting. And Russia was always present in the discussion.

There was a French girl who was studying English literature in the Sorbonne (Paris) and a young American boy fresh from Salzburg. And there were many more.

I was off, to wander again in and around Venice. I had not seen the interior of St. Mark's, though St. Mark's brought to me memories of Ruskin and though the young lady had said I must see it as it had something to show of oriental influence on Italian art. My experience was that of the two Churches which I had tried to enter that day, one wanted a lire—which I did not want to pay—and the other thought my traveller's shirt and flannels were not respectable enough! So I had left respecability to abide in the house of God' and wandered through the more proletarian streets of Venice. Thank God, my Christ was not respectable!



VENICE—BY NIGHT AND BY DAY



The Bridge of Sighs, Venice
Photo : *Hiralal Godiwala*





Top : Queen of the Adriatic
Bottom : The Doge's Palace, Venice
Photo : *Hiralal Godiwala*

Notes

Bengali Convocation Address by Tagore

For the first time in the history of the Calcutta University—and in the history of any University in India recognized by the British Government, the last Convocation address was delivered in the mothertongue of the people. And it was done by the greatest litterateur of the country, the poet-sage Rabindranath Tagore. An English translation of the address has been published in pamphlet form and also subsequently in newspapers, in which much of the literary excellence and vigour of the original has been lost.

The Poet says in his address: "One of the most poignant signs of the days of a people's adversity is, that even truisms require to be aggressively proclaimed." It may be said similarly that one of the most humiliating and poignant signs of the abnormal condition of a people is that what is or should be normal and quite ordinary has to be acclaimed as a great achievement. It is, as it should be, taken for granted that in France, Germany, England, Italy, ... University Convocation addresses should be in French, German, English, Italian, . . . respectively. So when they are delivered in those languages, the fact is not specially noticed or mentioned, as it is quite ordinary and normal. But that in Bengal the Convocation address has been delivered in Bengali has had to be mentioned as a thing to be proud of!

The partial return to normality is a matter for congratulation, just as the greater abnormality which still remains must be constantly borne in mind with a feeling of shame in order that the people may remain firm in their resolve to remove it.

The Poet's address proper begins with the words:

> One of the most poignant signs of the days of a people's adversity is, that even truisms require to be aggressively proclaimed. Wherefore it has been necessary through long years to labour the point that learning loses its vitamins if strained through a foreign language.

He passed on to refer to the achievement of Japan, which could do what it has done because it is independent:

> In no country in the world, except India, is to be seen this divorce of the language of instruction from the language of the pupil. A hundred years have not elapsed since Japan took its initiation into Western culture. At the outset she had to take recourse to text-books written in foreign languages, but from the very first, her objective had been to arrive at the stage of ranging freely over the subjects of study in the language of the country. It was because Japan had recognized the need of such studies, not as an ornament for a select section of her citizens, but for giving power and culture to all of them, that she deemed it to be of prime importance to make them universally available to her people. And in this effort of Japan to gain proficiency in the Western arts and sciences, which were to give her the means of self-defence against the predatory cupidity of foreign powers, to qualify her to take an honoured place in the comity of nations, no trouble or expense was spared, least of all was there the miserly folly of keeping such learning out of easy reach, within the confines of a foreign language.

He then continues the contrast of the national educational policy of independent Japan with the imperial British educational policy in dependent India:

> We nad allowed ourselves too complaisantly to become reconciled to be thus slighted by the dispensers of our fate, to acquiesce in this belittling of the masses of our people, consoled by the scanty helps of learning parsimoniously served to the few occupying the front seats, called "educating the people of India." We had lost the courage even to imagine a broader system of education venturing beyond the bounds of such triviality, just as the Bedouin cannot dream that Providence will ever allow him to share in the expansive fruitfulness outside the few scattered oasis of his desert homeland.
>
> The difference between the uneducated and the educated sections of our countrymen is exactly like that between the Sahara and the tiny oases that dot its vast expanse,— both in quantity and quality. For this reason, though we are under one political domination, we are not governed by the same mentality. Of late, in Japan, Persia, Arabia, Turkey, everywhere amongst Eastern

peoples, measures have been taken to get rid of this internal source of division leading to futility of national aspiration,—everywhere, save in this unfortunate land.

The Eastern countries mentioned above are all independent.

The mental parasitism of the generality of educated Indians and its remedy are next dwelt upon.

We know of parasitic creatures in the animal world, which live and die in utter dependence on their hosts. They are able to eke out a bare living, but are for ever crippled in the development of their limbs and organs. Such has been the case with our modern University education. It has from its inception been parasitic on a foreign tongue, so that, though nourishment has not been altogether lacking, it has been obtained at the cost of all-round development, —so much so, that it has even ceased to be sensible of its own abortiveness. Accustomed to live by borrowing, it has come to measure attainment by largeness of debt; it has signed a bond of servitude to the thinkers of other lands. Those who receive such education cannot produce what they consume. Brought up to absorb the thoughts of others, their academic success depends on their ability to repeat by rote, and their own faculty of thought, their courage of conviction, their creative inspiration, have all been enfeebled. It goes without saying that the only way of revival from such chronic debility is by the assimilation and application of the subject-matter of education through one's own language, just as, in order to incorporate food-stuffs into the body, they have to be chewed with one's own teeth and saturated with one's own digestive juices.

It should not be supposed that the Poet wants the study of English and English books to be eschewed.

Of course, it will not do to forget that the English language cannot lose a place of honour in Indian Universities, not merely because of its practical usefulness as a means of livelihood but because it is the vehicle of the Western science which to-day has earned the respect of all the world. To repudiate it out of a sense of false patriotism would only be to curtail our own opportunities. This science is not only important in the field of world economics and politics as a means of self-preservation, but its influence is of immense value for freeing the mind from the inertia of stupidity. The mind which refuses to admit its message, which is unable to accept its implications, needs must be content with a narrow, dark and feeble life. From whatever horizon the light of knowledge may radiate, it is only a clouded, barbaric mind that rejects it because of its unfamiliarity. All races and peoples are equally entitled to avail themselves of Truth in any of its manifestations, for this is a right inherent in humanity itself.

Men are inevitably separate in regard to their share of political or economic wealth, but in the case of bestowal of the largesse of mind, all men who come to receive, have everywhere and always been accounted equal,—the giver being rewarded by the generosity of his giving, the receiver glorying in his own competence to take. In all countries, the doors of the storehouse of material wealth are strongly guarded, while the University gates are ever wide open. The Goddess of Riches is careful, because her accumulations are limited by quantity, they are lost when spent; and the Goddess of Learning is lavish, because her wealth does not depend on accumulation, but grows as it overflows.

In India the doors of the storehouse of immaterial, intellectual, wealth are also sought to be carefully guarded—to be opened only for the advantage of a select section.

The new knowledge gained through the English language has indirectly benefited the readers of vernacular literature—and even to some extent the illiterate masses, and this advantage will grow from more to more.

The significance of the new knowledge learnt through the English language has found its way into every Bengali home, having taken on a Bengali body in our own literature. We now hopefully await its arrival, on the same intimate terms, within the portals of this University. And I am here today to bring a message of joy and pride from our countrymen, to give voice to their hope that this University of Bengal will find its true glory in gaining intimacy with the people of its province through their natural language.

The Poet pays a well-merited tribute to the civilization of Europe, though, as will be seen later, he is not blind to its latter-day aberrations.

We cannot but admit that the present age is dominated by the civilization of Europe. This age has presented a background of strenuous endeavour to all the world, on which the thoughts and deeds of men are appearing in ever-new variety of form and are spreading as a unifying influence over the whole of the civilized world. It would not have been possible for the science and literature, history, economics and politics, the technique of research and of the testing of truth, born on the soil of Europe, thus to permeate the world, had they not stood the test of experimental application, had the mind of Europe not won universal recognition by reason of the honesty and earnestness of its striving, impelling all the newly awakened countries to adopt the same studies, the same methods, the same attitude of mind.

A reference to what he has seen in Russia follows, contrasted with the opposite condition prevailing in India.

Now, almost everywhere, schools and colleges and universities are looked upon as means of irrigating the mass mind and sowing it with the seeds of the new knowledge. I have seen for myself a country that has displayed an amazing power of removing the stupendous obstacle of illiteracy, massed up during ages of neglect, within a short space of time, with the result that its down-trodden proletariat, reduced to the verge of the extinction of their humanity within the dumb darkness of lack of self-expression, now stand forth in the forefront of go-ahead nations by the exercise of their liberated powers.

But, all this while, our universities,—poorly equipped, scantily respected, lacking encouragement,—have been plying monotonously like little ferry boats, carrying their handful of students over the meagre subjects set for their examinations. These universities of ours have touched no more than the outermost fringe of the great mass mind, and even that contact is of the lightest, bereft as it is of all vitality in passing through its foreign covering. Wherefore, far behind the other Eastern nations in which the call to awake has been heard, lags India in regard to self-respect awakened in the light of self-knowledge.

We come now to the Poet's condemnation of the return of Europe to savagery.

I am aware that latterly a bitter protest has gone forth from the Eastern world against the claim to greatness of European civilization and culture. It is doubtless advancing at a great rate in the accumulation of material wealth, but the greatness of man is not in his outward possessions. The greed, rapacity and political trickery that emanate from the Western powers ruthlessly to trample under foot the rights of weaker countries, have never before in the history of man, been seen in such fearsome shape. Man has never been able in the past to give his unbridled passions such monstrous proportions, such skilful, undefeatable efficiency. That has become possible for the West today because of its command of science.

When in the beginning or middle of the Nineteenth Century we made our first acquaintance with European civilization, our joy and admiration freely went out to it in the belief that it had come into the world animated with a genuine respect for man as man; we felt certain that truth, devotion, justice and goodwill towards men were its essential characteristics; we thought that it had taken on itself the duty of freeing mankind from every kind of external and internal bondage. But, as the years went by, within the short span of our own lifetime, we have seen this love of humanity, this sense of justice, growing feebler and feebler, till at last there is left no civilized Court of Appeal where the plaint of the persecuted against the powerful oppressor has any chance of being heard on the ground of righteousness.

The once-famous sponsors of this civilization are now devoting all their intellect and wealth to produce inhuman engines of destruction to rend and maim one another. Such mutual mistrust, such mortal terror, between man and man, no other age has ever witnessed. The firmament above man's work-a-day world, from which comes his light, through which is heard his call to liberation, is now murky with the dust raised by continual conflict, thick with the germs of mortal death.

The grand old civilizations of old, of which we have still preserved the memory, chiefly strove with all their powers to keep this higher region clear and undefiled, its pure light unobstructed. Such endeavour is now-a-days scoffed at by the modern unbelievers in eternal Truth and right. Such objective is deemed utterly unworthy of the uppermost exploiting nations who plume themselves on being predestined by nature cruelly to overwhelm the earth with their domination. The whole Western continent trembles under the mad war-dance of their civilization, now intoxicated with insatiable greed.

" With what face then," the Poet asks, " am I to expatiate on the merits of the culture in which the expedient is thus divorced from the good, of the civilization which is thus staggering, bemused, towards its own destruction? "

His reply is :

In the history and literature of this same civilization, have we not, one day, seen its true love for Man? What if it is now mocking its own higher self?--I cannot dismiss the signs of its greatness of heart that we have seen, as an illusory mirage; I will not say that the brilliance of its rise was false, and that it is the darkness of its debasement which is true. Civilization has, on many an occasion, taken false steps, proved untrue to itself, repudiated its own supreme gift to humanity. We have beheld the same unfortunate lapses in our own country, as well as outside it. In every chapter of history the glory of humanity has had its fall. But whenever some invaluable truth has found expression in any shape or form, it has won the allegiance of mankind, even when standing on the rubbish heaps of its decayed outward magnificence.

Europe has provided the world with the gifts of a great culture,—had it not the power to do so, it would never have attained its supremacy. It has given the example of dauntless courage, ungrudging self-sacrifice, it has shown tireless energy in the acquisition and spread of knowledge, in the making of institutions for human welfare. Even in these days of its self-abasement, there are still before us its true representatives who are ready to suffer punishment in their fearless protest against its iniquities, in their chivalrous championship of its victims. They may be defeated again and again, for the time, yet in them is to be seen the true ideal of their civilization. The inspiration that holds them steadfast to their best instincts, through all the outrage and degeneracy around them,—that inspiration is the truth dwelling in the heart of Western civilization. It is from that we have to learn, not from the disastrous self-degradation of the modern Western nations.

In the concluding section of the address, the students are cordially congratulated and exhorted to conquer external and internal enemies.

To you, young students, who are assembled here today, prepared to go forth through the gate of this University to conquer the world before you, I offer my cordial congratulations. It is you who will bear the seed of a great promise towards its fulfilment.

The sea of humanity around you is tumultuous with high waves of contending passions. It is as if the Gods and Titans are once again churning it to raise humanity from the depths of the departing age to the shore of the next. This time, also, the churning rope is a serpent, the serpent of greed, which is vomiting forth its poison. But as yet, we see no sign of all-benevcent, death conquering Shiva coming to rescue humanity by absorbing this poison.

Communal separatism and dissensions must be got rid of.

We in India are on the shore of this terribly turbulent sea of Time. It has not been given to us directly to take our share in piloting the world through its buffetings. But the drag of the maelstrom is upon us from without, and within, also, the advancing waves of chaos are beating right and left. Well-nigh insoluble problems rise to confront our country, one after another. Communal separatism and dissension are taking menacing shape, polluting the very source of our well-being. The solution of these problems may not be easy, but if not found, we shall descend lower and lower into the abyss.

The revival and reconstruction of villages have to be undertaken.

There was a time when culture, fellow-feeling and prosperity reigned in our villages. Go to them now and you will see the fang marks of the reptile of dissolution that bestrides them. Pestilential maladies born of poverty, of physical and mental starvation, are eating away their vitality. It is for us ourselves to think out where the remedy lies,—but not by means of ignorant imaginings, not by dint of tearful outbursts. Defeated you may be, but you must vow that defeat shall not come by your deserting the helm in fright, or because you foolishly deem it

glorious to commit suicide by jumping into the raging waves.

Sentimentalism and the "home-made" "superiority-complex" are to be eschewed.

We are too readily inclined to be sentimental. We cannot arrive at the determination to pursue our endeavour with steady dispassion. Take up your country's burden manfully, in the light of your own intelligence freed from the vagueness of unrealities, facing and knowing the folly, the ugliness, the imperfections that beset you for what they really are, not exaggerating them according to your particular bias. Where in fact our fate is every day insulting us, depriving us, hampering us at every turn,—there to delude ourselves with home-made claims to superiority, is one of the worst symptoms of our feebleness of character.

Self-examination, self-purification and self-reliance are needed.

If you would truly set to work, you must begin by realising that the seeds of our downfall are within us, deeply imbedded in our character, our society, our habits, our unreasoning prejudices. Whenever I see our people seeking to throw the responsibility for our evil lot on some outside circumstance, to lay the blame for our ill-success solely on the enmity of some alien party, to remain content with shouting their plaints into the unresponsive void, my heart cries out, as did old King Dhritarashtra: "Then do I despair of victory!"

The day has come for us to sally forth against our internal enemies, to deliver a massed attack on the age-old follies that are the real roots of our misfortune. We must raise our own powers out of the slough of *tamasik* inertness into which they have fallen, and then only can we hope to make honourable peace with the power of our opponents; otherwise, any truce that we may patch up will be one in which we are bound hand and foot in the chains of beggary and indebtedness. We can only rouse the best in others by means of the best in ourselves, and in this best will lie the welfare of both. Full of holes are the vessels into which are cast the reluctant doles granted to the prayers of the weak; of quicksand is the foundation on which rest the favours so obtained.

The address closes with the following prayer:—

হে বিধাতা,
দাও দাও মোদের গৌরব দাও
দুঃসাধ্যের নিমন্ত্রণে
দুঃসহ দুঃখের গর্ব্বে।
টেনে তোলো রসাক্ত ভাবের মোহ হতে
সবলে ধিক্কৃত করো দীনতার ধূলায় লুণ্ঠন।
দূর করো চিত্তের দাসত্ব-বন্ধ,
ভাগ্যের নিয়ত অক্ষমতা,
দূর করো মূঢ়তায় অযোগ্যের পদে
মানবমর্য্যাদা-বিসর্জ্জন,
চূর্ণ করো যুগে যুগে স্তূপীকৃত লজ্জারাশি
নিষ্ঠুর আঘাতে।
নিঃসঙ্কোচে
মস্তক তুলিতে দাও
অনন্ত আকাশে
উদাত্ত আলোকে
মুক্তির বাতাসে॥

The prayer has been translated into English thus:—

Let honour come to me from Thee
Through a call to some desperate task
In the price of poignant suffering.

Lull me not into languid dreams,
Shake me out of this cringing in the dust,
Out of the fetters that shackle our mind,
Make futile our destiny,
Out of the unreason that bends our dignity down
Under the indiscriminate feet of dictators,
Shatter this age-long shame of ours
And raise our head
Into the boundless sky,
Into the generous light,
Into the air of freedom.

Public Health in India

A rather belated Report, one for the year 1934, has been sent to us from Delhi. It gives a summary of the statement made by the Public Health Commissioner to the Government of India concerning public health in India in the year 1934. The "Press" summary begins in an optimistic vein by declaring that at last the "sanitary idea" is beginning to penetrate the mind of India. This, it is asserted, is due to the propaganda carried on during the last ten or twelve years. We need not challenge the suggestion that our sanitary-mindedness is the outcome of official propaganda; for we are all fully aware of the nature and extent of such propaganda. In our opinion, however, the entire Indian nation has been feeling the want of a higher standard of national health for over half a century, and long before the last ten or twelve years better health has drawn the attention of the intelligent inhabitants of India, who have been carrying on a constant propaganda in the press and elsewhere for securing a better health outlook for India.

The number of articles published in the Indian Press since the Nineteenth Century dealing with sanitation and hygiene would be a good index of our "national" health propaganda. The number of physical culture centres

maintained by private enterprise would also show something. Official sympathy for mass physical culture is yet an infant, whereas a generation of men who have spent their life's energy and, often, much of their private income for the national physical culture movement, have lived, worked and are passing away. At least in Bengal a better national health ideal has taken root, due, almost entirely, to the untiring endeavours of these men. No anæmic and purely theoretical creed could ever enliven a poor nation to make such efforts. The hope of becoming thoroughly strong and capable individuals was the mainspring of this movement and, even now, physical strength and vigour are the attractions for individual enquiries into dietetics, personal hygiene and sanitation.

To return to the Report, we find that the Central Government spent only Rs. 14½ lakhs towards public health. The money was spent almost entirely on medical items, so to speak. The different provincial Governments spent about Rs. 1½ crores, out of which nearly Rs. 1 crore and 40 lakhs were spent on medical or allied arrangements.

It is not our intention to belittle the importance of combating diseases, whether endemic or epidemic. As a matter of fact the State-expenditure on the different departments which are trying to make India comparatively disease-free, should not be considered excessive. Far from it! But the "sanitary idea" is not enough. When, before the War of 1914, Great Britain lived a highly sanitary life, she had a population, over 70% of which consisted of C3 people, that is to say, persons of decidedly inferior physical fitness. Great Britain is perhaps facing another world war to-day. She is, therefore, supplementing her sanitary-mindedness with mass physical culture propaganda and organisation. Germany and Italy have been backing up, rather enforcing, mass physical culture over a number of years.

For, all modern nations feel that mere freedom from diseases is not an ideal physical condition. The sanitary mind is at its best only an expression of a negative ideal. What a nation should strive after is real fitness and strength for all men and women.

The Central Government and Provincial Government may not be averse to the ideal of an India with an A1 population. But to achieve this ideal, every village, town and big city must be provided with adequate gymnasia, play-grounds and institutions where people could be taught curative physical culture. We have been told by a number of Field Marshals and Generals that the next war will see entire nations under mobilisation. As India holds the major portion of the population of the British Empire, should not one make such arrangements as would turn this majority into a physically fit and strong community? Such an enterprise would vastly improve our national prosperity and more than pay for itself.

A. C.

The New Soviet Constitution

On the eve of the inauguration of the new Russian constitution Stalin claimed to have been successful in liquidating capitalism and making the way for the invincible march of socialism and democracy safe in new Russia. But his claim does not seem to be warranted by facts.

The old view of socialism aiming at "an organization of society under which there would be no rich and no poor," as also the idea of abolishing the right of private ownership of property and the introduction of the state ownership of the "means of production," seem to have undergone a great change. Present-day socialism in Russia is no longer taken as synonymous with "economic equality" as such, as higher salaries for engineers and managers of factories have been introduced, and even the workers are offered extra premiums and rewards for better results in productivity.

The aim to abolish class has also failed. Two distinct classes are found in Russia today. The upper class consists of Red Army Officers, the more outstanding engineers, doctors, various technical experts and scientific workers. To add to this, artists, writers and composers, etc., also get preferential treatment at the hands of the Government. Moreover, the upper class gets a higher pay, which sometimes is as high as 50,000 or 70,000 roubles a year, while the average pay of an ordinary industrial worker is 2,000 roubles per annum only.

Article 10 of the new constitution provides for private ownership in the following terms:

> "The personal ownership by citizens of their income from work and savings, home and auxiliary household economy, as well as the objects of personal use and comfort, are protected by law."

To make the new constitution look truly democratic the authorities, it is true, have thought fit to widen the franchise and the right given for free and secret voting; but the communist party being still the only legal party in the country and any criticism of it, however honest and correct, being banned, it is really the communist party which has been the true

gainer, and such a condition has taken away a lot from the right of free and secret voting.

The right of freedom of speech and of the Press, which is an essential democratic right, is no doubt recognized and provided for in the new constitution; but as the Moscow paper *Pravda* explains it to mean that such freedom is confined to the use of such words only as fortify socialism, the explanation really takes away the right.

The right of free association, which is also another democratic right, is recognized and provided for in a similar way in the new constitution, but being hedged in with provisoes and restrictions, it has come to be very limited. In fact, the right can be enjoyed only by those who are in the good books of the communist party and whose politics the Government approves.

Governor-Chancellor at Calcutta Convocation

At the Convocation of the Calcutta University held last month the Governor of Bengal, who is *ex-officio* its Chancellor, said :

> Looking forward across the very brief span that now separates us from responsible Government in Bengal when the Governor himself will normally be relieved of any responsibility for the policy of the State as regards the University, I cannot but think I may still have opportunities for service in the discharge of the office of Chancellor.

The Government which will be inaugurated in Bengal (and other provinces) on next All Fools' Day will be literally responsible government in the sense that it will be responsible to the Governor, the Governor-General, the Secretary of State for India in London and the British Parliament, but not responsible to the people of Bengal. Similarly, it is literally true that the Governor himself will *normally* be relieved of any responsibility for the policy of the State as regards the University—as also as regards other institutions and departments with which the State has anything to do. But just as in other Departments of the Government the Governor will have to see that the policy of the State as laid down by the British Parliament in the Government of India Act of 1935 is adhered to, so in the Education Department, too, he will have to see that the Education Minister does not deviate from it. The Governor will not be relieved of this responsibility. If any Minister, whether in charge of the Education or other Department, tries to depart from that policy, he will be divested of his powers and the Governor will exercise those powers himself if he cannot find a Minister able and willing to give effect to the British policy.

Sir John Anderson, the Chancellor, proceeded to observe :

> I have no desire now to dilate upon this theme or indeed to encroach at all upon matters that may fall within the sphere of party politics—but aware as I constantly am of the profound—I may justly say revolutionary—changes that are upon us in the principles of Government in this province I cannot help asking myself in what direction this University can make the greatest contribution to the national life of Bengal; I am tempted to answer as follows— by striving to raise the general level of quality among those who come under its influence and by inculcating a true conception of constructive leadership. I have used the word quality deliberately because in these days quality is not a characteristic always associated with mass production. To combine the two demands the continuous application of high standards—both in the selection of raw material and in the rejection or remodelling at every stage of components that fail to come up to specification.

Our reading of the " profound," the " revolutionary," " changes that are upon us," is that, if there have really been " changes," they are not in the direction of giving the people more political power but in that of making the executive more powerful and more autocratic than at present.

" Quality " and " Mass Production " of Graduates

It is a truism that the University should strive to raise the general level of quality among those who come under its influence and inculcate a true conception of constructive leadership.

The Chancellor has said that he has used the word quality deliberately, " because in these days quality is not a characteristic always associated with mass production." It has been shown in this *Review* that in many Western and Eastern countries University education is more widespread than in this country. But there, whenever necessary, the level of quality is attempted to be raised without restricting education. In Japan, in 1932, the Universities turned out 20,182 graduates. Its population was 64,450,005. The population of Bengal and Assam, for which the Calcutta University provides facilities for University education, was 60,335,195. So Japan has only four millions larger population than Bengal and Assam combined. But it produced 20,182 University graduates in 1932, whereas Calcutta University produced 4,487 graduates in 1936. We do not have before us just now the statistics of Dacca University. But assuming it produced 500 and odd graduates in 1936, the whole output of Bengal and Assam in that year was 5,000 in Arts,

Science, Law, Medicine, Engineering, Commerce, and Teaching, as against four times that number in Japan in 1932. So there is greater "mass production" of graduates in Japan than in Bengal and Assam. But we are not aware that in Japan "mass production" of graduates has been found incompatible with maintaining a high standard, or that "rejection" of "raw material" has been resorted to for raising the level of quality of the graduates. Nor are we aware that Japanese graduates are not holding their own against non-Japanese graduates. The thing is in Japan, as in other free and independent countries, sufficient money is spent both for the spread of education of all kinds in all its stages as well as for improving its quality. In India, sufficient money is not spent either for the spread or for the improvement of education, with the result that education at no stage is sufficiently widely spread or is of sufficiently high quality. Hence, as the State is not enthusiastic as regards the spread of education or its improvement and is not prepared to spend enough money for either purpose, the officers of the State, high and low, console themselves and seek to console the people by suggesting the incompatibility of "mass production" with high quality and need of selection of raw material and the rejection or remodelling at every stage of components that fail to come up to specification. Of course, some "components" are unsuitable for some kind of education. But they are fit for other kinds of education. They may be rejected where they are unfit. But is not the State bound to provide the kind of education for which they are fit? Does the State do it in India?

We want high quality and know the value of selection of raw material and the like processes. But these processes are not enough for the purpose of attaining and maintaining a high standard of University education. There should be smaller classes for individual attention, more and better and better paid teachers, more and better equipped libraries, laboratories, museums, &c. But all this means greater expenditure for education. Will the State sanction and provide money for such expenditure?

The Advancement of a People by their own Efforts

The Chancellor has observed :

I make bold to state as a historical truth that the advancement of a people by their own efforts depends in the main upon two things—first the average standard of quality attained by the people themselves and secondly their inherent capacity to throw up from time to time as circumstances may require leaders of the requisite calibre.

"The advancement of a people by their own efforts" requires to be properly understood. In free and independent countries, what the representatives of the people in their legislatures do is understood to be included in "their own efforts." The expenditure of State funds sanctioned by these representatives is part of these efforts, as the State funds are what the people themselves have given in the form of taxes. In addition to the activities and expenditure of the State, which represents the collective entity of the people, the people have their separate efforts and separate expenditure for public purposes.

So in these countries State action for public purposes and the private action of the people for public purposes both come under the category of the peoples' own efforts.

The case is different in India. Here the people's representatives in the legislatures do not possess the power of the purse or any other final power. In any case, if they possess it at all, it is to a very slight extent. If the Government takes any steps for public purposes or spends any money out of the State treasury for public purposes, it is not considered part of the people's effort for their own advancement; for the taxes paid by the people are considered Government property over which the people have no right of control.

So in India the people's efforts for their own advancement practically mean only what they do in their private capacity for public purposes. The taxes which they pay they do partly in expectation of adequate State expenditure on education, sanitation, medical aid, agricultural and industrial improvement, and the like. If the State does anything in these directions, it is considered generosity on its part. The people must do the rest "by their own efforts." That is to say, they must pay twice;—once in the form of taxes, next in the form of subscriptions, donations, endowments, etc. The people of India do both to the extent of their ability. The people of free and independent countries also do both. The difference lies in this that in those countries both State activities and private activities for public purposes count as the people's efforts for their own advancement, but in India State activities and expenditure for public good are regarded by Britishers as a kind of charity, though the money for the same comes from Indian pockets, and it is only the private activities and expenditure of Indians for public good which count as the people's efforts for their own advancement.

"Standard of Quality Attained by the People Themselves"

His Excellency the Governor-Chancellor of the Calcutta University has solemnly said that the advancement of a people by their own efforts depends upon two things and he has named those two things. Though what he has said is not at all new, there was no harm in repeating what was trite.

The first thing on which "the advancement of a people by their own efforts" depends is the "average standard of quality attained by the people themselves." This is quite true. In our humble opinion the attainment of a high average standard of quality by a people depends on their education to a great extent. We do not know of any people who are in the mass uneducated but are nevertheless possessed of a high average standard of quality. By education we do not mean mere literacy or a merely literary education. But we are also against the discouragement of universal literacy by means of the specious argument that mere literacy is not education. For, if literacy is not the whole of education, or if it be not the most important first step in education, it is incumbent on those who think so to provide some other kind of education for the mass of the people.

The attainment of a high average standard of quality by the people implies as its condition precedent some effective kind of universal education. For by the "people" is meant all of them or at least the bulk or the vast majority of them. But in India only some 10 per cent and in Bengal only some 11 per cent are literate. The rest are not known to have become effectively "educated" in some other, non-literary, manner. And most of the literates, too, cannot be called "educated." So there must be some effective scheme of universal education, and that scheme should be given effect to—it should not remain a mere paper-scheme. It is to be hoped that such a scheme and its carrying out will not be subjected to the objection of "mass production" of literates or of persons educated, if possible, in some other way. For, unfortunately the people are the "mass", they are not the select few left after "rejection".

Inherent Capacity To Throw Up Leaders

The second thing necessary for the advancement of a people by their own efforts is "the inherent capacity to throw up from time to time as circumstances may require leaders of the requisite calibre." This observation of the Chancellor is also true. He has not said whether he had in view leaders in the political sphere only or mainly, or in other spheres also, such as social, religious, economic, etc.

As regards politics in the widest sense, India has proved her inherent capacity to throw up competent leaders from ancient times downwards. If and when British dominance is got rid of, the existence of that capacity in modern times also will be proved—and perhaps admitted by Britishers also. Verbal argumentation is unnecessary and fruitless before that consummation.

As for India's capacity to throw up religious and social leaders, perhaps British Imperialists may not be unwilling to admit even now that she has not lost that capacity.

"A True Conception of Constructive Leadership"

His Excellency the Chancellor has laid stress on "a true conception of constructive leadership." Constructive leadership is certainly required. Not less necessary, however, is the removal of obstacles, if any, standing in the way of the building up of an edifice broad-based on the people's will.

External Influence and Stimulus

In the concluding portion of his short but significant Convocation speech the Calcutta University Chancellor said :

> For more than a century and a half it has been a constant feature in the life of this Province that its development has been conditioned by reaction to outside influences. Extraneous influences have sometimes inspired, sometimes restrained, sometimes provoked: and in turn leders among the people of Bengl have appeared sometimes as enthusiastic propagators, interpreters or western adaptors of western ideas, sometimes as ardent reformers chafing at the slow progress of change, and at other times as rebels against the whole conception of external authority in any form : but always or nearly always reaction to or against external influence has been the stimulus and the focus of interest. In all that concerns most closely the daily lives of the people of Bengal that stimulus is going to be withdrawn—that focus of interest is going to disapppear. No doubt there will be a tendency to keep the stimulus alive, to search and scrutinize the activities of future Governments for some trace of the hidden hand of external authority; but such tendencies will not bring any nearer to solution the problems of health, education and economic well-being for which a remedy will be demanded by the people from Governments responsible to themselves. The things that matter are no longer to be had from a third party as a boon to be sought or a concession to be wrested: they are to be devised and constructed by those among the people who aspire to leadership. The days of leadership against something are passing and the call will be for leadership to something. I venture to say that if the Universities can-

not produce men to answer that call they will fail to fulfil their function in the national life.

To react to external influence and stimulus, when necessary, is as much a sign of life as to react to internal stimulus. If a subject people continues to feel the pulsation of life, it cannot but react to the external influence of the power which holds it in subjection. The only thing to be considered is how it reacts. And the speaker enumerated the different kinds of reaction, none of which appears to us to have been unnatural under the circumstances.

To react under the stimulus of some exterior circumstance does not imply any inferiority. The British Empire is a mighty entity, and the British are a free and independent people. But even they react to external circumstance. Consider their proposal to spend £400,000,000 extra on re-armament. Down the ages, they have reacted to external stimuli, not only in political matters, but in religious and social ones also.

The Chancellor thinks that "in all that concerns most closely the daily lives of the people of Bengal that [external] stimulus is going to be withdrawn—that focus of interest is going to disappear." In other words, the people of Bengal are going to have real autonomy in all that concerns most closely their daily lives. This is an incorrect view, to say the least, of the constitutional changes which will take place a month hence in Bengal and other provinces—particularly in Bengal. "The hidden hand of external authority" will still remain, and in the possession of greater power than before and at present. The people will not have a free hand and will not have the power of the purse to solve the problems of education, health and economic well-being.

Sir John Anderson says, "a remedy will be demanded by the people from governments *responsible to themselves*"! As if the Government of India Act of 1935 will make them self-ruling from April first, 1937! ! As His Excellency's further observations in the paragraph quoted above depend on the assumption that that Act bestows at least provincial autonomy on the people and as that assumption is wrong, we consider it unnecessary to comment on them.

His Excellency says :

It is the function of a leader as I understand it to try and bring out the best among his people and not to hesitate to correct their weaknesses—for every nation and every community has its weaknesses : if instead leaders of the people try to follow the easier course—to appeal to weaknesses or to encourage tendencies that they know to be adverse to sound development then the result will be not progress but decline and disaster.

This also is true but trite.

India has not been wanting even in modern times in religious and social leaders who have risked their health, wealth (where they had any), popularity and even their lives to do the duty of real leaders. Even political leaders have not hesitated to acknowledge mistakes and take to new ways. As for correcting the weaknesses and exposing and condemning the lapses of the rank and file, we should like to know which political leader in which country has done that duty more sternly than Mahatma Gandhi. He has admitted even his own "Himalayan blunders." Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru also has been severe in correcting abuses. Other examples may be given. But that is unnecessary.

Resolute Opposition to Restriction of Education

We have already devoted much space to two speeches delivered at the last Convocation of the Calcutta University. From the third one, namely, that of Mr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee, the Vice-Chancellor, we shall make only a few extracts without any comments, as they are unnecessary.

Said he :

The great problem of the hour is not merely to provide the right kind of training, not merely to save the educational system from being turned into a soul-less machine, but to rouse public opinion and focus the attention of all to the supreme necessity of finding new avenues of occupation and fresh vocations and careers for the hundreds and thousands of youths who are being produced by our Universities. We resolutely oppose the policy of restricting education, urged on the ground that suitable opportunities for work cannot be found for all University-trained men. We do so, not on any abstract principle nor for any sentimental reason. We do so because we firmly believe that if our country is to be raised to an independent status, enjoying liberty and self-respect, it can be done primarily through the agency of unselfish and patriotic youths, men and women who shine in deeds and not in words, who in their thousands would be called upon to dedicate their lives to the task of social and educational, economic and agricultural, industrial and political uplift of the millions of their brethren, whose voice to-day is choked under the deadening influence of poverty and disease, of strife and dissension, of ignorance and superstition."

He asked :

"Who can ever undertake this gigantic task of national reconstruction, which will signify the emergence of our Motherland from the shackles of oppression and servility, but a race of Indian youths, proud of their culture and traditions armed with Western skill and knowledge, fearless and straightforward, determined to work and stand united under a common banner of progress and service?"

His answer was :

"The men are here and more will come if we want them.

"There stand the mighty problems of reconstruction, apparently baffling solution. This stupendous task cannot

be directly organized by any seat of learning, whose duty will be mainly to provide society with men and women trained according to correct systems and ideals. In the corporate interest of the nation, it will be the paramount duty of the State and of other men and organisations capable of influencing our destinies, not to permit so much idealism, enthusiasm and trained skill to be wasted or turned into unproductive and undesirable channels, but to take them up with boldness and sympathy and employ them in diverse fields of activity, calculated to bring in their train an era of peace, progress and prosperity. Such a project of expansion and constructive work requires for its fulfilment a drastic revision of many of the existing policies of the State and other organisations; it will involve a vast expenditure of money; it will require ceaseless and persistent efforts, combined with courage, honesty and sincerity of purpose, which must never fail in the face of difficulties and opposition. I fervently hope and trust that it may be given to men and women educated at this University to help to formulate such a far-reaching scheme of national reconstruction, capable of gradual accomplishment, to educate public opinion on its great accomplishment, to educate public opinion on its great potentialities, to organise the active support and co-operation of all sections and parties in the community and to place it before the nation as an irresistible demand, —a demand which requires fulfilment not for the mere purpose of finding work and occupation for those who are entitled to them, but for the largest interests of the province, for its healthy development and progress and for freeing it from the bondage of perpetual dependence and domination."

Japanese Exploitation of Manchuria

A very interesting and informing article appears in the Shanghai fortnightly *Voice of China*. The writer Wang Ta-fu describes the Japanese exploitation of Manchuria in his short article and succeeds well in conveying to the reader the comprehensive character of the economic stranglehold that Japan has obtained over this territory. A few extracts will give a rough idea of the writer's thesis. He says :

When the Kwangtung Army seized our four North-eastern provinces and added them to the Empire of the Rising Sun, not only were our 30 million people converted into slaves without a country, with their homes destroyed and their fields laid waste, but a large percentage of the total natural wealth of the nation was stolen from China and added to the treasury of Japanese imperialism. A few figures will indicate the extent of our loss, in Manchuria alone :

Soya bean	.. 70%	of the annual national yield
Hui Silk	.. 70%	„ „ „ „ „
Salt	.. 15%	„ „ „ „ „
Iron Ore	.. 37%	„ „ „ „ „
Coal	.. 36%	„ „ „ „ „
Petroleum	.. 93%	„ „ „ „ „
Gold	.. 50%	„ „ „ „ „
Forests	.. 37%	„ „ national area
Cattle	.. 30%	„ „ cattle in the Chinese frontier regions
Iron deposits	.. 79%	„ „ national reserves
Coal deposits	.. 2%	„ „ „ „ „
Petroleum deposits	52%	„ „ „ „ „
Electricity	.. 23%	„ „ „ power supply
Railways	.. 41%	„ „ „ railway system
Export Trade	.. 37%	„ „ total national trade.

For the further exploitation of this great wealth and to cement their hold upon the economic life of the province, Japanese industrialists have poured millions of yen into the country, at the cost of untold hardship for the Japanese people. As a result of this investment, however, they have practically driven every other investing power from Manchuria, gaining a clear field for their own exploitation. The extent of Japanese control over the economic life of Manchuria is indicated by the following statistics; showing the amount of Japanese investment in Manchuria as compared to that of all other powers :

	Japanese Investment	Investment of other Power
Transportation	51.1%	48.9%
Forestry, agriculture and mines	92.4%	7.6%
Manufacturing	90.4%	9.6%
Commerce	73.8%	26.8%
Finance	89.6%	10.4%
Others	93.6%	6.4%

All this may, of course, be explained away by the Japanese as "development", whatever may be the effect of these activities on the people of Manchuria. History has proved it over and over again that "civilization" and "development" as obtained through Imperialistic sources destroy all healthy national life and bring about a state of cultural and economic decay. Actual illustrations are hardly necessary. It may be that the Japanese variety of "civilisation" will not ultimately succeed in supplanting the ancient but virile culture of China; but the economic outlook is surely alarming for the Chinese. The Japanese, it is alleged, are not only using the accepted methods of capitalistic Imperialism to exploit Manchuria; but are also indulging in practices reminiscent of the technique employed by the Imperialist Trading Companies of the Eighteenth century. We are told :

Having gained control of the transportation and resources of North China, Japan proceeded to organize and encourage smuggling. From Dairen and "Manchukuo" smuggled goods have been dumped into North China and through it to all parts of the country. With smuggling protected by force of arms, it has been impossible for the Customs administration to collect the duties, reducing the revenue by more than $100,000,000 since the autumn of 1935 to the present time. This has not only ruined Chinese industry and commerce but has inflicted a severe blow upon the people's economy of China as a whole.

China holds a unique place in the world of craftsmanship. If the Japanese invasion of that great land results in the destruction of the industrial craft of the Chinese, it would be a great tragedy indeed. A greater tragedy, perhaps, than the practical destruction of the textile industry of India.

A. C.

The Silk Industry of Bengal

The Government of Bengal are taking active steps for strengthening the silk industry of the province. Better silk worms yielding 60 to 100 per cent more silk and improved reeling and re-reeling machinery are the two important contributions made by Government to the growth of this ancient industry. We are informed that these innovations are being widely adopted by silk growers and reelers, who are thus getting more out of their labours. A rapid development of the industry will perhaps enable India to do without her large imports of silk from Japan, France and Italy. The cheaper varieties of silk are mostly of Japanese and Italian manufacture. These will then be the first to be ousted.

A. C.

Rights and Obligations in Imperialism

Whenever one talks of Rights one also thinks of corresponding Obligations. Sir Samuel Hoare, First Lord of the British Admiralty, made a rather generous speech, from this point of view, at the Bradford Chamber of Commerce on February 5. For although some members of the British Empire have their political "Rights" thrust upon them, Sir Samuel did not think it would be fair to thrust Obligations upon what he referred to as the "Sister States of the Empire." He was speaking on Imperial Defence with special reference to the Singapore Base. He said :

> "Anxious as we are to lighten the very heavy burden of defence which at present falls on the shoulders of Great Britain, we should make a grave mistake if we tried to impose some rigid plan upon the other members of the empire.
>
> "We must rather tell them the position. We shall have the opportunity at the Imperial Conference three months hence and leave them to decide how far they are prepared or able to co-operate with us. The sister States of the empire would find that any system of isolated or local defence would be extravagant and inefficient.
>
> "Imperial defence always depended on mobility planned on a big scale. With the advent of air power, the more local defence became more than even inadequate. Sea power was useless if it was not mobile. That was the reason why the naval base at Singapore was essential to our security—a base aimed at no country—which would be the most up-to-date naval base in the world.
>
> "Imperial defence and economic development were the two immediate tasks on which the empire must concentrate its efforts. We desired by Imperial preference to enable each unit of the Empire to take its full share of the responsibility, particularly the very heavy responsibility of Imperial defence. The fulfilment of the task of Imperial defence demands fortitude and sacrifice, but we must also show magnanimity to the less developed nations of the Empire, to the millions of Indian fellow-subjects who are embarking on a great constitutional experiment and to the world outside the Empire to help it escape from the slough of despond."—*Reuter*.

Press messages are notorious for their disconcerting brevity. One thing is quite clear, however, from Sir Samuel's peroration. It is the fact that he is feeling, in behalf of his unfortunate countrymen, the burden of defence expenditure rather heavily. One may assume, therefore, that his ardent desire is to see that burden shifted, either partly or in toto, to other shoulders. The nearness of Singapore to this poor "Sister State" and Sir Samuel's obvious concern for his Indian fellow-subjects are matters of grave apprehension to us. We are, it appears, embarking on a great constitutional experiment. Malicious people say that the embarkation has been forced upon us in the best tradition of the pressgangs. We no doubt desired a voyage, but unfortunately the choice of craft and the destination were decided for us. We now sincerely hope that our newly earned "Rights" will not so soon yield their "Obligations." Not Singapore any way!

A. C.

For, to mention one 'reason,' if Japan succeeds in financing the digging of a canal through the Isthmus of Kra in Siam, Singapore may turn out to have been a bad investment—at least in part.

The Quakers on Detention Without Trial

Whenever India's public men and newspapers interest themselves in the cause of the detenus, the men and women deprived of their liberty for indefinite periods without trial, such action is attributed by officials to sympathy with terrorism. But it is to be hoped that when the Society of Friends or Quakers, as they are popularly known, advocate the release of these political prisoners, officials will not ascribe any such motive to them. For they are known as the true ahimsa-ists of the West.

The Society of Friends has published a statement in pamphlet form containing a brief history of the revolutionary movement in Bengal from its inception some thirty years ago. By the publication of the pamphlet the Society intends to bring home the responsibility for the government of India to the British people, for in the last resort, it is they who are responsible for it. And this responsibility includes the responsibility for the policy of repression which has resulted in the detention without trial of several thousand persons of whom more than two thousand are still in confinement.

The pamphlet also contains the correspondence on the subject between the Society of Friends in Great Britain and Lord Linlithgow,

the present Viceroy and Governor-General of India. The Society's letter contains the prefatory declaration that all murder and all violence, whatever the motive, is utterly abhorrent to it. It states that "although various measures, economic and other, may be required in order to remove the causes of unrest, a policy of repression is itself an aggravating cause of discontent and can never be the cure." It was, therefore, suggested on behalf of the Society of British Quakers that the introduction of the coming constitution and the coronation of the King-Emperor would be a fitting occasion for the release of political prisoners, particularly of those who have never been brought to trial.

It was stated in Lord Linlithgow's reply that no question gave him greater anxiety than that of the terrorist movement in Bengal. It was added :

"He (the Viceroy) regrets deeply that the necessity still exists for keeping certain persons under detention without trial, but having regard to the long history of the terrorist movement in Bengal and, in particular, to the fact that on two past occasions a general release of such prisoners has been followed by a serious recrudescence of the movement, he feels that he would not be justified in taking the action which the Society of Friends suggest."

Lord Lothian's reply was in substance the same as that which was officially given in the Indian Legislative Assembly and the Bengal Legislative Council on different occasions when a general release of the detenus was desired The same attitude is to be found in the following reply given last month in the British House of Commons :

LONDON. FEB. 8.

In the House of Commons today Mr. R. A. Butler, Under-Secretary for India, informed the Rev. W. Sorensen that the whole question of the position and treatment of terrorist detenus was constantly engaging the attention of the Governor of Bengal, who in addition was kept informed by non-official visitors.

Mr. Butler added that the Marquess of Zetland did not therefore see any reason to call for a special report on the subject.—*Reuter.*

Mr. Butler takes it for granted that the detenus are terrorists, though it has never been proved that they were individually or collectively guilty of terrorism.

"The long history of the terrorist movement in Bengal," in the words of the Viceregal reply, is also a long history of repression in the province. Official replies have repeatedly laid stress on the fact that on two occasions, that is, twice in thirty years, a policy reversing repression failed. But it is never admitted by officials that continued repression during the remaining twenty-eight years has also failed. For if it has succeeded, then there has been not only complete cessation of terrorist acts but also complete eradication of terrorist mentality, and, therefore, the detenus should be released. But the very fact that Government are afraid of releasing the detenus on the ground that such release will, as on two previous occasions, according to them, lead to recrudescence of terrorism, shows that they believe that the terrorist mentality still exists and may find expression in acts of violence unexpectedly. Therefore, Government will have either to follow some other and effective policy or keep in detention for an indefinite period, the present number of detenus and also others for whom a similar fate may lie in wait in the unknown future.

It is not that persons accused of terrorist acts have never been brought to trial and punished. Very many have been. The witnesses for the prosecution in these trials have not generally been murdered or assaulted or injured in any other way. Hence, if there be any proof of guilt of the detenus they can be brought to trial. That they are not, shows that there is no proof, not at least any evidence which will stand open examination in open court by counsel for the defence. It comes to this then that those whose offence has been proved in open court undergo a definite punishment and are released after their term of imprisonment, but those against whom there is no proof are detained for indefinitely long periods.

It may be said that the detenus are kept in detention to prevent their committing any crime if released. But there are very many persons, jail birds, as they are called, whose criminal mentality has been proved by conviction after conviction. But even such persons, fresh commission of crime by whom after release is almost a certainty, are not kept in detention indefinitely on the ground that if released they will commit crimes again. In the case of the detenus, however, who belong, not to any criminal tribe, but generally to the educated middle class, whose guilt has not been established by bringing them to trial, the policy of indefinite detention is resorted to for an alleged preventive purpose.

A case of a criminal with 43 previous convictions was reported in the Calcutta papers of the 27th February last, that is, day before yesterday.

Babulall Mehtor, belonging to a Criminal Tribe, and having 43 previous convictions, was sentenced to one year's rigorous imprisonment yesterday by Kumar H. K. Mitter, Honorary Presidency Magistrate, for loitering on Elliot Road on February 1 without any pass or order as required under the Registered Criminal Tribes Act.

This was a case in which it could be presumed that the man would again do something illegal after release. But he was sentenced to undergo the definite punishment of one year's rigorous imprisonment—not to indefinite detention in jail.

Statesmen ought to consider that repression on a wide scale is apt to be indiscriminate, to some extent at least. And the effect of such indiscriminate repression is to produce feelings of bitter resentment and revenge. In this way, the policy of repression has very probably been responsible for the continuance of a movement which it has been intended to crush.

To what extent, if any, the terrorist movement is a concoction and nurseling of agents provocateurs, spies and informers and some policemen of an undesirable type cannot be definitely stated. But it is a moral certainty that such persons exist, as is proved by news like the following:

> SYLHET, FEB. 9.
>
> Mr. B. K. Bose, District Judge, confirmed today the sentence of two years' rigorous imprisonment passed on Sudhindra Nandy, Sub-Inspector, C. I. D., Sunamganj, but acquitted Sahadev Das, alleged spy. Both were sentenced to two years' rigorous imprisonment for planting a revolver in the house of Babu Brajanath Ghose of village Madanpur by the Additional District Magistrate of Sylhet.—(*A. P.*)

A similar case was reported from Midnapore some time ago, in which the offence was planting a bomb, for which punishment was inflicted.

The Number of Detenus in Bengal

What the number of detenus is at present in Bengal is not definitely known. But the statement published by the Society of Friends of Great Britain gives the following figures:

> By December, 1933, the number in the jails and detention camps had risen to 1,749. At the end of July 1935, the number in camps alone was 1,468, and the total number detained under the special Acts and Ordinances was 2,744. Even when allowance is made for the fact that Bengal has a population as large as the population of Great Britain, the detention of such a number of suspected revolutionaries must give rise to serious anxiety amongst all who share the responsibility of India's Government.

Perhaps the number at present may be put down at somewhere near 2,500, after taking into account last year's release of some sixty and the release of forty detenus in January last after training.

The Date of Release of the Last Batch of Detenus

So, if on an average every year fifty are released after training in handicrafts or agriculture, it will take fifty years more to release the whole lot—assuming, of course, that fresh batches of suspects will not fill the vacant places in jails and detention camps, assuming that all detenus are inclined and fit to be either craftsmen or cultivators, which is not true, and lastly assuming that both British imperialism and imperial policy will hold supreme sway in India for so long a period.

Of course, many detenus may die in jail or detention camp before fifty years are over, the cause of death being old age, or disease contracted while in a state of detention, or, unhappily, suicide in some cases due to mental disorder or other causes.

What Caused the Revolutionary Movement?

It is a delusion to believe—if anybody really believes, that the revolutionary movement is born of economic distress and the unemployment problem. These may have facilitated voluntary recruitment to the ranks of revolutionaries or recruitment brought about by propaganda. But the primary and main real cause is political in character. Therefore, a radical remedy to cure or satisfy rebellious mentality—whether violent or non-violent, must be political in character. The attainment of self-rule or at least of that degree and extent of it which can automatically lead to complete self-rule would be such a remedy.

Contraction of Serious Illness by Detenus

The contraction by detenus of fatal or almost fatal diseases, such as tuberculosis, while in jail, detention camp, or internment at home, is not a rare occurrence. Some of them also begin to suffer from mental maladies while there. In a not a few cases they do not receive proper medical attention and treatment, as Miss Praphulla Nalini Brahma, recently deceased, or if they do so, it is too late or inadequate. A complete list of such cases should be placed before the public and the Government. Government officers cannot perhaps be expected to prepare such a list. The Bengal Civil Liberties Union may be able to prepare such a list from files of Calcutta Bengali and English dailies and weeklies. It has already shown some commendable activity and published information relating to the sufferings of several detenus. At the last meeting of its executive committee held last month several resolutions regarding relief to the political sufferers, publicity, etc., was passed.

Publicity of facts referred to in this note is urgently needed.

The Case of Miss Renuka Sen, M.A.

The case of Miss Renuka Sen, M.A., who was deprived of her personal freedom on suspicion more than five years ago without being brought to trial, has received wide publicity. She was at first kept in a detention camp for some time. Latterly she was interned in the house of her maternal grandfather, who is a poor man unable and unwilling to take charge of her, but was not granted any allowance at the time, as the law required, in spite of her and her grandfather's repeated requests to the authorities. She was ordered to report herself once a week at the nearest police station. In order, as she said, to draw attention to the fact that no allowance had been granted to her, she did not attend the police station on the 6th and 13th September last year. She was prosecuted on that account and convicted. In three courts in succession, the highest being the Calcutta High Court, it was pleaded in her defence in effect that her non-attendance at the police station was meant merely to draw attention to the non-receipt of any allowance by her. All the three courts held that Government was bound to grant her an allowance, but it was also held by them that the fact of not granting it was no justification for her disobeying the order to attend the police station once a week. The order, therefore, was legally valid in spite of the Government not having discharged the statutory obligation of granting her an allowance.

It is not our intention to discuss this view of the law, though it raises the wider question as to whether Government is legally competent to issue orders according to one part of a section of a law without fulfilling the requirement of another part of the same enjoining the grant of an allowance. Our object is to draw attention to a rather unusual—perhaps unique—feature of this case.

In none of the three courts did counsels for the Government challenge the defence statement made on behalf of Miss Renuka Sen that at the time when she disobeyed the order to attend at the police station she had not been granted any allowance. But after the High Court had dismissed her appeal, a Press communique appeared in the papers to the effect that an allowance had been actually sanctioned by Government! The matter, therefore, came again before the High Court, as it was rather irregular. The following sentences are quoted from the report of the case in *The Amrita Bazar Patrika* :

> His Lordship (Mr. Justice Cunliffe) drew the attention of Mr. Khundkar to this sentence in the communique. "In actual fact an allowance was sanctioned for Miss Sen in a Government order dated Sept. 24. The allowance was sent to her but she refused it on Sept. 28." Would not the reader imagine that the allowance was sent to her on some date between Sept. 24 and 28 ? In fact this court had been told now that the allowance was not sent until Oct. 16.
>
> His Lordship added that if Government took the trouble of putting this communique in the papers, which was a new way of conducting prosecution, facts should have been stated accurately. If this court was to be put right by "journalistic" communication, this court might as well be put right accurately.

Here his Lordship caustically draws attention to the Government's publication of a communique containing a misleading, a wrong, statement.

The question is, if the allowance was granted, why was not this fact mentioned in the two lower Courts, and even before the High Court when Miss Renuka Sen's appeal was being heard? What Mr. Khundkar, counsel for Government, said on this point is contained in the following extract :

> With regard to the other question as to why evidence was not called at the lower court to prove that allowance had been sanctioned his instruction was that they did not know why the Public Prosecutor did not call this evidence at the court of trial . . . .

Strange plea of ignorance.

It was and is of importance to know when the allowance was sent by postal money order to Miss Renuka Sen—whether before or after she had disobeyed the order to report herself weekly at the police station.

> Mr. Justice Cunliffe said that he (Mr. Khundkar) had not yet told his lordship the exact date when the money was sent.
>
> Mr. Khundkar replied that they did not know.

Stranger still, this plea of ignorance.

It is easy even for a private person sending a money order to ascertain the date of its despatch, if he has not kept a note of it, from the Post Office of despatch. It should be far easier for Government to ascertain the date of despatch of a Government money order from the Post Office of despatch. The District Magistrate's office from which the money order was sent ought also to know. Certainly neither Post Offices not District Magistrates' offices daily destroy their records relating to moneys.

Perhaps somehow sometime the date of the money order will be known, and then the mystery will disappear, as it must have disappeared already to those who know the date and other relevant facts.

Not Granting Allowance to Home-interned Minor Detenus Opposed to the Act

In the course of the hearing of Miss Renuka Sen's appeal in the High Court,

"Mr. Khundkar (the Deputy Legal Remembrancer) said that the policy of Government with regard to allowance was this. When a person was dependent upon another person, when a minor dependent on his parents and guardians was ordered to be interned with the parents or guardians, Government did not order an allowance, but where a person dependent upon another had been ordered to be interned elsewhere, then an allowance was given.

"Mr. Justice Henderson remarked that this was opposed to the Act surely. That was the legal position.

"Mr. Khundkar said that he was stating certain facts."

So in the opinion of Mr. Justice Henderson the Government has been following a policy which "was opposed to the Act surely." The parents and guardians of minor detenus interned with them, as also the Bengal Civil Liberties Union, should note this fact and take suitable action.

Very Prompt (!) Issue of Press Communique About Miss Renuka Sen's Allowance

The following passages are part of the report of the hearing of Miss Renuka Sen's appeal in the High Court :

"After recess Mr. Khundkar said that, while it was true that the communique was published for the purpose of correcting something contained in the statement of Mr. Taluqdar in support of his application, that was not the whole truth. He was now instructed to say that the real reason why the communique was published was to correct the statements in certain newspaper articles that no allowance had been given to the detenu at any time, and Mr. Khundkar referred to "Advance" of October 16.

"Mr. Justice Cunliffe asked whether the article mentioned was published after the application had been argued before this court and after the reports had appeared in the Press.

"Mr. Khundkar replied that his instruction was the communique was published to meet the statements that were published before the matter was heard by this court. It was not apropos anything that happened in this court."

Miss Sen's appeal was dismissed on the 17th February last. The Press communique was issued on the 18th and published in the papers on the 19th February. And according to Mr. Khundkar, instructed by Government, the communique was published to correct some newspaper statements made on October 16, 1936, that is, more than four months previously. Very prompt correction indeed!

The Lac Industry

One of the drawbacks of depending upon foreign demand, in the case of any industry, is the difficulty of planning for the future. For, the vagaries of foreign markets are not readily noticeable to the producers of the article of export. Therefore the balancing of demand and supply is often practically impossible in the case of goods the greater proportions of which are sold to foreign buyers. Shellac has been a great source of wealth to Indians in the past. After passing through a period of intensive slump during which a good many shellac "Princes" were beggared, shellac is again looking up. But shellac prices still depend almost solely on foreign demand. Practically the whole of India's shellac production is exported, and the local use of shellac accounts for about 3 per cent of the total. This is a state of affairs which is full of possibilities of loss and damage to shellac producers and dealers. There should be an attempt at promoting the growth of those industries in India which make use of shellac as a raw material. Now that dealers in shellac are making higher profits, they should combine and take a lead in this work of promoting such industries. A recent press notice gave a long list of articles that are made out of shellac, either partly or entirely. Among these the place of honour went to gramophone records. Then there were electrical goods, leather finishing, rubber and paper treatment, photographic varnish, cements, gums, munitions, fire works, confectionary, etc., etc.

The Indian Lac Research Institute at Namkum (Ranchi) would, we believe, be of great help in finding uses for shellac within India. A strong local demand would lend a stability to this great industry, which may in future give employment to our capital and labour to a much greater extent and consistency than now.

A. C.

Boy Scout Movement in India

The Boy Scout movement is now over twenty years' old in India. If we remember aright, Scouting was started in Bengal during the Governorship of Lord Ronaldshay (Zetland). And as there was some difficulty about getting an affiliation from the British Boy Scout organization, the Bengal movement had no connection with the Baden-Powell Scout movement at the beginning. We were connected with the Boy Scouts of Bengal organization in those days and we also witnessed the amalgamation of the B. S. B. with the B.-P. Scouts organization The non-co-operation movement gave a set back

to the spread of the Boy Scout movement in India. If we remember aright, the question of saluting the Union Jack had something to do with the unpopularity of the Boy Scout movement in those days.

Present critics of the movement stress the undesirability of official connection with the movement and believe that if the Boy Scouts organization had fewer officials connected with it, it would grow and spread unhampered. We do not believe that all officials are necessarily undesirable company for our boys. Some of them are very fine men whose contact would, if anything, improve the life and conduct of our boys. *In our view the Boy Scouts movement suffers a great deal from an affected exoticism.* Boy Scouts play, sing, howl and, in short, do everything in an outlandish manner. At least such is the opinion of the general public. A closer attachment to national manners, customs, dress, diet, traditions and ideals would doubtless make it easier for the organisers of the movement to obtain and keep their recruits. Expenses are another point. The dress and equipment of a Boy Scout should be entirely *Swadeshi* and cheap. *Their training should also have the idea of service to India in the forefront. Their attainments should be such as would prove to be of use in the life of the average Indian.* The idea behind the movement is to turn out better nationals and world-citizens. For a proper realisation of this ideal, affectations and show should yield place to sincere gestures and real capacity.

A. C.

Aliens

According to a study published by the International Labour Office, there were throughout the world, in 1930, 28,900,000 aliens, or persons living in another country than their own. This figure represents 1.6% of the total world population, estimated at some 2 billion persons.

The countries with the greatest number of aliens were: the United States, with 6,300,000 (or 21.8% of all aliens recorded in the world); and Argentina, with 2,800,000.

Then came the following countries: France, which had 2,400,000 in 1926 and 2,700,000 in 1931; Brazil, with 1,500,000 in 1920; British Malaya, with 1,870,000; Siam, with 1,000,000; and Germany, with 787,000.

The countries where the increase in the number of aliens was the greatest were, in ascending order, in Europe: Greece, Italy, France, and the Netherlands; outside Europe: Argentina, Canada, Hong-Kong, the Netherlands East Indies, British Malaya, and Korea.

However, in order to have a fairer idea of the importance of the problem of aliens in a country, account must be taken of the number of aliens per thousand inhabitants, or the "proportion of aliens." The average proportion for Europe (not including the U. S. S. R.) was 15.4; but it rose to 186 in Luxemburg, 87 in Switzerland, 66 in France, 43 in Austria and 39 in Belgium. The following countries have figures below the average proportion: Germany (12), Bulgaria (10), Hungary (9), Turkey (6), Portugal (5), the British Isles (4), Italy and Finland (3).

Important changes have taken place in this field since the war. While in Germany (present territory) the number of aliens decreased, France, which in 1910 had 29 aliens per thousand inhabitants, had 39 per thousand in 1921 and 66 per thousand in 1931. Switzerland, which in 1910 had the highest proportion in Europe (148 per thousand), after that period had a decrease which has continued (104 in 1920 and 87 in 1930).

The number of Asiatics in foreign countries increased from 5 millions in 1910 to 9½ millions in 1930. But the number of Europeans abroad, although it slightly decreased from 1910 to 1930, was still much greater—22,400,000 in 1930, or more than double.

The above excerpt from a League of Nations News publication, provokes a few observations. It appears from it that Asiatics are not so keen on entering other peoples' houses as non-Asiatics. The idea that poor Euro-Americans are hard pressed everywhere by Asiatics with a cheaper standard of living, is also not correct; for, it seems, that a higher standard of living has not prevented Euro-Americans from earning a living outside their own country. Of course Asiatics have to rely entirely upon their ability for economic competition when they enter foreign territory; whereas Euro-Americans make use of other arguments to establish themselves. We also find that Britain and Italy are very lucky in that they support the smallest percentage of aliens. It would be interesting to learn how many Britishers and Italians live in countries other than their own.

A. C.

Anniversary of An Assamese Hero

SIBSAGAR, FEB. 23.

The anniversary of Lachit Barphukhan, the Assamese hero who repulsed the Moghul invasion at the battle of Saraighat about four centuries ago and killed his own maternal uncle, sayisg that the latter was not greater than his motherland, will be celebrated at Jhanji, in Sibsagar sub-division about the end of this month. An agricultural and industrial exhibition and a women's conference will also be held in that connection.—*Associated Press.*

Sarat Chandra Chaudhuri of Allahabad

In Mr. Sarat Chandra Chaudhuri the Allahabad University has lost a distinguished teacher of law, who was known and respected for his profound and extensive knowledge of the subject and who discharged his duties with great industry and conscientiousness. He was always very accessible to his students, who reciprocated his affection for them. Besides helping students at his residence with their studies, he gave

pecuniary assistance also to those who stood in nee of it. He was one of the most cultured and courteous citizens of Allahabad.

Lala Harkishen Lal

Lala Harkishen Lal was one of the most distinguished personalities of the Panjab. Though as a young man he had been called to the Bar in England, he gave up the profession of law early. In the fields of commerce, banking, industries, insurance and business in general he was regarded as the Napoleon of the Panjab. His part in developing the banking and commercial organizations of that province was perhaps greater than that of any other person. He did much to build up its industries also. His great ability and enterprise, and, for years, his success, roused the jealousy and hostility of foreign men of business doing business in the Panjab and its neighbourhood.

Though he made his name and a vast fortune as a man of business, he shone in politics also for a time. He was a Congress leader and acted as Chairman of the Reception Committee of its session in 1910. Nine years later when there was a struggle over the Rowlatt Act, he firmly adhered to his views. His sturdy radicalism and independence had their reward in arrest, trial on the charge of treason and transportation for life. But he did not flinch. He took a serio-comic view of the whole episode. His reading of it turned out to be true when, after his release in December 1919, he became a Minister of the Panjab in 1920.

During the closing years of his life, he suffered many reverses. But his spirit remained unbroken, though at the time of his death he was an old man of 73.

Professor Dr. M. Winternitz

Professor Dr. M. Winternitz of Prague, Czechoslovakia, who died in January last at the age of 74, was an Indologist of worldwide reputation. It is not the worldwide character of his reputation on which it is necessary to lay stress to give an idea of his worth. His knowledge of ancient Indian literature was deep and extensive. And the man was perhaps greater than the scholar. Some idea of his work and worth is conveyed in Principal Kshitimohan Sen's article on him published elsewhere. Principal Sen had the privilege of coming into close contact with him both as a co-worker and a neighbor when the latter stayed at Santiniketan for some time as a visiting professor of Visvabharati.

We had a similar privilege both at Calcutta and at Prague, though only for a few days. He was a man of unaffected simplicity and humility. In his unworldliness he resembled our Sanskrit pandits whom we could still find in our younger days but who have now become rare. It was natural for him to do a good turn to friends and acquaintances in any way that lay in his power. The present writer remembers how the great Professor used to bring in a bag resembling those used by our postmen, to the hotel, where the Poet Rabindranath Tagore and party stayed, all the letters and packets addressed to them c|o himself. This writer also cherishes the memory of some other acts of kindness done to him by the Professor, his wife and his youngest son.

Dr. Winternitz contributed some valuable articles to *The Modern Review*.

Rai Bahadur Bijay Krishna Basu

Rai Bahadur Bijay Krishna Basu, G.B.V.C., C.M.Z.S., a former Superintendent of the Alipore Zoological Garden, passed away last month in his 66th year at his newly erected but hardly completed house at 13, Chowringhee Terrace, just behind and to the east of the residence of Dr. D. N. Maitra whose elder and only sister he had married. Unhappily Dr. Maitra had lost his wife, too, a day or two previously. It is also to be regretted that Mr. Basu's only daughter (his only child) and son-in-law are at present in England.

Mr. and Mrs. Basu had occupied their new house in the morning of the 16th February, and in the next morning Mr. Basu was found speechless and paralysed from a serious recurrence of a slight "stroke" from which he had just recovered.

The deceased, who was well-known for some researches in veterinary science and for his administrative abilities, was sent to Europe to visit some of the Zoological Gardens there. He was honoured by His Majesty the King of England with a present as a personal souvenir; and the late Carl Hagenbeck of the Tiergarten at Hamburg had presented him with an expensive gold watch as a token of his admiration for him.

Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra

Among Indians who had come to occupy high official position, there are few who rose from such a humble beginning as Sir Bhupendranath Mitra, ex-High Commissioner for India, who died last month at the age of only 62.

Perhaps he had some premonition of early death. Last year at a farewell function in London on the eve of his return to India he observed that he was going back to die in his Motherland.



Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra

He began his career as a clerk in the Finance Department at the Imperial Secretariat on a pay of Rs. 60. In 1910 he was appointed Assistant Secretary to the Government of India, Finance Department, and in 1915 he became the Acting Deputy Secretary in that department. In the same year he was appointed Controller of War Accounts and in 1919 he became the Military Accountant General. In 1922 he was appointed Financial Adviser on Military Finance and during 1924 to 1930 he was a Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council. He was appointed a temporary Finance Member of the Government of India in 1925. In 1931 he took charge of the office of High Commissioner for India in London, which post he held till he retired in October last.

Few Indians had greater administrative experience, particularly in the realm of finance, than Sir Bhupendranath Mitra. Whether in the Finance Department of the Government of India, or as Chairman of the Central Banking Enquiry Committee, or as a witness before Currency or other Commissions, he distinguished himself by his profound knowledge, his keen and massive intellect, his prodigious memory, particularly for figures, and his capacity for hard and sustained work.

Of the many stories told of him two may be related here.

During the last great war when he was in charge of the Army Finances an expert was sent out from the War Office, London, to straighten out Indian Military Accounts. The expert returned home by the earliest available mail steamer, with the remark, "With Mitra at the helm of affairs, there was no need for extraneous help."

The other story is to the effect that during the sittings in London of the Indian so-called Round Table Conference the then High Commissioner for Canada observed that, if India could produce a dozen men like Sir Bhupendranath, there was no reason why she should not have self-rule straightaway.

He was a keen lover of sports, a foundation member of the Mohan Bagan Club of Calcutta and later its vice-president.

Franking postage stamps with the motto "Support Indian Industry" owes its origin to Sir Bhupendranath, which shows his patriotic bent of mind. His wide experience as a financial expert was requisitioned only last December, after his return to India, by the Nawab of Bhopal in connection with the Federal question

Krishna Lal Dutt

Krishna Lal Dutt, another high Indian ex-official, died in Calcutta last month. He was a former Accountant General of Madras and was 78 at the time of his death. He, too, rose from a humble beginning and filled many high offices and rendered varied service to the State and the country.

He joined Government service in the Comptroller-General's Office in 1881 as a clerk. In 1885 he was made Superintendent of the Budget, Resource and General Sections of the Comptroller-General's Office. Towards the end of the year he was placed on special duty in connection with the general revision of the classification of the public accounts.

In 1891 he was appointed Chief Superintendent, but before taking up that work he was called upon to revise the Provincial Settlements with all the Local Governments. In 1894 he was promoted to the enrolled list of the Finance Department and posted as Assistant Comptroller-General. He was instrumental in intro-

ducing a large number of reforms in the different sections of the Accounts Department.

From April 1900 to December 1902 he was examiner of Local Accounts, Madras, where, in advance of any other Province, he produced the first Municipal Account Code.

From 1903 to 1907 he was on special duty at the Financial Secretariat as officer in charge of the Budgets. In April 1907 he became Comptroller of Post Offices.

After the completion of his special duty he was promoted to Accountant-Generalship, but before he was posted anywhere, he was specially deputed by the Government of India to conduct an enquiry into the rise of prices in India, and on conclusion of the enquiry he was posted to Madras. His report on the "Rise of Prices in India" was described in a Government of India Resolution as a "valuable contribution to the recent economic and financial history of India."

Mr. Dutt was made a fellow of the Royal Statistical Society in 1919 and received a fellowship of the Royal Economic Society in the same year. He retired from Madras on the 17th November 1915, and in the same year on the recommendation of the Government of India was appointed Special Finance Officer by the Mysore Government.

In 1917, Mr. Dutt was appointed Registrar of the Calcutta University.

In 1919 the Royal Commission on Currency sitting in London called for the evidence of Mr. Dutt specially on the effect of Exchange on price levels in India, export and import trade and the social and economic conditions of India.

After his return from England, his services were requisitioned by the Patiala State, but he resigned after a few months.

Mr. Dutt was a public-spirited man. He was associated with various institutions of the city.

It is remarkable that though Mr. Dutt was so able and useful an officer, Government never conferred any title on him. Perhaps his outstanding ability could not be ignored or left unutilised, but his spirit of independence was not appreciated.

Five Britain-India Air Mails a Week

The scheme of five air mails a week between Britain and India at an annual cost of Rs. 13 lakhs, which awaits examination by the Standing Finance Committee of the Indian Legislature, will be, it is said, not only self-sufficient but will leave "a not unsubstantial balance." *If so*, we can appreciate it, though it is meant specially for the convenience of British men of business officials and other British sojourners in India.

A more urgent extension of postal facilities, however, is to open a post office within easy reach of every village in the country. Moreover, postage should be so reduced as to cheapen correspondence by post card and letter and make it easy to obtain at least school and college text-books by post.

The Civil War in Spain

Those who like us sympathise with the Spanish Government in its very hard fight with the rebels will feel gladdened by the recent successes of the forces of that government. May this very sanguinary war come to an end soon.

State Ownership of Railways in Germany—And in India

According to a Berlin report a new law has been promulgated in Germany by which all railways there became the property of the government of that country, which will manage them. In India Government accepted the recommendation of the Assembly in 1924 for taking over company-managed railways. But though Government had opportunities of purchasing the B. and N.-W. Railway in 1932 and 1937, it has not been purchased. State railways are not, of course, all that they should be, but they pay greater attention to Indian needs and opinion than Company-managed railways and employ a larger proportion of Indian staff.

Air-conditioned Railway Carriages! And What—Conditioned Third Class Carriages?

Railways in India derive most of their income from passenger traffic from third class passengers but have done the least for the health, convenience, comfort, and polite and humane treatment of these best customers of theirs. State Railways, however, propose to give the upper class passengers, who are a source of loss to them, "air-conditioned" carriages! It is to be hoped that the State will air-condition all the highways, by-ways, dwelling-houses, offices, playgrounds, promenades, hunting-grounds, . . . also, with which the British sojourners have anything to do. Otherwise they may have heat strokes.

Defeats on the Railway Budget

Government sustained, as they well deserved, many defeats during the debate on

the Railway Budget. But will these produce any effect?

All-White Non-Indian Railway Committee

Like the Simon Commission, the Wedgewood "Indian" Railway Committee was a all-white committee from which Indians were excluded. Moreover, though South Africa discriminates against Indians insultingly, it was represented on the committee. The Simon Commission was considered an insult to India. So is this Railway Committee. But we who can bear the glory of foreign subjection need not chafe under these minor distinctions.

It has been officially suggested that the Railway Committee had to be made all-white, as there were no Indian railway experts. But as the Railway Member of the Government of India is an Indian who had no previous expert knowledge of railways, surely at least similar Indian experts could have been found, if men like Pandit Chandrika-prasad Tripathi of Ajmer were not available.

Government of India Budget for 1937-38

As the Government of India Budget for 1937-38 was published in the papers yesterday (February 28), we have space for the publication only of the following summary without any comment:

The Government of India Budget for 1937-38, which was presented in the Assembly on Saturday afternoon by the Finance Member, Sir James Grigg, reveals a deficit of Rs. 158 lakhs.

In the current year (1936-37) there has been a deficit of Rs. 197 lakhs instead of a surplus of Rs. 6 lakhs.

Separation of Burma will cost the Government of India a net loss of Rs. 233 lakhs.

The following is a summary of the financial position:

		Receipts	Expenditure	Surplus+ Deficits—
1936-37. (Budget Estimates)	..	85,36	85,30	+6
1936-37. (Revised)	..	83,58	85,55	—197
1937-38. (Estimates)	..	81,83	83,41	—158

INCREASE IN DUTIES

The Budget announces the following:

An increase in sugar excise from Re. 1-5 to Rs. 2.

Customs duty on sugar is fixed at Rs. 7-4 per cwt. plus the surtax for the time being in force.

Silver duty is raised from two annas to three annas per oz. or Rs. 2-5 per 100 tollas.

POSTAL RATES

The following alteration in Postal rates is announced:

Book Packet rate would be reduced from ¾ anna for the first five tollahs and ½ anna for every additional 5 tollahs to ½ anna for the first 2½ tollahs and ¼ anna for every additional 2½ tollahs:

To remove the anomaly whereby parcel rates are at certain stages cheaper than letter rates and even book packet rates, the 2 anna minimum rate for parcels of not more than 20 tollahs would be eliminated and all parcels weighing 40 tollahs or less would be charged 4 annas.

CAUSES OF 1936-37 DEFICITS

Reductions in:				
Customs	..	..	..	216 lakhs
Income-tax		..	..	37 "
Currency	..	..	..	28 "
Improvements from:				
Central Excises		..	..	41 "
Miscellaneous		..	..	37 "
Salt	..	..	..	10 "

CAUSES OF 1937-38 DEFICITS

Losses from:				
Burma Separation		..	..	233 "
Provincial Autonomy		..	..	185 "
Improvements from:				
Customs	..	..	..	219 "
Income-tax	..	..	..	40 "
Income-tax Amendment		..	..	20 "

Five Empire Air Mails a Week

Since writing our note on five air mails a week, we have seen the following telegram in the papers:

NEW DELHI, FEB. 27.

By a majority the Standing Finance Committee of the Assembly has approved of the new Empire Air Mail scheme by which there will be five air mail services instead of two, the time between Karachi and England will be reduced to four days and ultimately to two and half days, the present surcharges for air mail be abolished and a uniform rate of air mail postage of two and half annas per half ounce will be introduced.

Three members of the Committee, Mr. Asaf Ali, Mr. N. V. Gadgil and Mr. Essak Sait dissented.—(*A. P.*)

Resolutions of the Congress Working Committee

WARDHAGANJ, FEB. 27.

The first resolution passed by the Working Committee at to-day's meeting congratulates the nation on its wonderful response to the call of the Congress.

The second resolution expresses satisfaction at the response of the people and voters in areas such as N.-W. F. and certain parts of Bengal where "the Government has been and is pursuing a policy of repression," specially of the people of Midnapore district.

The third resolution which relates to the oath of allegiance, says that doubts having been raised regarding its properiety, the Working Committee desires to make it clear that the oath does not in any way lessen or vary the demand for independence, and every Congress member

stands by that objective that the primary allegiance of every Congressman is to Indian people.

The fourth resolution reminds all Congress legislators that their sphere of activities is not confined to legislatures, but includes their constituencies and asks them to keep in constant touch with constituencies.

The fifth resolution impresses upon provincial and local committee the necessity of increasing the association of masses with the Congress in accordance with the Faizpur resolution.

The sixth resolution exhaustively gives lines on which Congress members should work in and out of the legislatures. The resolution contains detailed instructions regarding the Congress policy and programme for the amelioration of masses and conduct vis-a-vis government functions which are to be avoided.—(*United Press*).

The Congress Working Committee has also issued a statement of the policy which will govern Congress members in the Assembly.

The Question of Acceptance of Office by Congress Members

The question of acceptance of ministership by Congress members of the legislatures was discussed at the last meeting of the Working Committee of the Congress at Wardha, but no final decission was arrived at, as obviously it could not be, as the opinions of the provincial Congress committees which had been called for had not been received.

In some previous issues, we opposed the acceptance of office by Congressmen, giving our reasons. These need not be repeated.

In the majority of the provinces Congress has obtained an absolute majority of seats in the Assemblies. There Congressmen would be able to accept or not to accept ministerships But in the remaining provinces, none of them may get a ministership. So the only uniform policy which Congress can consistently follow everywhere is to oppose acceptance of office. The opposite policy of accepting office only in those provinces in which it is available will create a division in the ranks of Congressmen which may be something like playing into the hands of those imperialists who do not like a united popular front.

Readership Lectures by Dr. Rajani Kanta Das

On the motion of Mr. C. C. Biswas (now Mr. Justice C. C. Biswas), Dr. Rajani Kanta Das of the International Labour Office, Geneva, was appointed a special reader to the Calcutta University to deliver a course of lectures on topics relating to Industry and Labour, which he did in January last. This was a most fitting choice. There is no Indian who has had greater opportunities of pursuing a comparative study of the problems of Industry and Labour in India in their setting among such problems in other countries, and he has made very good use of those opportunities. These questions have been almost a life-long study with him. Needless to say, he has studied them in a thoroughly scientific spirit. Hence is it that, though every inch a patriot, his books (which are many) and his various articles in Indian and foreign reviews and his lectures and reports are dispassionate and free from any political bias.

We look forward to reading the authorised version of his lectures which, we hope, the Calcutta University will publish at no distant date.

Religious Instruction in Primary Schools

In some previous issues we have discussed the question of religious education in schools attended by pupils belonging to various different religious communities. We have expressed opinions adverse to it, giving our reasons, and have quoted some British and Japanese opinions on the subject. We do not wish now to repeat what we have said already.

Last year the Bengal Government appointed a committee "to consider the curricula suitable to the needs of primary schools and maktabs, and the question of religious instruction in those institutions." The Committee's report was published early this year. It is stated there :

> **"In respect of religious instruction, there was general agreement that religious instruction should be provided in the curricula for primary schools. Mr. A. N. Basu and Dr. D. M. Sen, however, were personally opposed to the provision of any religious instruction in primary schools, and the Committee allowed Mr. Basu to submit a note of dissent on the subject."**

We have printed Mr. Basu's note elsewhere, as we think it deserves attention. Even if it were advisable to give religious instruction to the pupils, it would be impossible to find fit teachers in such large numbers. Religious teaching by unfit teachers would be worse than no teaching.

As regards the curricula for religious instruction recommended for Moslem, Hindu, Protestant and Roman Catholic pupils respectively, we are unable to make any comments on the Moslem curriculum. On the curriculum for Protestant pupils we are inclined to ask why "the story of their (Adam and Eve's) dis-

obedience and the entrance of sin into this world should be left out."

As regards the curriculum for Hindu pupils, our opinion is that much of what is required to be taught is either unsuitable or too difficult for children. We appreciate the catholicity of the Hindu members which has led them to lay down that

"The boys and girls should be told that *sakar upasana* (worship through images) and *nirakar upasana* (worship of the formless Deity) are both useful . . . . . The hymns selected (to be committed to memory and recited in their prayers) should have no exclusive reference to any particular form or aspect of the Deity."

We commend the catholicity of the Hindu members, not because we approve of worship through images, which we do not, but because even educated Hindus generally hold the wrong opinion that Hinduism inculcates only worship through images or idolatry, whereas the highest Hindu scriptures enjoin the worship of the formless Supreme Spirit.

Boys and girls can become truly religious by living in a truly religious atmosphere in their homes, imbibing spirituality from their parents and other guardians and elders. It is too much to expect schools—particularly non-residential ones—to make their pupils religious.

Government should have nothing to do, directly or indirectly, with the teaching of religion. We do not believe that our Government is consumed with any anxiety to make our children religious. Officials want something else.

There are various agencies, unfortunately, to impress on the minds of young and old in this country our religious differences and diversities. Schools should not be pressed into service to do this, directly or indirectly, in addition.

Schools are not parliaments of religions.

If any community or any section of any community want religious instruction for their children, they should be asked to make their own arrangements.

Mr. C. Y. Chintamani's Defeat

The defeat of no non-Congress candidate in the recent elections is more noteworthy than that of Mr. C. Y. Chintamani of Allahabad. It is not necessary to dwell upon his prominence as an all-India leader of the Liberal party. So far as the U. P. Legislative Council is concerned, he has been for years its ablest, best informed and most distinguished parliamentarian. Whenever the occasion demanded it, he has been the most uncompromising critic and opponent of Government. He became a Minister once, but gave up the job when his conscience and principles and the good of the people demanded it. Being a bitter and severe critic of Congress, he could not and did not expect any quarter at the hands of Congress-walas. This bitter hostility perhaps partly accounts for his defeat, which is much to be regretted.

Sir Sita Ram's Defeat

In the U. P Sir Sita Ram's defeat is also to be regretted.

Defeat of Mr. N. K. Basu in Bengal

Similarly in Bengal the defeat of Mr. N. K. Basu is very much to be regretted.

Bengal Upper House Elections

Up to yesterday the election of 29 members of the Upper House in the Bengal legislature have been declared, with Professor Dr. Radha Kumud Mukerjee at their head. He would be new to a legislative body, but is a very able and well-informed nationalist. The election of Mr. Satyendra Chandra Mitra, Dr. N. C. Sen Gupta and Prof. Humayun Kabir is also noteworthy.

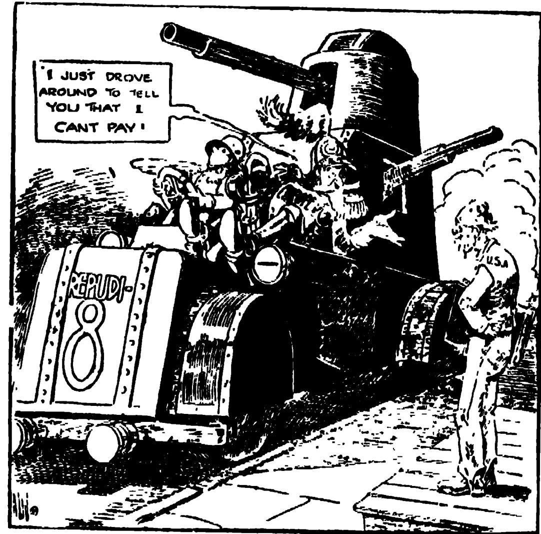
End of the B. N. Railway Strike

We are glad the Bengal-Nagpur Railway strike has come to an end. The most noteworthy and commendable feature of the strike was the perfect loyalty of the humblest of the strikers to their comrades and to the cause, which kept their united front intact.

CREDITOR AMERICA ON DEBTOR EUROPE, & OTHER CARTOONS



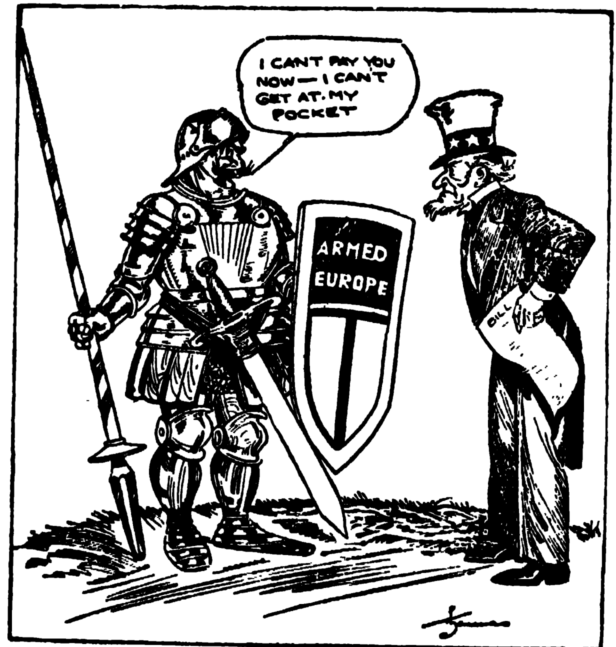
Inconsistency, Thou Art a Jewel!



Another fellow keeping up a great big car
—*Columbus Dispatch*



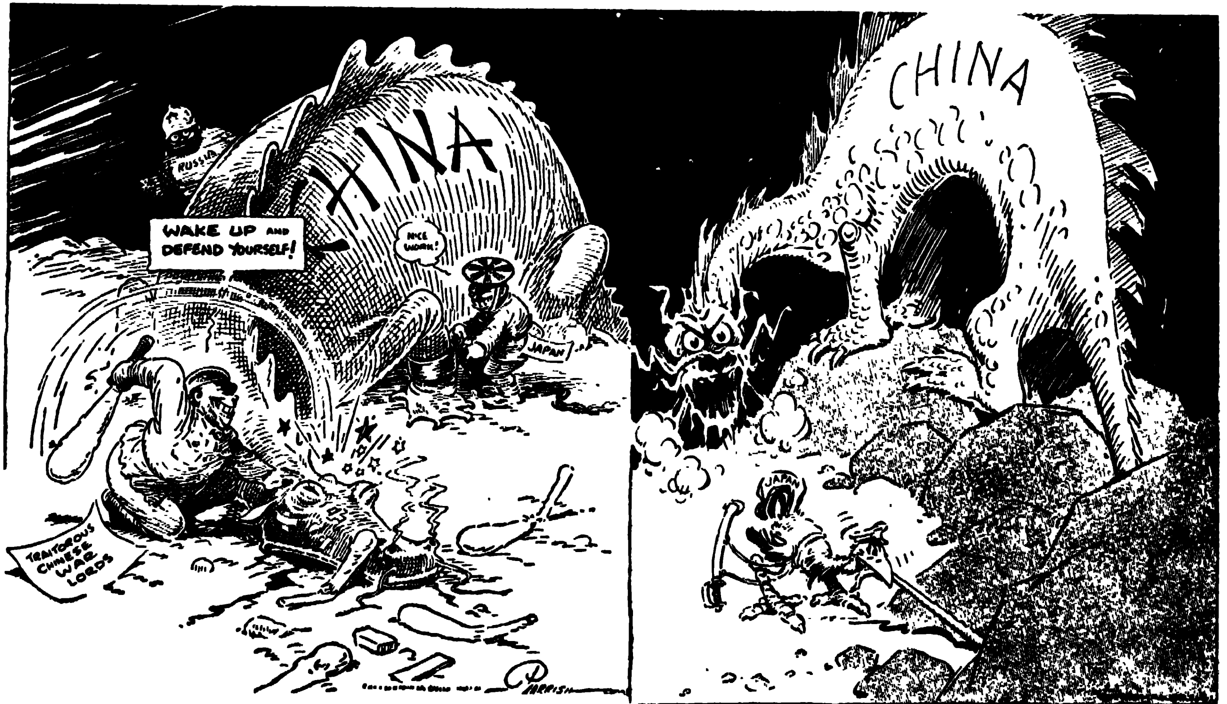
Another pure Aryan gift from Heaven
—*The Philadelphia Record*



And he won't change his suit
—*Detroit News*



On a road that passes a grave yerd—an English view
—*The New York Times*



One reason why China can't defend itself

Is the worm turning?

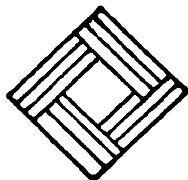
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PILGRIMS

By Maniklal Banerjee

THE MODERN REVIEW

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RELIGION OF THE SPIRIT AND SECTARIANISM

BY RABINDRANATH TAGORE

FRIENDS,

When I was asked to address this distinguished gathering,* I was naturally reluctant, for I do not know if I can be called religious in the current sense of the term, not claiming as my possession any particular idea of God, authorised by some time-honoured institution. If, in spite of all this, I have accepted this honour, it is only out of respect to the memory of the great saint with whose centenary the present Parliament is associated. I venerate Paramahamsa Deb because he, in an arid age of religious nihilism, proved the truth of our spiritual heritage by realising it, because the largeness of his spirit could comprehend seemingly antagonistic modes of *sadhana,* and because the simplicity of his soul shames for all time the pomp and pedantry of pontiffs and pundits.

I have nothing new to tell you, no esoteric truth to propound to you. I am a mere poet, a lover of men and of creation. But since love gives a certain insight, I may perhaps claim to have sometimes caught the hushed voice of humanity and felt its suppressed longing for the Infinite. I hope I do not belong to those who, born in a prison-house, never have the good luck to know that it is a prison, who are blissfully unaware that the costliness of their furniture and profuseness of the provisions for their comfort act as invisible walls in a castle of vanity that not only rob them of their freedom but even of the desire for it.

* Authorised Version of the Address at Sri Ramakrishna Centenary Parliament of Religions.

The degree of this freedom is measured according to our realisation of the Infinite, whether in the outer world, or in the inner life. In a narrow room we may have as much space as is necessary for living and for the exercise of our muscles; the food may be more than sufficient, it may even be sumptuous; yet our inborn craving for what we may call the more, the unattained, if not altogether killed, remains unsatisfied. We are deprived of the Infinite, which is freedom of range, both in the outer world as well as in the ceaseless variety of the world of our experience.

But a more profoundly intimate perception of the Infinite lies in that intensity of our consciousness, which we can only attain when we realise ultimate value in some ideal of perfection, when in the realisation of some fact of our life we become aware of an indefinable truth that immensely transcends it. We, in our human nature, have a hunger for *Bhuma,* for immensity, for something a great deal more than what we need immediately for the purposes of life. Men all through their history have been struggling to realise this truth according to the unfolding of their idea of the boundless, and have been gradually changing their methods and plans of existence, constantly meeting failures, but never owning final defeat.

We find that animals have their evolution along the line of the race. They have their individual life which ends with their death. But even in them there is a touch of the Infinite which urges them to outlive their own life in the life of the race, accepting sufferings

and making sacrifices for its sake. The spirit of sacrifice in the parents is this touch of the Infinite,—the motive power which makes the race-life possible, which helps to develop those faculties in them that will enable their descendants to find better opportunity for food and shelter.

But in human beings has been further evolved a sense of the Infinite that goes far beyond the struggle for physical life which merely occupies extended time and extended space. Man has realised that a life of perfection is not merely a life of extension, but one which has its selfless enjoyment of the great and the beautiful.

After we have evolved this sense of the beautiful, of the good, of something that we call truth,—which is deeper and larger than any number of facts,—we have come into an altogether different atmosphere from that wherein the animals and trees have their existence. But we have come into this higher realm only very lately.

Ages and ages have passed, dominated by the life of what we call the self, which is intent upon seeking food and shelter, and upon the perpetuation of the race. But there is a mysterious region waiting for its full recognition, which does not entirely acknowledge loyalty to physical claims. Its mystery constantly troubles us and we are not yet fully at ease in this region. We call it *spiritual.* That word is vague, only because we have not yet been able to realise its meaning completely.

We are groping in the dark, not yet clear in our idea of the ultimate meaning at the centre of this world. Nevertheless, through the dim light which reaches us across the bariers of our physical existence, we seem to have a stronger faith in this spiritual life than in the physical. For even those who do not believe in the truth which we cannot define, but call by the name of spirit,—even they are obliged to behave as though they did believe it to be true, or, at any rate, truer than the world which is evident to our senses. And so even they are often willing to accept death,—the termination of this physical life,—for the sake of the true, the good and the beautiful. This fact expresses man's deeper urge for freedom, for liberation of its self in the realm of the limitless where he realises his relationship with the truth which relates him to the universe in a disinterested spirit of love.

When Buddha preached *maitri*—which means relationship of harmony—not only with human beings but with all creation, did he not have this truth in his mind that our treatment of the world is wrong when we solely treat it as a fact which can be known and used for our own personal needs? Did he not feel that the true meaning of creation can be understood only through love, because it is an eternal expression of love which waits for its answer from our soul emancipated from the bondage of self? This emancipation cannot be negative in character, for love can never lead to negation. The perfect freedom is in a perfect harmony of relationship and not in a mere severance of bondage. Freedom has no content, and therefore no meaning where it has nothing but itself. The soul's emancipation is in the fulfilment of its relation to the central truth of everything that there is, which is impossible to define because it comes at the end of all definitions.

The distinctive feature of materialism is the measurability of its outward expression, which is the same thing as the finiteness of its boundaries. And the disputes, civil and criminal, which have raged in the history of man, have mostly been over these same boundaries. To increase one's own bounds one has necessarily to encroach upon those of others. So, because the pride of Power is the pride of Quantity, pride of the mere number of its recruits and victims, the most powerful telescope, when pointed in the direction of Power, fails to reveal the shore of peace across the sea of blood.

Such is the tragedy that so often besets our history when this love of power, which is really the love of self, domineers over the religious life of man, for then the only means by which man could hope to set his spirit free, itself becomes the worst enemy of that freedom. Of all fetters those that falsely assume spiritual designations are the most difficult to break, and of all dungeons the most terrible are those invisible ones where men's souls are imprisoned in self-delusion bred by vanity. For, the undisguised pursuit of self has safety in its openness, like filth exposed to the sun and air. But the self-magnification, with its consequent thwarting of the best in man, that goes on unashamed when religion deadens into sectarianism is a perverse form of worldiness, under the mask of religion; it constricts the heart into narrowness much more effectively than the cult of the world based upon material interests can ever do.

Let me try to answer the question as to what this *Spirit* is, for the winning of which all the great religions were brought into being.

The evening sky is revealed to us in its

serene aspect of beauty though we know that from the fiery whirlpools which are the stars, chaotic outbursts clash against one another in a conflict of implacable fury. But *Ishavasyam idam sarvam,*— over and through it all there is spread a mysterious spirit of harmony, constantly modulating rebellious elements into creative unity, evolving ineffable peace and beauty out of the incoherently battling combatants perpetually struggling to elbow out their neighbours into a turmoil of dissolution.

And this great harmony, this everlasting Yea,—this is Truth, that bridges the dark abysms of time and space, reconciles contradictions, imparts perfect balance to the unstable. This all-pervading mystery is what we call spiritual in its essence. It is the human aspect of this cosmic truth which all great personalities have made their own in their lives and have offered to their fellow-beings in the name of various religions as means of peace and goodwill,—as vehicles of beauty in behaviour, heroism in character, noble aspiration and achievement in all great civilisations.

But when these very religions travel far from their sacred sources, they lose their original dynamic vigour, and degenerate into the arrogance of piety, into an utter emptiness crammed with irrational habits and mechanical practices; then is their spiritual inspiration befogged in the turbidity of sectarianism, then do they become the most obstinate obstruction that darkens our vision of human unity, piling up out of their accretions and refuse deadweights of unreason across our path of progress,—till at length civilised life is compelled to free its education from the stifling coils of religious creeds. Such fratricidal aberrations, in the guise of spiritual excellence, have brought upon the name of God whom they profess to glorify, uglier discredit than honest and defiant atheism could ever have done.

The reason is, because sectarianism, like some voracious parasite, feeds upon the religion whose colour it assumes exhausting it so that it knows not when its spirit is sucked dry. It utilises the dead skin for its habitation, as a stronghold for its unholy instinct of fight, its pious vain-gloriousness, fiercely contemptuous of its neighbours' articles of faith.

Sectarian votaries of a particular religion, when taken to task for the iniquitous dealings with their brethren, immediately try to divert attention by glibly quoting noble texts from their own scriptures which preach love, justice, righteousness, and the divinity immanent in Man,— ludicrously unconscious of the fact that those constitute the most damaging incrimination of their usual attitude of mind. In taking up the guardianship of their religion they allow, on the one hand, physical materialism to invade it by falsely giving eternal value to external practices, often of primitive origin; and moral materialism on the other, by invoking sacred sanction for their forms of worship within the rigid enclousre of special privileges founded upon accident of birth, or blind conformity, irrespective of moral justification. Such debasement does not belong to any particular religion, but more or less to all religions, the records of whose impious activities are written in brothers' blood, and sealed with the indignities heaped upon them.

All through the course of human history it has become tragically evident that religions, whose mission is liberation of soul, have in some form or other ever been instrumental in shackling freedom of mind and even moral rights. The desecration of truth in unworthy hands,—the truth which was meant to raise humanity morally and materially out of the dusky region of animality, is moreover followed by condign punishment, and thus we find that religious perversity is causing more blindness of reason and deadness of moral sensibility than any other deficiency in our education; just as, the truth represented by science, when used for ignoble traffic, threatens us with annihilation. It has been the saddest experience of man to witness such violation of the highest products of civilisation, to find the guardians of religion blessing the mailed fist of temporal power in its campaign of wholesale massacre and consolidation of slavery, and science joining hands with the same relentless power in its murderous career of exploitation.

When we come to believe that we are in possession of our God because we belong to some particular sect, it gives us a complete sense of comfort to feel that God is no longer needed, except for breaking with the greater unction the skulls of people whose idea of God, fortunately or unfortunately, differs from our own in theoretical details. Having thus made provision for our God in some shadow-land of creed, we feel free to reserve all the space in the world of reality for our own selves,—ridding it of the wonder of the Infinite, making it as trivial as our own household furniture. Such unmitigated vulgarity only becomes possible when we have no doubt in our minds that we believe in God while our life ignores Him.

The pious man of sect is proud because he is confident of his right of possession of God.

The man of devotion is meek because he is conscious of God's right of love over his life and soul. The object of our possession needs must become smaller than ourselves and, without acknowledging it in so many words, the bigoted sectarian nurses the implicit belief that God can be kept secured for himself and his fellows in a ceremonial cage which is of their own make. In a similar manner the primitive races of men believe that their magic incantations have a hypnotic influence upon their deities, taming them for their own uses and keeping them out of mischief.

Thus every religion that begins as a liberating agency ends as a vast prison-house. Built on the renunciation of its founder, it becomes a possessive institution in the hands of its priests, and claiming to be universal, becomes an active centre of schism and strife. Like a sluggish stream the spirit of man is choked by rotting weeds and is divided into shallow slimy pools that are active only in releasing deadly mists of stupefaction. This mechanical spirit of tradition is essentially materialistic, it is blindly pious but not spiritual, obsessed by phantoms of unreason that haunt feeble minds with their ghastly mimicry of religions. This happens not only to mediocre individuals who hug the fetters that keep them irresponsible, craving for fantastic unrealities, but to generations of insipid races that have lost all emphasis of significance in themselves, having missed their present in their ghostly past!

Great souls, like Ramkrishna Paramahamsa, have a comprehensive vision of Truth, they have the power to grasp the significance of each different form of the Reality that is one in all,—but the masses of believers are unable to reconcile the conflict of codes and commands. Their timid and shrunken imagination, instead of being liberated by the vision of the Infinite in religion, is held captive in bigotry and is tortured and exploited by priests and fanatics for uses hardly anticipated by those who originally received it.

Unfortunately, great teachers most often are surrounded by persons whose minds, lacking transparency of atmosphere, obscure and distort the ideas originating from the higher source. They feel a smug satisfaction when the picture of their master which they offer, shows features made somewhat in the pattern of their own personality. Consciously and unconsciously they reshape profound messages of wisdom in the mould of their own tortuous understanding, carefully modifying them into conventional platitudes in which they themselves find comfort, and which satisfy the habit-ridden mentality of their own community. Lacking the sensitiveness of mind which is necessary for the enjoyment of truth in its unadulterated purity, they exaggerate it in an attempt at megalomaniac enlargement according to their own insensate standard, which is as absurdly needless for its real appraisement as it is derogatory to the dignity of its original messangers. The history of great men, because of their very greatness, ever runs the risk of being projected on to a wrong background of memory where it gets mixed up with elements that are crudely customary and therefore inertly accepted by the multitude.

I say to you : that if you are really lovers of Truth, then dare to seek it in its fulness, in all the infinite beauty of its majesty, but never be content to treasure up its vain symbols in miserly seclusion within the stony walls of conventions. Let us revere the great souls in the sublime simplicity of their spiritual altitude which is common to them all, where they meet in universal aspiration to set the spirit of man free from the bondage of his own individual ego, and of the ego of his race and of his creed; but in that lowland of traditions, where religions challenge and refute each other's claims and dogmas, there a wise man must pass them by in doubt and dismay.

I do not mean to advocate a common church for mankind, a universal pattern to which every act of worship and aspiration must conform. The arrogant spirit of sectarianism which so often uses either active or passive, violent or subtle, methods of persecution, on the least provocation or without any, has to be reminded of the fact that religion, like poetry, is not a mere idea,—it is expression. The self-expression of God is in the variedness of creation; and our attitude towards the Infinite must in its expression also have a variedness of individuality, ceaseless and unending. When a religion develops the ambition of imposing its doctrine on all mankind, it degrades itself into a tyranny and becomes a form of imperialism. This is why we find a ruthless method of fascism in religious matters prevailing in most parts of the world, trampling flat the expansion of the spirit of man under its insensitive heels.

The attempt to make the one religion which is their own, dominate all time and space, comes naturally to men addicted to sectarianism. This makes it offensive to them to be told that God is generous in His distribution of love, and His means of communication with men have not been restricted to a blind lane

abruptly stopping at one narrow point of history. If humanity ever happens to be overwhelmed with the universal flood of a bigoted exclusiveness, then God will have to make provision for another Noah's Ark to save His creatures from the catastrophe of spiritual desolation.

What I plead for is a living recognition of the neglected truth that the reality of religion has its basis in the truth of Man's nature in its most intense and universal need and so must constantly be tested by it. Where it frustrates that need, and outrages its reason, it repudiates its own justification.

Let me conclude with a few lines from the great mystic poet of mediæval India, Kabir whom I regard as one of the greatest spiritual geniuses of our land :

The jewel is lost in the mud,
and all are seeking for it;
some look for it in the east, and some in the west;
some in the water and some amongst stones.
But the servant Kabir has appraised it at its true value,
and has wrapped it with care
in a corner of the mantle of his own heart.

THE MUSIC OF THE WINGS

By RABINDRANATH TAGORE

THE meandering current of the Jhelum, like a curved sword, glistening in the twilight, merges into darkness.

At the ebb of the day comes the tide of night carrying myriads of star-flowers floating on its dark waters;

At the foot of the dark mountains stand in rows the deodar trees, as if creation would whisper in dreams, unable to utter its message clearly;

Only the gathering of unuttered sounds rumbles in the dark.

Suddenly I hear, in the vast emptiness of the evening sky, the lightening flash of sounds shattering from the Far to the Far Beyond.

Oh flying swans, your wings drunk with the wine of tempest, scattering peals of joyous laughter, raises waves of wonder in the still sky.

This music of the wings, the singing celestial mymphs, fled past, disturbing the meditation of Silence.

The mountains in their dark slumber, shuddered; the forest of deodars shivered;

As if the music of the wings brought for an instant, the rhythm of movement into the heart of joyous Immobility.

The mountains yearned to become the aimless cloud of summer, the trees to take wings and follow the trails of Sound, and search the ends of Space.

Oh winged wanderer, breaking the dream of twilight, waves of anguish arise, yearning for the Beyond.

In the heart of the Universe echoed the burning refrain : " Not here, not here, somewhere far beyond."

Oh flying swans, to-night you have opened for me the door of Silence.

Behind her veil, in earth, sky, water, I hear the restless beating of wings.

The grass is fluttering its wings in the sky of earth; in the brooding darkness of the earth who knows what myriads of budding seeds are spreading their wings ?

To-night, I behold this mountain, this forest, spreading its wings, winging from island to island, soaring from Unknown to Unknown.

To the beating of the wings of stars throbs the cry of Light in Darkness.

I heard the countless voices of the human heart flying unseen from the dim past to the dim unblossomed future.

Heard within my own breast the fluttering of this homeless bird which, in company with countless others, flies day and night, through light and darkness, from shore to shore unknown.

The void of the Universe is resounding with the music of the wings :

" Not here, not here, somewhere far beyond."

Translated by Arobindo Bose

THE PRICE OF "NATIONAL" MIS-GOVERNMENT

By Major D. Graham Pole

"It would be imprudent to contemplate a total expenditure on defence during the next five years of much less than £1,500 millions." These are the words of H. M. Government in a White Paper Relating to Defence Expenditure (*Cmd.* 5374) issued on 16th February, 1937. And that is only part of the price that we in this country have to pay for Mr. Baldwin and his so-called National Government.

Had they supported the late Arthur Henderson in the Disarmament Conference, had Lord Londonderry not on their behalf claimed for Great Britain the right to retain bombing aeroplanes, had they really honoured their pledge as members of the League of Nations and prevented the rape of China by Japan, Signor Mussolini would never have dared to snap his fingers at the League and go on with the rape of Abyssinia and the League of Nations might today have been really a powerful instrument for collective peace.

The fact is that this Government never believed in or wanted disarmament. They never believed in the League of Nations. They never even trusted the electors but deluded them with false promises—pledges that they knew to be false—into returning them at last General Election. Never was there a more damning statement made by any politician than that of Mr. Baldwin in the House of Commons—that he gave an undertaking to the electors not to have any extensive expenditure on rearmament (which he believed to be absolutely necessary) because he knew that if he revealed his intention to the electors he would lose the Election.

Re-arming to a considerable extent is probably quite necessary at present. But this necessity has been brought about directly by the actions and the attitude of Mr. Baldwin and his Government and the blame lies at their door. No one can find out what their foreign policy is. It makes one almost despair of democracy when one finds that supporters of Mr. Baldwin can still be returned to the House of Commons by an electorate that is supposed to be intelligent. Profits for the well-to-do are increasing. The value of their shareholdings are in many cases being doubled and trebled while for the poorer classes the cost of living is steadily increasing. And the cost of living is bound to go on increasing so long as there is this reckless expenditure on armaments which, even if a war does not come, will be out of date almost before they have been paid for. It is a mad world.

Sir Archibald Sinclair in the House of Commons brought out very strikingly what these £1,500 millions of armaments mean. It is, if we exclude Sundays, *£1 million every day for five years*—or seven times the whole cost of the Boer War—or the cost of the Great War for a whole year.

There is no doubt that the price must come out of the Social Services and will inevitably add to the cost of houses and necessities for the poorer classes of the community. It is an appalling prospect, all the more so as one feels that it might have been avoided if the Government had striven for peace and disarmament on the lines laid down by and in the spirit of international co-operation so well exemplified by the late Arthur Henderson.

No doubt, as Sir Archibald Sinclair said, the policy of the dictatorship countries has made rearmament expenditure in this country an evil and dangerous but unescapable necessity. But the fact that there is a dictatorship in Germany is greatly our own fault. We denied to the reasonable demands of Stresemann and Bruning what we yielded to the blustering force of Hitler. There is no doubt that it was the attitude of France, and to a lesser extent of this country, that enabled Hitler to carry with him a Germany suffering under burdens that they felt to be cruel as well as unjust. We sowed the wind: we are now reaping the whirlwind. But where is it all to end?

Perhaps one of the most appalling comments on the White Paper is that it advocates a policy of Sein Fein—ourselves alone. There is no mention of the League of Nations : no suggestion of collective security. The Dominions are to take their own measures.

But when the £1,500 millions is spent, what then? We cannot stop. Other nations will arm in an endeavour to get "equality" with us. At the end of five years—if war has not already broken out—are we to go on with a still further

increased programme of utterly futile and wasteful expenditure as the price of keeping a so-called "National" Government in office. When will the worm—the tax-payer—turn?

At the moment of writing, two economists, one in England and one in Sweden, are expressing their views on the new Defence Loan and are much in the news. The immediate effect of course of the Government's announcement of their intention to go in for borrowing on so large a scale was a sharp fall in gilt-edged securities. Indeed before ever the announcement was made, but because it was felt that something like it was coming, the fall had begun. A good deal of the selling incidently was on foreign account—which showed that foreign opinion was shocked and uneasy. However, the fall has been arrested during the past few days as a result of a speech made by that prominent economist, Mr. J. M. Keynes. In an address to the annual meeting of the National Mutual Life Assurance, Mr. Keynes has brought solace to the Government in their hour of need, and every Government spokesman, from the Chancellor of the Exchequer downwards, is quoting him with profound relief! Mr. Keynes has told them that the Government ought to be able to borrow the enormous sums required for rearmament without producing inflation. And the reason why this miracle can be achieved is, he says, that the sum total of our savings should reach the amount required in any one year anyway! National Savings, sinking funds of Local Authorities, repayments to Building Societies, deposits in the Post Office and Savings Banks, profits put to reserve by Industry—these alone, he says, "should amount to something like £400,000,000 not in five years but in one year."

You need to be very wise to be able to wrangle with Mr. Keynes. But can we really feel completely satisfied with his flattering unction? Is the City Editor of the *News Chronicle*, for instance, not talking sense when he remarks that it is absurd to talk as though the whole of our savings were at the disposal of the Defence Departments. And apropos of Mr. Neville Chamberlain's speech in the House of Commons on Thursday, the speech in which he adopted all Mr. Keynes's attitude, the same City Editor comments: "Doubtless our national savings over the next five years will greatly exceed the £400,000,000 to be borrowed for defence. But he omitted, as Mr. Keynes did on Tuesday, to mention that the £400,000,000 is *additional* borrowing, additional to the heavy civilian demand for capital."

Perhaps in passing one might recall that Mr. Keynes is always on the side of expansion. From the time when he wrote *The Economic Consequences of the Peace* to the time when Mr. Roosevelt adopted his policies wholesale in a (successful) attempt to pull America out of the Depression, he has always been on the side of expansion. And Mr. Neville Chamberlain and the National Government, one might add, never listened to Mr. Keynes in the days of Depression when he advocated a policy of spending your way back to prosperity. It is only when his outlook fits in with their policy of spending their way into more and more armaments that they acclaim and quote him so eagerly.

But of course inflation is in fact already in progress. There is no question that it has already begun. Prices have been rising ever since Britain decided to re-arm and the new Loan can only accelerate the rise. This brings us to the Swedish economist, Professor Gustav Cassel. In an interview given to a Swedish newspaper he states that Britain has gone in for pure inflation policy and considers that "by June next the cost of living here may be 10 per cent higher than in June, 1936." That the cost of living is rising steadily is shown by the following comparisons in prices: cotton sheets which cost 9|11 are now 10|11, Witney blankets which cost 25|6 are now 39|6, linen generally is up by at least 10 per cent, all white sugars are up another farthing a pound, bar soap is up a ha'penny, tea is up by 2d, petrol by 1d, motor tyres by 5 to 10 per cent. (Mink, it might be added, is up 125%, Musquash 100%, Persian lamb and ermine 50 to 70 per cent.)

What a strange world we live in and strangest of all is that we accept it. Only a few years ago we were told that England's credit was going and nothing could save it but drastic economies—economies that did not flinch at taking two shillings off an unemployed man who had so little to live on. And now we accept the other extreme and talk as if we could borrow £400,000,000 without affecting our credit. And all this gigantic effort is for war preparations, for armaments which, if they are not used to wound and burn and destroy, will in a few years be so much useless scrap. We turned down Mr. Lloyd George's comparatively microscopic New Deal, we could not afford to come to the rescue of the unemployed by setting them to drain and dredge and rebuild and give us at the end a smiling countryside. But we

can afford gas and guns and shells and ships which please God we shall never use.

How short-sighted the economists and the Government and the unemployed and all of us are. We are all keeping ourselves warm with the thought that for the present at any rate the armaments boom means more money in circulation and more employment. Eat, drink, and be merry for tomorrow we die. (When the boom is due to armaments the proverb will most likely have a literal fulfilment.) But supposing we don't die? What will we do when the money is spent? In this connection we might ponder a Report which has just appeared, the Report of the Unemployment Insurance Committee. The Committee has no illusions as to the future. It sees that a slump is coming as soon as the armaments programme has passed its intensive phase. For the last five months of 1936 the unemployment percentage was 11.9. When rearmament slackens off, they estimate that the unemployment rate will not be less than 16¾ per cent.

Sixteen and three quarters per cent. Back to Depression again.

Some countries—Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Holland—are outside the evil war circle. As Bernard Shaw has pointed out somewhere, this sets their best minds free to think of other things than war. With our credit and our world-scattered democracies, what might we not have achieved if we have been free to turn our minds to positive things instead of to the cramping considerations of war and defence? At the moment of writing London is getting ready to vote in the London County Council Elections. The supporters of the National Government are most inconsistently trying to scare voters off from voting for the present Labour administration and "Socialist extravagance." But what a lot we could do in London if we dared to be a little extravagant—if we could but bring in our modest counterpart of a National Government Defence Loan.

At this point it is worth quoting that remarkable book, *Inside Europe,* by John Gunther, a book which has run into eighteen impressions and more since its appearance a year ago! In his chapter on "England : The Ruling Classes," after remarking that the ruling classes absorb an acutely disproportionate share of the national income and of economic power, he continues : "Take, for instance, the land of London. One peer owns no less than two hundred and seventy acres in the West End. Only about forty thousand of the eight million inhabitants of London own any land at all, and the really valuable slices are in the hands of about twenty men. There are about one hundred thousand men and women in England with incomes over £2,000 per year, who take sixteen per cent of the national income; there are eighteen millions whose wages, under £250 per year, are only fifty-six per cent of the national income. Of those who die in England, only one in four leaves as much as a hundred pounds' worth of property." If to these statistics we may add a final one, here it is : In the great and wealthy metropolis of London *one in every three persons dies in the workhouse.* This is hard to accept but it is stated categorically in a book which has just appeared, *Metropolitan Man : The Future of the English,* by Robert Sinclair. And, as a reviewer points out, Mr. Sinclair has the proof and gives it.

People might turn their attention to such things when they consider, for instance, the falling birth rate. If the foregoing statistics are true, what inducement can there be to would-be parents to bring children into the world? Before the knowledge of birth-control became general, families just happened, especially among the poorer sections of the people. (Who was it who said somewhere that when people are very poor, they have only their sex to offer each other?) Perhaps this instinctive undirected reproduction was a good thing for the nation. But anyway those days are gone for ever. For good or for ill nowadays women in England, at any rate, are resolved not to have any more children than they feel able to provide for. And you can't blame them when you consider that it is only at times when war scares or rearmament is in the air that politicians start worrying about the birth rate.

But it is a pity that this should be so. It would be a great thing for England if, instead of embarking now on a War Loan, she was embarking on a programme of reconstruction at home which would raise the standard of living and encourage parents to go in for larger families. The population experts tell us that parents should have four children as the minimum, if the present population is to be replaced : four apparently would replace both the parents themselves and the men and women who do not for one reason or another marry. But who can calculate that they can educate and launch four children—and it is all a matter of calculation now. The State urges women to have more children, pretends to a concern that the maternal mortality rate should remain so constant. But the concern has never proved strong enough to bring about the institution

of a National Maternity Service. Light-heartedly we agree to a Defence Loan running into £1,500,000,000. Yet a sum of £52,000,000, the sum spent upon the preliminary bombardments of Arras, Messines and Passchendale, would, as Miss Vera Brittain has pointed out, keep such a Maternity Service going for nearly twenty years. And of all the national interests where State aid could most legitimately be exercised. surely a State Maternity Service is the most appropriate.

Something really must be done about the falling birth rate. It is not a question of imperial interests, of our ability to people our territories and so on. It is an urgent question for the rising generation as such. . . . Pity the poor only child, or the small family of only two children. How they suffer from the pressure of over-anxious parents! The anxious, conscientious parents imagine they are taking the best course in restricting their families in order to give their children the best of all possible educations and so on. But the best education for a child is to be found in a large family where "the children bring each other up." Intensive education is a boomerang. Listen to a Chicago University Professor on the subject. "Our educational system is suffering from an overdose of success stories," he says, and in consequence of the struggle to be more "successful" than Nature intended, "one person in ten is neurotic, and one in twenty-two is insane." Americans always fly to statistics, but it isn't only the experts who are beginning to worry. The well-known novelist, Mr. J. B. Priestley, is saying the same thing a different way. In his latest book he writes: "There is something healthy and heartening about an easy fat fertility, in the bounching families we see among such races as the Italians, the Jews, the Chinese; and I for one feel uncomfortable, disturbed when I notice the opposite tendency, a fine river of life that is rapidly dwindling into a thin uncertain stream, families that consist of two anxious parents and one nervous, delicate, lordly child."

The two great European democracies, France and England, have lived so long in the shadow of the last war, and now the coming war, that it is small wonder if the ultimate pessimism has descended upon them: the pessimism which expresses itself in sterility. Can't something be done to break the war cycles or are we bound to them for ever? Wars and Depressions—have we nothing else to look forward to? It is instructive to reflect that the Great Depression cost just exactly the same amount as the Great War. The International Labour Office has discovered that. The years of Depression, 1930 to 1934, meant total losses to the world economic system of between £20,000,000,000 and £24,000,000,000. . . equivalent to the cost of the Great War.

In that same book, *Inside Europe*, the author thinks that one deterrent against war in Europe may be the reflection that war would probably result in revolution and communism in every country except England. I wonder why he excepts England. If communism were rampant on the Continent, would England escape? Would the worm still not turn? It is a commonplace, and of course true so far as it goes, that any working man or woman would prefer their lot in England to what their lot would be in any of the dictatorship countries. But we in England do not have to compare our state with the state of those in Europe. We have our own Dominions to look to and some of the far-flung Dominions, away from this everlasting burden of war, show a very different plight for their workers.

Mr. Walter Nash, the Finance Minister of New Zealand, is at present in London and he is telling us tales that make our economy seem poor in the extreme. In New Zealand there is a national minimum wage of £3. 16. 0. Old age pensions give a couple there £2. 5. 0. a week at the age of 65. There is a 40-hour week. Invalids are paid a pension of £1 a week with a 10|- allowance for each dependent. At Christmas time the unemployed get five weeks' extra benefit. . . . In contrast to the last, we in England are giving our unemployed, to celebrate the Coronation, *half-a-crown* each.

No. Some way has got to be found of removing from Europe the curse of war and so from the nations the burden of keeping up armaments. Some way has got to be found of making the common people richer, of giving us all more to live for. At the time of the Depression the American experts who advised the Bank of England had nothing to say except that wages must come down. Now the leading economist, who opposed that policy then, is advising the National Government that they can afford to spend millions and millions of pounds on unproductive goods such as armaments. Well, they have their answer—pessimism and racial suicide.

There is however, and thank God, one man alive at the present time who is really intent upon peace, instead of upon war preparations, who has in fact, and is unique in having it, a *positive* contribution to make. That man of

course is the President of the United States.

President Roosevelt has a wonderful way of overcoming difficulties. Instead of weighing them up and pondering over them, until they become mesmeric and paralysing—a course habitual with European statesmen—he has an inspiration, introduces a new idea, and follows through with it. Thus America may not be a member of the League of Nations. But President Roosevelt is eager and determined that his country shall not obstruct the work of the League. So when sanctions were imposed against Italy, and there seemed to be some prospect of a League blockade being created, he at once proclaimed that any American trading in war materials would do so at his own risk. In other words, America would do nothing to imperil a League blockade. (It was not his fault that the 50 League nations were too timorous to go on with the idea of a blockade.) And now, when Britain is launching a staggering rearmament programme, and everyone in Europe is talking war, his Ambassador in Paris is making a new appeal to the nations, and especially to the democratic nations, to make an attempt to lighten the situation.

The American Ambassador in Paris is Mr. William C. Bullitt, an interesting personality, who has been Ambassador in Moscow—was in fact the first diplomat to dine with Stalin. I had the pleasure of meeting him soon after the war when he told George Lansbury and me of his experiences in Russia at a time when starvation abounded there—largely owing to our "unofficial" war against them in Mr. Churchill's endeavour to back up the "White" Russians against the Bolshevik regime. He made a speech last week to the American Club in Paris, a truly remarkable speech. So important was it that it is said that he took the trouble to read it over beforehand, word by word, on the telephone to Mr. Roosevelt. (And the corollary to that is that the great and famous London *Times*, for reasons best known to itself, did not even mention the speech in its columns. . .) The speech was made moreover on the eve of Mr. Bullitt's departure for a week's country holiday in America with the President.

The speech is so good, it would be worth quoting in full. But its main points are three: the indissoluble connection between the reduction of armaments and the reorganisation of international trade; the willingness of America to co-operate in these spheres; the sympathy which the American people feel for the non-dictatorship countries.

To take Mr. Bullitt's first point, economic disarmament and disarmament proper. He is not the only statesman at the present time who is trying to work for international understanding along the lines of freeing international trade. In South Africa General Smuts is saying the same thing. "The new tariffs," he says, "have proved a greater impediment to world peace than the ideologies." And later on he added: Why not try economic solutions *pari passu* with political solutions? *International trade and commerce may prove the way out, where the way is blocked to purely political solutions.*"

Mr. Walter Runciman, the President of the Board of Trade, has just returned from the United States and also sounds this note. He is one of the Liberals who supported the National Government which has destroyed Free Trade. Is he, is his Government, about to stage a death-bed repentance?

The idea seems to be growing that the three great democracies, the United States, France, and Great Britain, are about to collaborate in a great attempt to free world trade—and that the chief troubler of Europe, Germany, will be asked to join in.

If this should happen, it might save Europe. But if it is going to happen it will be a strange day for Mr. Neville Chamberlain who clamped on the tariffs a few years ago. It is said that he will become Prime Minister after the Coronation.

March 1, 1937.



SELF-ASSERTION OF THE MASSES INEVITABLE

By K. P. JAYASWAL

THE political progress of Mid-Asia since the Great War has been meteoric. The whole social system, in its larger sense—that is, the habits of thought, basic beliefs, individual and group organisations, changed with a rapidity for which there is no precedent in past history. All sociological theories have been superseded and all past experience to predict the future of a country has been antiquated. Man had never asserted himself so boldly before, nor had he ever attempted such planned action and designed change.

Segregated though India stands—walled up by the Himalayas with medieval states which constitute themselves into so many sentinels against the inroads of this *New Age* into this Ancient Bharatvarsha and Medieval Hindustan —she all the same has already imperceptibly accepted in part the creed of Mid-Asia. Let us realise it.

The elections of February, 1937, erect a definite land-mark in the social history of India. *L'ancient regime* is closed. Old age is left behind.

Let us take Bihar as an illustration. The data have been personally collected by the writer. The Province is in the interior, away from the sea-coast, away from the intellectuality of Calcutta and Bombay, away from the social progress of larger provinces. It is one of the conservative centres. We might treat Bihar as a safe index number in calculating Indian politics. The village masses composed songs in their local dialects which were sung with the fervour of *La Marseillaise* on their march to the voting booths.

"The land-lord says, 'elect me,
I rendered services to you.'
Services forsooth!
Has not his income risen from twenty-two lacs to thirty-five?
"Whose blood does he suck? Of the cultivator.
From whose labour does he derive wealth?
From ours.
"We have no full meals; he rolls in wealth—
the wealth drawn from our misery.
We live in huts, he lives in palace—
the palace built out of our hunger.
For the slightest offence, we are maltreated.
We are not allowed to step at his door.
The landlord is worse than Foreign Rulers.
Brothers! hell to those who help the landlord.
"'Vote, vote for the Congress,' says mother. 'if thou, O voter, justifiest thy mother's milk—' so says this mother thine.
'Vote I will for the Congress, my dear mother, true to your milk.'
"'Vote, vote for the Congress,' says your wife, 'if you as husband do respect the red vermilion in the parting of my hair.'
'Vote I will for the Congress to honour the vermilion' [wedlock vow].
'Vote I will for the Congress, for the Congress shall remove the burden of rent,
which crushes me and my family.
Did not he the landlord attempt to kill the *Sadhu* [Sahajananda] through hired ruffians—the *Sadhu* who espoused the cause of the cultivator?
Down, down with the landlord and tyranny."

This is the substance of various songs which the mass composed and sang. Those songs flowed out of their heart. They sang them marching distances with or without music, carrying their daily food—unsubstantial and scanty—on their shoulders. They voted devoutly for the Congress and saluted the Congress box at the booths with the prayer, '*Reduce my rent.*'

Mahatma Gandhi might say today with satisfaction that when he announced to the world that he and the Congress represented the villages of India he spoke nothing but the bare truth. The Congress is proved today to be the accredited agent of the seven hundred thousand villages.

The inner meaning of the fact so overwhelmingly demonstrated is that the Indian landlord is no more wanted.

While the Congress leaders have been vacillating in their decision—many of them are themselves landlords and most of them do not wish to abolish the old-age institution of the agrarian middleman, their principals have decided their duty for them in the meantime. The situation is this: that while the Congress will wait for the day of Swaraj to remove the misery of the real Indian, the cultivator, the cultivator says, '*No, do it at once; do it now.*'

The party which will retain the confidence of the masses must be the party which undertakes to remove the capitalist from the land,

effectively in spirit if not in form. The Congress or any other party which strives to possess the allegiance of the voter will have to create peasant proprietors in India in the near future. If the Congress fails in this, Socialists will come in.

In my twentyfive years' touch with the tenants, in the course of the legal profession, I have come across only two cases where the landlord was well-spoken of by the tenants. The normal tale is the one of extreme dissatisfaction and suffering. The age-old position between the cultivator and the landlord had been that the landlord was the *raja* (sovereign) and the tenant his *praja* (subject) The Tenancy Laws have been cutting at the root of this old theory. The arm-chair revenue administration of the Moghuls never touched the tenant, it dealt with him through the machinery called *Zamindar* to collect revenue. Estates were farmed out to him and the Moghul State dealt with him as middleman who stood between the State and the producer. Virtually he was the *raja* to the villager Indian; and the latter was his serf or *praja*. The Tenancy Acts changed the theory and turned the latter into freeman possessed of rights of defence enforceable against his so-called *raja*. The franchise of voting has now converted him into a full citizen with rights of self-determination. The revolution in the status of the villager is now complete. And the villager has at once become conscious of his powers. Any one trying to erect a dam to the exercise of his powers will be swept away. This was proved last month in Bihar at every step. The powers that be, may cry in vain as Erasmus did when he saw Reformation rising far above the bounds he had dreamt of.

How this new age, swon for by Gandhi and his colleagues since 1921, is destroying old beliefs is illustrated by an incident from North Bihar which may be regarded as typical. A landlord went, against his old-age custom, to his tenants from door to door for begging votes. An old cultivator repeated the old wisdom of the Hindu, consoling 'the master' (*malik*) with the doctrine of Fatalism. He said, 'His Highness should trust in God; his ancestors' good deeds will assure his success.' The old man at the same time carefully avoided promising his own vote. Thereupon the candidate's counsellor exclaimed, 'It is not God but you, Sir, who possess the vote and can cast it in favour of the *malik*.' The question of voting, thus every one saw and the landlord saw to his great discomfiture, was human, beyond the supernatural. That it was in the will of the mass and beyond influence of Government is attested by the wail of a U. P. landlord in the columns of the *Pioneer*, who mourned, 'Government forsook the landlords.' People saw that neither God nor Government befriends the candidate whom the villager forsakes.

How caste and communalism proved feeble was witnessed when humble village Musalmans ('*Momins*', weavers and the like) stood forth against urban gentlemen, seekers of jobs and preferments. Momins wanted men who could bring relief to them. Many went to vote for a Congress candidate and returned without voting, as they found none. It is economics which rules citizens. It is the economic policy of a party which will determine its life as the ruling party in the country. That economic policy must be such as will reduce the suffering of the Indian who makes the mass.

The economic policy must be one which would remove the capitalist middleman from the land, whereby it will not only bring more food and clothing to the cultivator but will also release capital from indolence and land for investments in activity and industry. Land is the most easy investment, bringing ease plus social dignity to the investor and depression to the fellowbeings under him. It creates a class of indolent lotus-eaters. If you remove the landlord middleman who unnecessarily intervenes between the Cultivator and the State, you not only liberate your countrymen from the relic of serfdom—both economic and social—you not only make him a full citizen without a middleman between the Indian and the State—you also turn an indolent class into an active and earning part of society. You benefit thereby both agriculture and industry, in addition to adding largely to public revenue. The key of the economic policy of the Indian Government should be the removal of this unhealthy incubus. And in this behalf the policy has to be in spirit socialistic, whether we like it or not.

PROFESSION AND REALIZATION, AND PATH AND NO PATH

By RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE

When more than fifty years ago I came to Calcutta in the eighties of the last century to study in a college, the saint Sri Ramakrishna was still living and it was still possible to see him and hear his inspiring words from his own lips. But I was never so blessed as to come into contact with him. So I cannot say anything about him from direct personal knowledge. Nor am I qualified to discourse on any theological, philosophical or scriptural subject. But as my name has been included among the speakers this evening, I am constrained to say something. With great diffidence I propose to place before you briefly the result of self-examination caused by Sri Ramakrishna's teaching, "*jata mat tata path.*" This saying of his has been variously translated, the meaning being, "As many faiths, doctrines, opinions or views, so many paths" to the goal of *moksha*, emancipation, liberation, salvation, God-vision, or Self-realization.

As I never had the privilege to learn the exact interpretation of this teaching from him or from any of his direct disciples, I shall refrain from any exposition of it.

As the Supreme Spirit is infinite, and his truth is infinite, it is obvious that no man can thoroughly know Him and comprehend Him. There are countless aspects of Him and His truth, and, therefore, countless approaches, too, to Him and His truth. These are contained, though not exhaustively, in the scriptures of the various religions of the world and the sayings of its saints, sages, seers and prophets. The reference in Sri Ramakrishna's teaching, "*jata mat tata path,*" is to these. So the discovery of the paths imply serious study, meditation and spiritual discipline. Of course, if a man is himself an earnest *sadhaka*, he may also himself discover a path to the goal in the light vouchsafed to him in response to his strenuous spiritual quest. Such quest also implies spiritual endeavour and discipline.

But if one takes the Paramahamsa's words light-heartedly, as many of us unhappily are apt to do, such light-heartedness must involve great moral and spiritual danger. Many of us appear to think that, as in the opinion of the Paramahamsa all religions are true, it is enough for a man's salvation to be merely born a Hindu, a Jaina, a Buddhist, a Zoroastrian, a Jew, a Confucian, a Taoist, a Shintoist, a Christian, a Musalman, a Sikh, a Brahmo, a Bahai or an Arya-Samajist, or to be born a member of some other more recent religious community and simply profess to be one, to reach the goal of *moksha*, salvation or liberation. If that were so, why did even Sri Ramakrishna himself, blessed as he was from childhood with such a highly spiritual nature, go through such *sadhana* and put himself to such severe self-discipline? It may be said indeed that, as he was born a Hindu but wanted to realize in full the truth of Islam, Christianity, and some other faiths, it was necessary for him to undergo the requisite self-imposed discipline. But almost all the austerities he underwent and the very difficult courses of *sadhana* which he went through were meant for the perfect realization of the ideal of Hinduism itself in which he was born. Pandit Sivanath Sastri, an *acharya* or minister of the Brahmo Samaj, who knew and loved and revered him, has related in his work, *Men I Have Seen,* some of the Paramahamsa's "extraordinary penances and austerities" by which, in the Pandit's opinion, the saint "had attained a state of perfection the like of which was seldom seen." The Pandit has also written of him:

> "The impression left in my mind, by intercourse with him, was, that I had seldom come across any other man in whom the hunger and thirst for spiritual life was so great and who had gone through so many privations and sufferings for the practice of religion. Secondly, I was convinced that he was no longer a *sadhaka* or a devotee under exercise, but was a *siddha purusha* or one who had attained direct vision of spiritual truth."

The example of Sri Ramakrishna shows that it is not enough to be born in any religious community and to pay lip homage to its faith. It is necessary to realize its ideal or ideals by external and internal discipline, and also to realize the ideals of other religions by needful *sadhana*—though for the generality of men it is not possible to do what he did. Therefore his saying, "*jata mat tata path,*" "as many faiths or opinions so many paths" to the goal, was not meant to produce in us easy-going and smug self-satisfaction, the mother of intellectual and spiritual indolence and indifferentism. Whether one is a house-holder or a sannyasi, one must undergo self-discipline.

Every freak of fancy, every aberration of the intellect and every perversion of some sacred doctrine is not entitled to the dignity of the name of "*mat*" in the sense of faith. Readers of the ennobling life story of Sri Ramakrishna's

helpmate, the Mother Sri Saradamani Devi, know the incident of her undertaking one of her two days' journeys on foot from her home at Kamarpukur to Dakshineswar to meet her husband and, in its course, of her meeting a robber in the midst of an extensive lonesome tract of land where there was a "shrine" where, the story goes, murderous robbers used to offer human sacrifice and go forth in search of victims to plunder and slay. The robber and his wife came under the influence of the Mother and the Saint, ceased to be what they were before, and were spiritually re-born. We may take it that the erstwhile robber and his wife did not deceive themselves by thinking that the cult of human sacrifice and pillage was also a "faith" showing a "path" to the goal, though it was followed in all countries in some period of their history or other and is still practised on a large scale by civilized races in the form of aggressive warfare and prayers for success therein.

This is an extreme example. But I venture to think that many of the opinions by which we worldly men often support our conduct in some religious and other matters do not deserve to be called "faiths" indicating paths to the goal of Realization of the Self.

Read at the Sri Ramakrishna Centenary Parliament of Religions.

POEMS

By YONE NOGUCHI

Kinchinjanga seen at Darjeeling

A jumbled mass of light
Half-buried in distance deep in the cloud-sea,—
Sanctified in thin air,
She is a natural citadel shown by God
To put our emotion to the test.
What a sight of awe bidding my head to bend down,
What a sight too fearful to call it Elysian!
What joy to prove my sense of wonder not yet dried,
What joy to know my worship is not all spent!
Who forbids me to dream of the beings, half man and half god,
Roaming there in thought from valley to valley?
Who forbids me to imagine the icicles in the shape of hangings
That dress the snow-clad trees shaken by the wind,
Turning the mountain into a Beethoven symphony?
Who denies me the right to fancy the domes and towers, magic built,
Freezing now into a senseless apparition that walks in trance?

The sun goes down leaving the sky to a Will of fire,
The fire burns up the sea of clouds to a molten red,
The fire burns up the mountain to a burning citadel
Where devils dance a dance of blood (allow me to fancy, pray,)
Seeing a thousand birds on red wings fallen like red leaves of autumn.
Oh, God, what a moody artist art thou?
The wonderful spectacle, being rubbed away by thee from the canvas,
Sinks down and down into silence,
Leaving prayer to do reverence to the sense of fear.

Darjeeling.

Dancing Civa

The cheeks breaking to smiles,
A pair of clear slender eyes,
The jaw and neck, firm and strong, the home of will.
A crown on his head, a devil stamped under his feet.
He stretches out to right and left his four arms.
He holds in them a torch and bell,—
The torch burning to set fire to the world,
The bell ringing to bid life to song and law.
What amassing of energies into a body,
What discharging of spirits from the tips of fingers and toes!
What symmetry in his form,
What a rhythmic whirl of dance!
The dance is "Cosmos," dedication to nature,—
Endless performance of creation and hope.
Oh, the torch, torch, torch!
Oh, the bell, bell, bell!
How they command us to fly and jump!
Now right hand, now left foot,
Raise it up higher, higher, higher,
Draw it back stronger, stronger, stronger,
Exhaust all energies—fly and fly!

Madras Museum.

THE MARCH OF AMERICAN DEMOCRACY

By Dr. TARAKNATH DAS

Today President Franklin D. Roosevelt of the United States is undoubtedly the most influential statesman in the world. His influence and authority is greater than that of any of the dictators of great powers such as Stalin of Russia, Mussolini of Italy or Hitler of Germany. He has a greater authority, because he has been endowed with almost dictatorial power by the American people, who exercising their universal suffrage freely elected him with votes of about 12,000,000 majority.

This American President's authority in the field of international affairs is so great that British cabinet ministers and Parliamentarians, French statesmen and Italian diplomats of the first order flock to Washington to learn, if that is possible, what Mr. Roosevelt thinks on matters of international importance. Today none dares to oppose openly the United States of America.

Mr. Roosevelt is an honest man and a bold man, with a vision of serving his own people and Humanity. His public utterances are not for political manouvering but are appeals to the people to get their support, so that he may be able to carry out his programme. Therefore the speech of President Roosevelt on the occasion of his inaugural for the second term on January 20, 1937, is a document of capital importance.

The Inaugural Address

By The Associated Press

Washington, January 2) —The text of President Roosevelt's inaugural address, delivered immediately after he took the oath, was as follows :

My Fellow-Countrymen,

When four years ago we met to inaugurate a President, the Republic, single-minded in anxiety, stood in spirit here. We dedicated ourselves to the fulfilment of a vision—to speed the time when there would be for all the people that security and peace essential to the pursuit of happiness. We of the Republic pledged ourselves to drive from the temple of our ancient faith those who had profaned it; to end by action, tireless and unafraid, the stagnation and despair of that day.

We did those first things first.

Our covenant with ourselves did not stop there. Instinctively we recognized a deeper need—the need to find through government the instrument of our united purpose to solve for the individual the ever-rising problems of a complex civilization.

Repeated attempts at their solution without the aid of government had left us baffled and bewildered. For, without that aid, we had been unable to create those moral controls over the services of science which are necessary to make science a useful servant instead of a ruthless master of mankind. To do this we knew that we must find practical controls over blind economic forces and blindly selfish men.

We of the Republic sensed the truth that democratic government has innate capacity to protect its people against disasters once considered inevitable—to solve problems once considered unsolvable. We would not admit that we could not find a way to master economic epidemics just as, after centuries of fatalistic suffering, we had found a way to master epidemics of disease. We refused to leave the problems of our common welfare to be solved by the winds of chance and the hurricanes of disaster.

In this we Americans were discovering no wholly new truth; we were writing a new chapter in our book of self-government.

Forefathers Found Way Out of Chaos

This year marks the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the constitutional convention which made us a nation. At that convention our forefathers found the way out of the chaos which followed the Revolutionary War; they created a strong government with powers of united action sufficient then and now to solve problems utterly beyond individual or local solution. A century and a half ago they established the Federal Government in order to promote the general welfare and secure the blessings of liberty to the American people.

Today we invoke those same powers of government to achieve the same objectives.

Four years of new experience have not belied our historic instinct. They hold out the clear hope that government witnin communities, government within the separate States, and government of the United States can do the things the times require, without yielding its democracy. Our tasks in the last four years did not force democracy to take a holiday.

Nearly all of us recognize that as intricacies of human relationships increase, so power to govern them also must increase—power to stop evil; power to do good. The essential democracy of our nation and the safety of our people depend not upon the absence of power but upon lodging it with those whom the people can change or continue at stated intervals through an honest and free system of elections. The Constitution of 1787 did not make our democracy impotent.

In fact, in these last four years, we have made the exercise of all power more democratic; for we have begun to bring private autocratic powers into their proper subordination to the public's government. The legend that they were invincible—above and beyond the processes of a democracy—has been shattered. They have been challenged and beaten.

Our progress out of the depression is obvious.

Seeks More Enduring Social Structure

But that is not all that you and I mean by the new order of things. Our pledge was not merely to do a patchwork job with second-hand materials. By using the

new materials of social justice we have undertaken to erect on the old foundations a more enduring structure for the better use of future generations.

In that purpose we have been helped by achievements of mind and spirit. Old truths have been relearned, untruths have been unlearned. We have always known that heedless self-interest was bad morals; we know now that it is bad economics. Out of the collapse of a prosperity whose builders boasted their practicality has come the conviction that in the long run economic morality pays.

We are beginning to wipe out the line that divides the practical from the ideal, and in so doing we are fashioning an instrument of unimagined power for the establishment of a morally better world.

This new understanding undermines the old admiration of worldly success as such. We are beginning to abandon our tolerance of the abuse of power by those who betray for profit the elementary decencies of life.

In this process evil things formerly accepted will not be so easily condoned. Hard-headedness will not so easily excuse hard-heartedness. We are moving toward an era of good feeling. But we realize that there can be no era of good feeling save among men of good-will.

Notes Change in Nation's 'Moral Climate'

For these reasons I am justified in believing that the greatest change we have witnessed has been the change in the moral climate of America.

Among men of good-will, science and democracy together offer an ever-richer life and ever-larger satisfaction to the individual. With this change in our moral climate and our rediscovered ability to improve our economic order, we have set our feet upon the road of enduring progress.

Shall we pause now and turn our back upon the road that lies ahead? Shall we call this the promised land? Or shall we continue on our way? For "each age is a dream that is dying or one that is coming to birth."

Many voices are heard as we face a great decision. Comfort says "tarry a while." Opportunism says "this is a good spot." Timidity asks "how difficult is the road ahead?"

True, we have come far from the days of stagnation and despair. Vitality has been preserved. Courage and confidence have been restored. Mental and moral horizons have been extended.

But our present gains were won under the pressure of more than ordinary circumstance. Advance became imperative under the goad of fear and suffering. The times were on the side of progress.

To hold to progress today, however, is more difficult. Dulled conscience, irresponsibility and ruthless self-interest already reappear. Such symptoms of prosperity may become portents of disaster! Prosperity already tests the persistence of our progressive purpose.

Let us ask again: Have we reached the goal of our vision of that fourth day of March, 1933? Have we found our happy valley?

Still Sees Challenge to Democracy

I see a great nation, upon a great continent, blessed with a great wealth of natural resources. Its hundred and thirty million people are at peace among themselves; they are making their country a good neighbor among the nations. I see a United States which can demonstrate that, under democratic methods of government, national wealth can be translated into a spreading volume of human comforts hitherto unknown—and the lowest standard of living can be raised far above the level of mere subsistence.

But here is the challenge to our democracy: In this nation I see tens of millions of its citizens—a substantial part of its whole population—who at this very moment are denied the greater part of what the very lowest standards of today call the necessities of life.

I see millions of families trying to live on incomes so meager that the pall of family disaster hangs over them day by day.

I see millions whose daily lives in city and on farm continue under conditions labelled indecent by a so-called polite society half a century ago.

I see millions denied education, recreation and the opportunity to better their lot and the lot of their children.

I see millions lacking the means to buy the products of farm and factory and by their poverty denying work and productiveness to many other millions.

I see one-third of a nation ill-housed, ill-clad, ill-nourished.

Hopes to See Picture Painted Out

It is not in despair that I paint you that picture. I paint it for you in hope, because the nation, seeing and understanding the injustice in it, proposes to paint it out. We are determined to make every American citizen the subject of his country's interest and concern, and we will never regard any faithful law-abiding group within our borders as superfluous. The test of our progress is not whether we add more to the abundance of those who have much, it is whether we provide enough for those who have too little.

If I know aught of the spirit and purpose of our nation, we will not listen to comfort, opportunism and timidity. We will carry on.

Overwhelmingly, we of the Republic are men and women of good-will, men and women who have more than warm hearts of dedication, men and women who have cool heads and willing hands of practical purpose as well. They will insist that every agency of popular government use effective instruments to carry out their will.

Government is competent when all who compose it work as trustees for the whole people. It can make constant progress when it keeps abreast of all the facts. It can obtain justified support and legitimate criticism when the people receive true information of all that government does.

If I know aught of the will of our people, they will demand that these conditions of effective government shall be created and maintained. They will demand a nation uncorrupted by cancers of injustice and, therefore, strong among the nations in its example of the will to peace.

Must Go Up or Down Together

Today we reconsecrate our country to long cherished ideals in a suddenly changed civilization. In every land there are always at work forces that drive men apart and forces that draw men together. In our personal ambitions we are individualists. But in our seeking for economic and political progress as a nation, we all go up—or else we all go down—as one people.

To maintain a democracy of effort requires a vast amount of patience in dealing with differing methods, a vast amount of humility. But out of the confusion of many voices rises an understanding of dominant public need. Then political leadership can voice common ideals, and aid in their realization.

In taking again the oath of office as President of the United States, I assume the solemn obligation of leading the American people forward along the road over which they have chosen to advance.

While this duty rests upon me I shall do my utmost to speak their purpose and to do their will, seeking

THE EXHIBITION OF THE GOVERNMENT SCHOOL OF ARTS AND CRAFTS, MADRAS



The Princess



Uma



Dreamer—By Paritosh Sen



Lotus
By Nicholas Roerich

Armageddon 1936
By Nicholas Roerich

Divine guidance to help us each and every one to give light to them that sit in darkness and to guide our feet into the way of peace.

In my judgment this speech is no less epoch-making than the speech of George Washington when he accepted the presidency of the Republic of the United States of America in the face of opposition of all the crowned heads of the world and when the majority of the people of the Western World were thinking that "democracy was unworkable." This speech of President Roosevelt is no less important than that of President Lincoln when he assumed presidency for the second term and the country was torn asunder with a civil war. It was of no less significance than the utterances of President Woodrow Wilson, when the World War was ravaging Europe and he was laboring hard to keep the United States out of war.

This message of President Roosevelt is of peculiar significance to all the peoples of the world; because he advocates the ideal of a great ruler who must shoulder the responsibility of uplifting the down-trodden. His message has a special significance for the people, statesmen and rulers of India where more than 50,000,000 people, do not know what is called a "full meal a day," where more than 20,000,000 people are unemployed and where the youths coming out of the universities have no prospect of making a decent living, where the farmers of the land are burdened with unbearable debts and where life is literally an existence of misery for hundreds of millions of souls ! !

President Roosevelt is working for a peaceful revolution in America with popular support so that social justice may prevail and the ideal of democratic government may shape the destiny of a great nation.

AWAY WITH CRUELTY

(*Diary Leaves*)

By NICHOLAS ROERICH

THE historian records as follows the plundering of Rome by Spaniards and German *landsknechts* during the days of the famous Pope Clementius :

"... . And what no blocade could stop, were the daily demoralizing horrible rumours about blasphemous orgies and vandalism, which took place in Rome, about the fury of fanatic iconoclasts; St. Peter's Cathedral had been turned into stables, the *landsknechts* kept their horses in Raphael's stanzes in the Vatican; the remnants of Pope Julius had been thrown out of the tomb; the statues of the Apostles were beheaded; the procession of the Lutherans with the spear of St. Longinus, the sacrilege with the Holy Relic of St. Veronica, the intrusion into the Holy of Holies; about inhuman cruelties during night orgies, about the mock funeral of the cardinal and resurrection from the coffin, the murder of an abbot for his refusal to hold mass to a mule. There constantly flows in news even about a crack in the dome, about processions of priests and monks led through the streets to be sold, about the nocturnal conclave of drunken *landsknechts*, sacrileging the holy mass . . . ."

Another eyewitness adds :

"Starvation and pest followed the plundering. The city was exhausted and soldiers already pillaged not for gold but bread, searching for it even in the beds of the sick. A sinister silence, devastation, infection, corpses scattered everywhere, filled me with horror. Houses were open, doors broken, shops empty, and in the streets I could see but brutal soldiers."

We are quoting the above lines describing one of the many plunderings of Rome, because of it in comparison with other invasions there is usually very little known. In schools one only reads that Pope Clementius had to spend a certain time in the besieged castle of St. Angel, but the real horrors of vandalism and blasphemy are not even mentioned. The Emperor himself and kings did not even consider this a state of war. When we study other documents of those times we find that at some courts this horror was only referred to as an unhappy incident. But when the Spanish representatives arrived to save the city, they could not even with the help of the generals of the plundering armies, take control of the situation; to such an extent had the vandalism, cruelty and blasphemy taken hold of the Spaniards and *landsknechts*.

From where could such terrible cruelty and sacrilege originate ? It of course originated from every-day hard-heartedness. But how could such atrocity flash up instantly? This evil fire no doubt sprang up from habitual rudeness and cursing. We know how the infection of vulgarity of bad language mis-

chievously creeps into everyday life. Chaos manifests itself everywhere, where even for a minute cultural striving is neglected. One cannot for a moment remain in static condition —either down or up. Much is written in literature, dramas and tragedies about the nature of cruelty and atrocities. From everyday rudeness, permitted and nurtured, there arises abhorrent blasphemy, vandalism and other ugly manifestations of ignorance.



Nicholas Roerich

The paroxysm of ignorance, as often pointed out, is first of all directed against the Highest. Crass ignorance desires to annihilate something, to cut off someone's head, if even a stone one of a statue; ignorance tries to cut out the child from the mother's womb, to destroy life and to leave only an "empty place." Such is the ideal of ignorance. It greets illiteracy, it welcomes pornography, it relishes vulgarity and slander. It is difficult to estimate where one finishes and the other begins. Altogether the scales of ignorance are undefinable.

Since cruelty is created by everyday vulgarity and rudeness, how carefully should one extinguish every form of coarseness. How patiently even the smallest rude expressions should be eliminated from every home. Rudeness is absolutely unnecessary. Even wild animals are tamed not by rudeness and cruelty. In education rudeness has long been condemned as giving no useful results and only creating a generation of ruffians.

When we read historical examples of misery and ill-luck which took place owing to everyday vulgarity, when we see that these misfortunes continue also today, then is it not necessary to take undeferrable measures in schools and in the family to safeguard youth from every form of rudeness? The inexperienced youngster is so easily contaminated with the peril of rudeness. Ugly bad language is so easily introduced in life. Such language is called improper, in other words it is not admissible.

In opposition to proper language there apparently exists *dirty* language. And if people themselves admit that certain expressions are improper, it means that they themselves consider them dirty. Then why to favour dirt in life? No one will pour a pail of slops and garbage on the floor in his room. And if such a thing happens by accident, then even the most primitive people will consider it abominable. But bad language is nothing else but a pail of slops and garbage. Is not bad language just a bad habit? Children are punished for bad habits, but the grown-up are not only not punished, but even their dirty expression calls forth encouraging smiles.

The habit of rudeness, ill-language and blasphemy is spread to such an extent that it is simply not noticed. If people remember all the blasphemous jokes which cause a roar of laughter, it will be quite natural that today these people go to church as if for prayer and tomorrow they are nurturing their horrible bad language.

It has been said long ago: "Yesterday a small compromise, today another small compromise—tomorrow a great scoundrel." Coarseness surprises not only by its inner cruelty, but also by its senselessness.

People like the Pharisees often show such hypocrisy when pretending to regret the loss of purity of language and yet they themselves sometimes sponsor the mutilation of language. Amidst rubbish are born horrible microbes and they spread in colossal pernicious epidemics.

It has been asserted that Beauty will save the world. Quite recently we read an excellent book by the renowned Latvian poet Richard Rudzitis, "Realisation of Beauty will save." Indeed every one will agree with this ardent call. But the very concept of Beauty compels the

introduction of refinement into everyday life. Not a senseless luxury, but refined beauty is meant. And such a refined beauty does not depend on material wealth. And first of all such refinement should not be abused by any form of rudeness.

We speak of the protection of cultural treasures. And for the realisation of this axiom every one should free himself from a rude attitude to higher ideals. Besides, let us always remember that when protecting cultural treasures we must not forget the creators of them With greatest love let us surround them, paying tribute as to living monuments of Culture.

Thus having remembered horrors and cruelty let us conclude with Love and Beauty as a blissful creative force.

PRACTICAL CO-OPERATION

Sir Daniel Hamilton's Farm in the Sunderbans

By A. P. BLAIR

The visit which the Governor of Bengal made recently to the Hamilton Zamindari at Gosaba has drawn attention to the most original and successful experiment in co-operative agriculture that exists in this province, if not in the whole of India. Thirty years ago the Gosaba farm, which now covers 22,000 acres and supports 12,000 souls in relative comfort and prosperity, was no more than a mangrove swamp, covered twice a day by the tides from the Bay, and intersected by innumerable channels. Sir Daniel was then a leading Calcutta *burra sahib*, but this did not prevent him from determining to establish a model farm which should put into practice the theories upon which alone he believed that the rebuilding of India's agricultural life could be effected. In 1903 he leased from Government a piece of land at Gosaba, south of Canning and some fifty miles from Calcutta. Before anything could be grown it was necessary to embank the whole area against the tides and then allow the monsoon rains of two or three seasons to wash out the salt from the ground. This was done, and some of the landless labourers who had been brought from up-country to construct the bunds settled as tenants and began to clear and cultivate the the land. By 1910 three thousand acres had been enclosed and the population of the estate numbered nine hundred.

Small Beginnings

It was then that Sir Daniel took the first step towards making a reality of the co-operative ideal. An old tenant related to him his tale of oppression by the *mahajan* or local money-lender. The tenant had borrowed Rs. 50 at a high rate of interest and being unable to pay the interest had had to renew his bond for Rs. 100 and then for Rs. 500, ultimately



A Boys' School Gosal

pledging half the produce of his 25 acres of land. The *mahajan* was thus receiving about Rs. 300 a year clear profit from his original loan of Rs. 50. From this iniquitous bargain Sir Daniel forced the *mahajan* to release his victim in return for a cash payment of Rs. 500, but in the course of his investigations Sir Daniel found that the lowest interest at which the cultivator wishing to purchase seed could borrow in July for repayment in December, after the harvest was 25 per cent. On these terms his tenants

could never prosper and Sir Daniel therefore compounded all their debts with the *mahajans* and expelled the latter from his estate. The tenants now took advances from the estate and repaid them after harvesting, with interest at 12½% per annum. This was the beginning of co-operation, and in 1915 the first Gosaba Bank was started. This bank took over the loans from the estate to the tenants and gradually expanded into a system of rural credit societies now numbering nineteen and federated in a central union known as the Gosaba Central Co-operative Bank.



A schoolmaster's house and vegetable garden cultivated with his pupils' help -Gosaba

As a parallel development a Co-operative Stores was opened and a unique feature of Gosaba the manner in which the whole economic cycle of the tenants' lives has been integrated within the co-operative framework of the bank and stores. Rice is the principal crop and a Co-operative Paddy Sale Society was established in 1922, which now owns a rice mill at Gosaba and a fleet of boats to carry the finished rice to the Central Co-operative Selling Depot in Calcutta. The middle man is thus entirely eliminated. For the advances required for sowing, the cultivator can borrow from his village society; when his crop is harvested he takes it to the Paddy Society who credit his account through the Central Bank with the current market value of his paddy. The bank deducts rent due from the tenant to the estate plus the advances made to him earlier in the year and credits the balance to his account with his village society. The Paddy Society stores and mills the paddy, ships the finished rice in its own boats to Calcutta, and credits the cultivator with the difference between what he has already received for his paddy and what the Society has received for the finished rice, less the costs incurred by the Society for milling and sale. The Society's boats bring back at a nominal charge the purchases of the Co-operative Stores, which is thus able to sell to its members at practically wholesale prices.

Education Linked To Husbandry

By co-operation, the cultivator gets the full price for his produce and can buy his everyday requirements at favourable rates. This was in itself an immeasurable gain, contributing to the relative prosperity enjoyed by the Gosaba estate throughout the depression, when in the rest of the Sunderbans distress was almost universal. But Sir Daniel has gone further. An experimental farm was established some years ago from which the cultivators are supplied free with vegetable and fruit seeds in order that they may widen their range of foodstuffs. On the home farm, after seven years experiment, a strain of rice has been developed that is specially suited to Gosaba conditions and gives a yield up to 60% greater than ordinary strains.

Each village has a primary school, and in order that even the master may be self-supporting he is given a good cow and three acres of land adjoining the school. On one acre he grows vegetables, fruit and sugar-cane, and on the remainder rice. By himself he would not have the time to cultivate his land and therefore every boy in the school is required to assist him in the work. Thus the sons of the cultivators, whether their fathers are backward or progressive, acquire a grounding in good husbandry and learn how to raise the subsidiary crops which not only bring in extra money but are an invaluable addition to the cultivators' diet.



The Rural Reconstruction Institute at Gosaba. Youngmen working on their own plots

The Art Of Independent Livelihood

The objective throughout in the development of the estate has been that every individual of

every class should acquire the means to an independent livelihood, and the coping-stone of Sir Daniel's edifice is the Rural Reconstruction Institute which was opened at Gosaba a year ago. The Institute undertakes the training of young men of the *bhadralok* class in practical agriculture, weaving, and other village industries, in the principles and practice of co-operation and in primary school teaching. The course lasts for two years and includes Character building, Bengali and English, Book keeping and Accounts, and Co-operative Law. The students live in houses of the peasant type, and each has a plot of land allotted to him which he has to tend with his own hands and on which he learns how to grow scientifically every variety of duce. He is also taught how to weave



weekly hat where the One Rupee Gosaba Note has a good circulation

his own clothes. The Institute is thus largely self-supporting and this makes it possible to charge only the nominal fee of Rs. 7-8-0 a month for board and tuition. At the moment there are fifteen students, all but two of whom are of the *bhadralok* class. On passing their examination at the end of the course they will receive a Diploma in the Art of Independent Livelihood, which unlike so many diplomas should guarantee that they do not starve or become a burden of their families.

The Gosaba One Rupee Note

As the majority of the Gosaba tenants sell their crop through the Co-operative Paddy Society and buy their requirements from the Co-operative Stores there is little need for actual money to circulate and the Estate is virtually a self-contained, self-financing unit. This has enabled Sir Daniel to carry through an interesting experiment in currency management—the introduction of the Gosaba One Rupee Note. This note carries no guarantee of convertibility and is in effect a draft on the productive capacity of the Estate. Eleven hundred notes were put into circulation early in 1936 and they pass freely from hand to hand at their face value. They are issued in payment for productive work



Bringing paddy to the Co-operative Rice Mill

done on behalf of the Estate, such as building and repairing bunds, and they are designed to expand the purchasing power of the tenants by capitalising, immediately it is undertaken, the value of work which does not otherwise show a return, through increased production, until some time later. The notes come back to the Estate through the Co-operative Stores and in the payment of rent, and since their backing is the credit of the Estate itself, their success



Paddy storage at the Co-operative Rice Mill

proves how thoroughly their landlord is trusted by the tenants.

THE CURE FOR A WIDER ILL?

The extension of the system is strongly advocated by Sir Daniel as a solution of the chronic financial stringency which throughout India blocks at every turn the development of those nation-building services for which there is such crying need. Its application over the vast face of India would be incomparably more difficult than in a self-contained community such as Gosaba—or even than in the Scotland of a hundred and fifty years ago, where the introduction of the One Pound Bank Note as a cash credit to farmers performed much the same functions and made possible their rapid expansion of Scottish banking and Scottish commerce and agriculture. Whatever may be said by the financial purist about the Gosaba Note, it cannot be denied however that Sir Daniel has solved for his own tenantry the most difficult problems in Indian agriculture,—those of rural credits and organised marketing. These problems have in the past been tackled elsewhere by co-operative means, and co-operation,—for a variety of reasons,—has disappointed the high hopes of its begetters. But the lesson of Gosaba is unmistakeable—that with imaginative and careful administration it would not be impossible to revitalise the Co-operative Movement throughout India and develop gradually an integrated system of cultivation and marketing which would rescue the peasant from those two oppressors who are yet indispensible to him in his present state—the middle-man and the *mahajan*.

PARAMAHANSA RAMAKRISHNA, SAINT, MYSTIC AND SEER

With a brief view of religious development from Rammohun to Ramakrishna, and after—

By DR. SIR BRAJENDRA NATH SEAL

DEAR FRIENDS,

We are met today to celebrate the centenary of the birth, or, as others would have it, the advent into this world, of Saint Paramahansa-Ramakrishna, and we must approach all questions in a calm and dispassionate spirit.

More than 25 years ago, I wrote at Sister Nivedita's request a paper entitled, 'An Early Stage in Vivekananda's Mental Development,' which I concluded with an account of a visit I had paid to Vivekananda's master one stormy evening, with an accompaniment of thunder and lightning, and this well suited the mental commotion which that visit brought me to. And now in the calm and dispassion of approaching death, I deem it a privilege to be able to share in the Centenary Celebration of one who in his sojourn on earth was above time and above space.

RAMAKRISHNA'S SUCCESSIVE RELIGIOUS EXPERIENCES— GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT OF HIS RELIGIOUS LIFE :

The successive stages are well-known and have been thus summarised :

(1) In his early boyhood, he took part in popular shows and exhibitions such as Krishna-lila and Gajan songs. He would play the part of Krishna or Shiva in these popular shows.

(2) On the death of his elder brother, he became priest at Dakshineshwar Kali Bari (Temple of Kali). He wanted to see Kali, the Divine Mother, and he threatened to stab himself to death if Kali would not deign to appear. He was half-mad and at last he had, as he thought, a vision of Kali.

(3) He now began to practise austerities. He took on himself a vow to abjure woman and gold (*Kamini* and *Kanchana*). Taking gold in one hand and mud in the other, he would mutter, 'gold is mud and mud is gold.' In the same way he conquered all cravings of the flesh and in the end he revered every woman as mother.

(4) Now came to him a youthful and beautiful woman who initiated him into Tantric Practices (Sadhana). Lying on her lap he meditated on Kali. She was a Bamacharini, using wine and flesh in the rituals of worship. He worshipped her as a naked goddess, and all sensual cravings were thus seared and burnt up in him.

His Sadhanas and Religious Practices :

He sought to experience each religion in its entirety in Sadhana or spiritual discipline. Now he would be a Moslem Fakir, with appropriate rituals, attitudes and garb, and now a Christian neophyte, stricken with a sense of sin and crying for salvation. There was nothing of mere pose or mere imagination in all this. Here was an individual soul who would enrich himself with all human experience in religious life and history. And precious elements were thus added to his Hindu heritage—the sense of human brotherhood and equality from the Moslem faith, and the need of salvation from sin from Christianity. In the same way. Vaishnava Sankirtan and music were added to his religious exercises. These became elements (*Angas*) of his Sadhana.

Early Personal Influences On Ramakrishna:

(1) One such influence was that of saint Dayananda Sarasvati who took his stand on the Vedas as teaching the one Universal religion and fought all idolatory in a militant mood. But his influence on Ramakrishna could not be lasting or deep. Ramakrishna's genuineness led him to revolt against Hindu practices. He would repudiate caste and even serve the 'Methar' (sweeper), which could hardly have been pleasing to the Orthodox Vedic brotherhood. He felt himself drawn to Tota Puri and other Indian saints and his experiences prepared him for his mission in life. It was Tota Puri who initiated him into Sanyasa.

(2) He came under the influence of the Brahmo Samaj, and probably this deepened his sense of divine motherhood which his worship of Kali had instilled into him.

The New Dispensation as preached by Brahmananda Keshabchandra broadened his religious outlook by giving him a keen sense of certain social evils and immoralities which had corrupted later Hindu religious practices.

Paramahansa Ramakrishna's Central Contributions to Religious Life and Ideas : His Mysticism.

(1) Ramakrishna, like Rammohun himself, was a composite personality. In contemplating truth from the absolute (*Nirupadhi*) point of view he negatived all conditions and modes (Upadhis), but from the relative or conditional (Sopadhi) point of view he worshipped Kali, the Divine Mother, as well as other modes and adumbrations of the Deity. He worshipped the one in all, and the all in one and he saw no contradiction but only a fuller reality in this. So also he reconciled *Sakar* and *Nirakar Upasana* (iconic and aniconic worship). For him there was nothing in the material form of the Deity but God manifesting himself. The antagonism between matter and spirit no longer existed for him.

(2) What he refused to delude himself with was that he was above all conditions and all infirmities of the flesh. But in his trances (*Samadhi*) he developed ecstasia in its purest form, such as has been reraly witnessed in the West in the religious world since the days of Eckhart and Tauler.

(3) Like most Hindu saints he had an inexhaustible store of homely sayings, adages, metaphors, allegories, parables, which could bring spiritual truths home to the meanest understanding and even to the child.

Rammohun, Keshabchandra & Ramakrishna

Rammohun Roy, the precursor and in a very real sense the father of modern India, sought the Universal Religion, the common basis of the Hindu, Moslem, Christian and other faiths. He found that each of the national religions was based on this common faith with a certain distinctive historical and cultural embodiment.

It is fundamental to note that Rammohun Roy played two roles in his own person :

(1) As a Universalist he formulated the creed of what was called Neo-theo-philanthropy ('a new love of God and Man') on positive and constructive lines. He construed the *Gayatri* on this basis. And, strange to say, this Hindu became one of the four fathers of the Unitarian creed and worship in the West, the other three being Price, Priestley and Channing.

(2) As a Nationalist Reformer, Rammohun had a three-fold mission :

- (*a*) As a Hindu Reformer he gave a Unitarian redaction of the Hindu Shastras from the Vedanta and Mahanirvana Tantra.
- (*b*) As a Moslem defender of the faith he wrote the Tuhfat-ul-Muwahhidin and Monazaratul Adiyan, which were polemical works.
- (*c*) As a Christian he gave a Unitarian version of the entire body of the scriptures, old and new, in his controversies with the Christian missionaries.

Rammohun was thus in himself a universalist and three nationalists all in one.

Maharshi Devendranath organized the creed, rituals and *Anushthanas* (observances)

in the Adi Brahmo Samaj on a Hindu Upanishadic basis.

The work of formulating Universal Religion, free from Hindu or Christian theology, fell to Brahmananda Keshabchandra, who attempted this on an eclectic basis, and thus organized rituals and modes of worship.

In his earlier days Keshab made Christianity the central religion, but in later life he was drawn more and more to Vaishnavism for emotional religious exercises. This was selective eclecticism.

He thus variegated and fulfilled religion and religious experiences, as well as concepts, rituals and worship in a way never attempted before. Buddhism, Christianity, Islam and Vaishnavism, not to mention other religions, each contributed its essence and substance to Keshab's religion of the New Dispensation, and what was new was the eclectic cult and culture.

The next step (and it was indeed a fundamental innovation) was taken by Paramahansa Ramakrishna. The Paramahansa would experience each cult and religion in its totality or as one whole experience.

How He Differed from Brahmananda Keshabchandra :

Keshabchandra would emphasise the central essence of each religion and acknowledge its truth. In this sense Brahmananda Keshab would say, 'It is not that every religion contains truths, but every religion is true.' But as there are different religions, it follows that they convey different aspects of truth. They transcribe not a part but the whole of life, each from one fundamental standpoint.

But the religions contend with one another. Each claims that its positive standpoint is the only true standpoint and all other standpoints are erroneous. But Keshab differed. He viewed life from all these different standpoints eclectically. He selected from each religion what he considered its essence, both theoretical and practical. He formulated a collation of all these partial aspects in the Brahmo faith and more especially in the New Dispensation creed.

Put more briefly, Keshab's view is that every religion as represented by its central essence is true. But it does not contain the whole truth, which can be viewed only from an eclectic standpoint. The New Dispensation would select the distinctive central essence from each religion.

But Keshabchandra must not be misunderstood. He believed with Rammohun in the unity of all religions, but, as he said, he meant not the collection of Truths but the unification of Truths in one ideal. Unity and universalism must, therefore, qualify eclecticism and secure an international expression of religion. This was Rammohun's Universalism.

There were later devolopment of the New Dispensation creed, and the final phase was reached in the conception of a harmony of religions in the form of a synthetic faith and their 'amalgamation in a beautiful synthesis.' This synthesis is, of course, entirely different from a synthesis of cultures.

Finally, it should be noted that the foundations of the New Dispensation were laid in 1879-1882 after the Sadharanist schism, and that subsequent developments of doctrine came to light (1) under Pratap Chandra Majumdar's lead in favour of an oriental version of Christian faith (Oriental Christ), and (2) under Gour Govinda Upadhyaya's lead in favour of a Veda-Vedanta-Puranic version of the New Dispensation. The New Dispensation creed, as it stands now, is an amalgam of all these three phases.

Subject to these qualifications, Keshab's creed was eclectic. Here it was that Ramakrishna differed from Keshabchandra. Indeed he differed from his predecessors in two essential respects :

(1) He maintained that the practices of each religion with its rituals and disciplines give its essence more really and vitally than its theoretical dogmas or creeds; and

(2) it is not by selective eclecticism but by syncretism and the wholehearted acceptance of a religion that its full value and worth could be realised and experienced.

Ramakrishna held that selective extracts would kill the vital element in each religion. He would be a Hindu with the Hindu, a Moslem with the Moslem and a Christian with the Christian in order to experience the whole truth and efficacy of each of these religions. But he would not practise different religious disciplines or hold different creeds at one and the same time. The observances, practices and rituals of each religion are organic to it. He would tentatively accept the whole creed and ritual of the Moslem (or of the Christian Catholic), in order to experience its religious efficacy and truth. In all this there might be temptations or pitfalls, but one must be as an innocent child or babe, and pass unscathed through fire. It was thus that the Paramahansa passed successively through Christian and Moslem experiences. Such was the Paramahansa's Syncretism.

The Question of Asceticism and of Celibacy

The great founders of Religion have been sanyasis or ascetics. Such were the Buddha

and the Christ. Such were also St. Francis of Assisi, Chaitanya and Ramakrishna. Most of them forsook their wives or mothers for bringing redemption to mankind. The wives and mothers of the saviours of mankind have thus suffered vicariously. Celibacy was the ideal of these religious teachers.

OTHER IDEALS :

Chinese and Greek teachers of mankind as well as the Indian Rishis of old did not forsake the life of the world. This is also the case with Gandhi. This is also the modern ideal.

MODERNISM IN RELIGION :

Ramakrishna was thus a cosmic Humanist in religion and not a mere nationalist. He gave the impulse and initiative and this must be completed in our age.

One such characteristic note of our day, derived from Christianity, is faith in a suffering God, the faith of the dispossessed millions as well as of the outcasts of Humanity. And not in religion only, as religion is ordinarily understood. Humanism has now various new phases and developments. Leaving out Compte's positivistic humanism with its worship of the 'Grand Etre' (Great Being) and Babism, with its offshoot, Bahaism, the religion of human brotherhood,—we may turn to later phases such as the new concepts of religion without a God (as in Julian Huxley and many others of our day). This is not all. Impersonal ideals of Truth, Beauty and Goodness have sometimes replaced the old faith in a personal God. And it is not merely the religious sentiment which claims its own pabulum in our day. A passion for Science, for Philosophy or for Scientific Philosophy, a passion for Art or for *Rasa* (æsthetic sentiment) in general is the badge of modernism in our culture and seeks to displace much of the old religious sentiment. Herbert Spencer's agnosticism, Darwin's characteristic impassiveness which is only the Baconian dry light of old, and John Stuart Mill's atheism which would conserve the value of religion without its beliefs, [with agnosticism and Zoroastrian dualism as occasional variants—all these] are only examples in our day of the man in quest of a God.

PARLIAMENT OF RELIGIONS :

Our present quest is for a Parliament of Religions, a quest which we seek to voice in this assembly. But this is only a stepping stone to a Parliament of Man or a Federation of World Cultures.

Articles of faith, creeds and dogmas divide man from man. But we seek in religion a meeting ground of Humanity. What we want is not merely Universal Religion in its quintessence, as Rammohun sought it in his earlier days,—not merely on e c l e c t i c religion by compounding the distinctive essences, theoretical as well as practical, of the different religions, as Keshabchandra sought it, but experience as a whole as it has unfolded itself in the history of man, and this can be realised by us, as Ramakrishna taught, by Syncretic practice of Religion by being a Hindu with the Hindu, a Moslem with the Moslem, a Christian with the Christian and a Universalist with the Universalist, and all this as a stepping stone to the Ultimate Realisation of God-in-Man and Man-in-God.

I have hitherto spoken of the Parliament of Religions, taking religion in the concrete, but I will now take religion and religious experience as a force organising man's life and history.

Religion in this broader sense, as distinguished from religions in the concrete, is a force that organises life and life activities. All culture and all concepts, in fact, are dominated by the idea of Religion at this stage. Food, sex-relations, the family, tribal life and warfare are all regulated by the religious ideal. Empirical Science and the folk-life are grouped round the central idea of the religion of a race or people. And, in the course of progress, the higher religions are evolved, and the Parliament of Religions is the apex of this ascending course of religious evolution.

But the religious expression is not only expression of the Ultimate Experience. We have also Science, Philosophy or (better) Scientific Philosophy, Art or the æsthetic sensibility, *Rasa* (sentiment) or *Rasanubhuti*, or again mystical experience, all these being phases of Humanism. And the consummation is to be found in cosmic Humanism which frees Humanism from its limitation of outlook by finding man in the Universe and the Universe in Man. And we must seek to be free not of this or that state but of the solar system, and the stellar systems and beyond, in one word, of the Universe.

The Parliament of Religions is but the vanguard, and heralds the approach of a new order. The personal life which has hitherto been the centre of development, must make room for larger personalities, such as the masses, the community and the age and all this

must consciously regulate humanity. In other words—

(*a*) The mass consciousness or the mass mind must be the ruling idea of the coming order of Humanism.

(*b*) The community life will seek its satisfaction as an intermediary between the individual and the State.

(*c*) The next stage in this evolution will be the ruling idea of the age or the age consciousness.

(*d*) And this is to be completed by the consciousness of the race (or humanity as a whole) as the dominant factor in our evolving life.

Our immediate objective today is a Parliament of Religions. But in my view this is only a prelude to a larger Parliament, the Parliament of Man, voicing the Federation of World Cultures, as I have said, and what this will seek to establish is a synthetic view of life conceived not statically but dynamically as a progressive evolution of Humanity.

Complete and ungarbled version of the inaugural address read at the Sri Ramakrishna Centenary Parliament of Religions.

The sentences and words within square brackets were added after the reading of the address.

NEW MOVES IN RAILWAY FINANCE

By Prof. BHABATOSH DATTA, M.A., B.L.

Once at least every year the Indian public get the opportunity of realising how the railways—the most important commercial undertaking of the Government—are being worked. The budget speech of the Railway Member contains ample information about the financial position of the State Railways in India, and any one interested in this or in the general budgetary position of the Government of India finds important data in the figures disclosed.[1]

For the last few years, however, the railways have had only one story to tell. These years have been years of repeated deficits and the railways have failed even to make the requisite contribution to the general revenues. The outstanding obligation of the railways to the Government of India amounts to 30.75 crores and the deficits that have been met by annual loans from the Depreciation Fund approach a total of 31.33 crores. As a whole, therefore, since 1930-31, the finances of the State Railways of India have been behind the normal by more than 62 crores of rupees.

It is, therefore, refreshing to learn that the tables have now turned. Last year, the Railway Member budgeted for a deficit of 3.44 crores, and this year the same gentleman tells us that the railways have in fact earned, during the current financial year, a *surplus* of 15 lakhs. Though the amount is small, the fact that we have at last seen the end of the period of deficits is undoubtedly encouraging.

The current year is certainly a remarkable one for this welcome change in the finances of the Indian railways. Sir Zafrulla Khan, however, wants to make his membership more remarkable by the introduction of a new system of accounting and by the cancellation of all the outstanding obligations of the railways.

A thorough overhauling of the system of railway-accounts has long been overdue. Attention has been drawn to the defects of the prevalent system by many important public bodies. Very recently, the Bengal National Chamber of Commerce in a memorandum submitted to the Railway Inquiry Committee, pointed out the defects of the depreciation rules. The Railway Authorities have recognized the existence of these defects, and they have assured the Legislature the changes now made in the accounting system are not comprehensive. Further improvements will possibly be introduced on the recommendations that may be forthcoming from the Wedgwood Committee.

The new system of accounting has at least one thing to commend it, namely, that it has led to a small decrease in the expenditure out of capital. In accordance with the changed

1. The total route mileage of all-Indian Railways open on March 31, 1936 was 43,118 of which the State-owned portion was 31,783 *i.e.*, 74 per cent of the total. See Report of the Railway Board, 1935-36.

system, renewals and replacements of 'wasting' as well as of 'non-wasting' assets will be charged to the Depreciation Account, while capital will be charged with only that part of the cost of a renewed asset which represents a definite improvement. When an asset is replaced by an identical one the excess of the cost over the original price will be borne out of the Depreciation Fund. The amounts that are received from the sale of old assets will be credited to the Depreciation Fund, and not, as at present, to the gross receipts. Again, certain renewals have hitherto been made out of the working expenses; these will henceforth be met out of the depreciation allocations. The net result will be an increase in expenditure out of the Depreciation Fund, a consequent decrease in the net revenue from the railways and a small decrease in expenditure on capital account In a normal year, the Depreciation Fund expenses will be higher by 1.25 crores, capital expenditure lower by 1.50 crores and net revenue lower by 25 lakhs.

These changes in the system of accounting have certainly much to commend themselves. In the case of any operation requiring a huge capital investment, it is proper that replacement and renewal charges should be allocated carefully, and, for this, a proper emphasis on the Depreciation Fund is absolutely essential. It is premature, however, to go further into this new departure, for the Railway Inquiry Committee will certainly have something valuable to say in this matter. A system of accounts, and particularly of railway accounts can be properly evaluated by one possessing expert knowledge and experience, and however great may have been our dissatisfaction with the composition of this Committee, we shall eagerly await their remarks on the system hitherto prevalent and on the changes that have been introduced this year.

In the Assembly, Sir Zafrulla Khan has been warmly congratulated by some members on his achievement of turning an expected deficit into a realised surplus. It may, however, be pointed out that the surplus has accrued more on account of increase in gross receipts than on account of economy in the working expenses. If the surplus had accrued as the direct result of a marked reduction in the operating expenses, we would have taken it as a direct proof of efficient management. The Bengal National Chamber of Commerce in their memorandum to the Wedgwood Committee pointed out that the percentage of increase in the working expenses above the pre-war average has been much greater than the percentage of increase in gross receipts. The "operating ratio" which was 52 per cent during the pre-war years increased to 66 per cent by 1920-30, and to 71 per cent in 1933-35. In spite of all measures of economy adopted by the railway authorities, the ratio stands now at nearly 68 per cent.

The main reason for the accrual of the surplus is to be found in the increase in the gross earnings. A part of this increase may have been caused by the measures recently adopted to popularise railway travel. But it cannot be forgotten that the increase of over 4.5 crores in traffic receipts has been mainly caused by improved prices and improving markets. The war scare abroad may also have been responsible for some increase in the movement of goods. These are factors outside the control of the Railway Board, and, so, the credit for the improvement of railway finances cannot wholly be claimed by it.

Even then, it is pleasing to find that there has been a surplus. This surplus of 15 lakhs would have amounted to 51 lakhs if the old system of accounting had been adhered to, and if the Burma Railways had been left out of account, the surplus would have been 42 lakhs according to the new system and nearly 78 lakhs on the old system of accounting. In framing the budget estimates for 1937-38 the Burma Railways have of course been excluded, and this explains the fall in gross receipts and total expenses. The surplus that is expected next year is as small as that accruing this year, but if the present trend continues, the railway finances may begin definitely to improve. The position of the railways at present as compared with the past few years will appear from the table given below.

Year		Gross receipts	Total expenditure including interest charges	Balance
		(In crores)		
1934-35				
Actual	..	90.20	95.26	—5.06
1935-36				
Actual	..	90.65	94.64	—3.99
1936-37				
Budget	..	91.25	94.69	—3.44
Revised	..	95.00	94.85	+0.15
1937-38				
Budget	..	90.75	90.60	+0.15

The improvement that has taken place in railway finances is important from many standpoints. The recommendations of Sir Otto Niemeyer have been embodied almost verbatim in the Order-in-Council issued in July last, and, consequently, the provinces' share in the income-

tax receipts will depend on the amount that the railways are able to contribute to the general revenues of the Federal Government. Again, this surplus budget raises the question of repayment of the loans from the Depreciation Fund and the arrears of contributions to the central revenues.

The latter question has been sought to be tackled by the Railway Board in a remarkably drastic manner. During all these years of depression from—1930-31 to 1935-36—the railways have been kept going by loans from the Depreciation Fund. The maximum deficit made good by such a loan was that of the year 1932-33, when the gross receipts fell short of the total expenditure by 10.25 crores. Up till the present, the total amount borrowed from the Depreciation Fund stands at 31.33 crores. This amount the railways are expected to pay back to the fund out of which it was advanced.

To this huge sum has to be added another 30.75 crores representing arrears of contributions to the general revenues. Under the Separation Convention of 1924, the railways have to pay to the Central Government one per cent of the capital-at-charge and one-fifth of the surplus profit remaining after the payment of this charge, together with one-third of the excess over 3 crores of the remaining four-fifths of the surplus profits. Since there have been no profits during the last few years, arrears have accumulated only on account of the first of the above heads. And these arrears alone have amounted to a fairly good sum.

The total liability with which the railways are expected to begin their rejuvenated career is thus more than 62 crores. If there are normal surpluses during the next ten or fifteen years, the whole of these will have to be devoted to liquidate this obligation. And in the meantime, if nothing is left for making the normal contributions to the general revenues, fresh obligations will continue to be created.

The situation, no doubt, is an unenviable one, and to clear the railways out of it, Sir Zafrulla Khan and Sir Guthrie Russell have proposed that the whole of the outstanding obligation should be written off and that the railways should start afresh with a clean slate to write on. This proposal is a remarkable one and, consequently, it deserves careful scrutiny.

The Depreciation Fund will stand, at the end of the current financial year at 15.50 crores, and when the amount that has accumulated in it to the credit of the Burma Railways has been handed over in April next, the amount will be 13.75 crores. At the end of the next year the Fund is expected to amount to 20.25 crores. If the loans taken from this Fund had all been repaid, the total would have amounted to 51.58 crores.

It is worth noting that the Depreciation Fund is the only fund to which the railways can turn in emergencies. The reserve fund is liable to be exhausted at the first shock, and it is therefore essential that a substantial Depreciation Fund should be built up, so that, in addition to supplying the cost of normal renewals and replacements, it may help to steady the finances of the railways in emergencies. The experiences of the recent years ought to direct attention to the dangers to which the railway system is open in a country the financial position of which depends on the prices of primary products. Any depression is bound to affect India seriously and the railways should be prepared against all sorts of possibilities.

The need for a substantial Depreciation Fund is further emphasized by the new system of accounting that has been introduced this year. Many expenses that were formerly charged to capital and to general receipts will henceforth be borne out of the Depreciation Fund. This will necessitate the maintenance of a larger amount in this Fund than is done at present. Of course the Fund is likely to expand as the result of future allocations. But the importance of the Fund is so great that the first obligation of the railways should be to maintain it on a proper level. The existence of the obligation to repay the loans taken from the Fund will be more effective than anything else in increasing its amount, and it will make the railway administration more careful when fresh loans will have to be taken. Once the present debts are wiped out, the railways will cease to be careful in borrowing for any future need. It is certainly difficult to agree with the Railway Member when he speaks of the desirability of cancellation of debts due to the Depreciation Fund.

It is less difficult to understand the Railway Member's view-point when he suggests that the outstanding contributions to the central revenues should be all cancelled. It is true that if now these obligations are to be paid off, new arrears will continue to accrue every year. As the Separation Convention makes these contributions cumulative, the railways will have to enter a vicious never-ending circle, always paying the arrears of contributions and always being charged with new arrears accruing every year.

This question has another, and a much more important aspect. According to the Order-in-Council dated the 3rd of July, 1936, the 50 per cent share of the Federal Government in the ordinary income-tax receipts *plus* the block amount to be retained out of the provincial share *plus* the contributions of the railways to the central revenues will have to make a total of 13 crores. If therefore, the railways are to utilise their surpluses in paying back the arrears due to the Depreciation Fund and to the Central Government, they will not be able to make their normal contributions. Provincial Governments will thus get nothing out of the income-tax receipts during the first five years of the Federation, and very little during the next five years.

Three alternative solutions present themselves : first, the outstanding obligations may be wiped out, so that the railways may begin to make their normal contributions henceforth; secondly, the Separation Convention of 1924 may be thoroughly revised to make possible contributions on a new basis; and, lastly, the provisions of the Order-in-Council regarding the allocation of the income-tax receipts may be overhauled, so that the provinces' share does not depend on railway profits alone.

Of these three, the last alternative is one which is perhaps most commendable from the stand-point of financial equity. It is difficult to understand the logic that led the Government's expert consultant to assume that only the railway profits would represent the ability of the Federal Government to surrender the " retained " portion of the provincial share of the income-tax receipts. If this surrender is to be made to depend on anything, it ought to depend on the improvement in the general financial position of the Federal Government. To make the share of the provinces dependent on only one particular head of Federal revenues is an inequity that is difficult to justify.[2]

We may note further that from the broad economic stand-point, it may often be desirable to work railways on a non-commercial basis. A lenient freight policy will have immensely beneficial effects on all branches of economic life. The loss sustained by the railways may be more than offset by the gains to industry and agriculture. In South Africa, for example, the railways, ports and harbours have to be worked with due regard to agricultural and industrial development.[3] In India, too much attention is paid to railroad profits, and the Niemeyer award has made railway profits an absolute necessity, even though the economic interests of the country may suffer on account of the railways taking up a profit-expanding policy.

Of the three alternatives noted earlier, Sir Zafrulla Khan has chosen the first one, which is certainly simple and easily practicable. But the danger of a slender Depreciation Fund is really great, and the step suggested ought not to be taken without very careful deliberation. On the other hand, the case for a revision of the basis of contribution is very strong. The minimum of the cumulative 1 per cent charge on the total amount of capital invested is wrong in principle, and certainly a better scheme will be to fix the contribution as a definite percentage of the net profits. In the Council of State, Mr. R. H. Parker has pointed out that the Convention of 1924 was based on the assumption " that it was reasonable to spend the whole of your profits in good years and borrow to pay your deficits in bad years." There is no sound justification for writing off the debts to the Depreciation Fund; it may be reasonable to cancel the arrears to the central revenues, but this step will be of no avail if the Separation Convention is not rationalized.

The present year is going to be a year of remarkable changes in railway finance. The Wedgwood Committee is expected to send in its report in April next, and every one interested in transport economics will carefully consider the suggestions to be made by this body. Our railways have already undertaken measures to increase their revenue. Details of the steps that have been taken will be found in the Report of the Railway Board for the year ended on March 31, 1936. Measures have also been adopted to meet road-competition by improvement of train services, introduction of reduced single and return journey fares, reduction of freight rates and grant of rebates on certain commodities, issue of road-cum-rail tickets, and stoppage of trains at level crossings adjacent to big villages. Much has already been said about the need for co-ordination of transport services, and it may be expected that the Federal Railway Authority will, when it comes into existence, be keenly alive to this. In any case, important decisions will have to be made this year, and we only hope that the implications of the particular steps chosen may be fully realised before they are finally taken.

2. I drew attention to this aspect of the Niemeyer Award in an article in the *Modern Review* for June, 1936.

3. The South Africa Act, 9 Edw. 7, chap. 9, sec. 127.

SPANISH TURMOIL AND THE TREND OF BRITISH DIPLOMACY

By JOGESH C. BAGAL

I

Reuter supplies news sometimes questionable, sometimes exciting, but always something new. For the last few days it has been sending very exciting news from Spain. What havoc the rebel forces have done can be gauged even at this distance from various reports from far and near. Poet Rabindranath Tagore has given a very vivid account of the miserable condition of Madrid, which is being corroborated by the news and reports we are receiving. He, in a statement to the press, writes :

"In Spain world civilization is being menaced and trampled under foot. Against the democratic Government of the Spanish people, Franco has raised the standard of revolt. International Fascism is pouring men and money in aid of the rebels. Moors and foreign legionaries are sweeping over the beautiful plains of Spain trailing behind them death, hunger and desolation.

"Madrid, the proud centre of culture and art, is in flames. Her priceless treasures of art are being bombed by the rebels. Even the hospitals and creches are not spared, women and children are murdered, made homeless and destitute. . . ."

The foreign papers to hand tell the same story. William P. Carney's experiences in the devasted Madrid are not only heart-rending, but they also leave us in despair about the future of the great cities, centres of culture, light and leading in this world, in face of an aerial attack. Mr. Carney writes :

"The streets are not cleaned any more, because there is not enough water, and the people are too weary and dulled to worry about a little dirt. Madrid was once a polished city, much cleaner than most of the Spanish towns, but now it is a waste basket and sewer for dumping of unmentionable things. There are spots of blood on the paving stones and pieces of clothing and perhaps flesh that show where a bomb landed the day before."

Women and children have been killed *en masse*. Innumerable buildings have been razed to the ground, precious art treasures completely ruined. Mr. Carney continues :

"The imagination bogs down at such a thought. There have been those who said that the damage that could be caused to a modern city by airplanes would be slight. After living in Madrid, seeing it torn to pieces, its beautiful buildings demolished by air bombs one realizes that the damage that could be done in one day by a modern and efficient large air fleet is almost inconceivable. There has been no poison gas used in the attacks on Madrid." *

The Literary Digest of January 30 last wrote to the effect that the toll of life estimated up till then was 1,000,000 men, women and children.

II

Who have caused and are still causing this havoc? We have heard of the "volunteers" fighting in Spain. They are fighting on both sides—for the rebels as well as the loyalists. The Spaniards, if left alone, could have decided much earlier who was to govern the land. And the experts said that the rebel forces in that case would have been no match for the Government. The Government, quite constitutionally, had passed from the hands of the rich and the gentry to those who support the people's cause and who claim to be true lovers of democracy. This enraged not only the upper ten but also alienated the Spanish military, because the latter were always their spokesmen and practically ruled the country. A government where socialistic and communistic views are supreme cannot be tolerated by the facist Powers who are dead enemies to these ideas. The imperialist powers, though less fanatic, equally abhor such ideas. And that was why the rebellion could break out with such bright prospects from the beginning. Germany and Italy, the two allies, have supplied men, money and ammunition to the rebels. It is also a fact that British rifles were seen working on the rebel side at the very outset. The rebellion broke out on July 19 last. The Non-Intervention Committee,—the proposal mooted by France and readily accepted by Britain—was formed at London in August last under the auspieces of the League of Nations. The object of the Committee was declared to be to prevent the Powers from intervening in the so-called domestic affairs of Spain. All the interested countries at once welcomed the idea, but when the ways and means came to be determined, they differed and that very effectively. Germany, Italy and Portugal, taking advantage of the vascillations of the Non-Intervention Committee, left no stone unturned to help the rebels, while Soviet Russia came to the aid of the loyalists or the government party. But partly for the distance and partly for her friendship with France, she could not help the

* *The New York Times Magazine*, January 24, 1937.

loyalists as much as she desired. And the recent ban on sending " volunteers " and ammunitions issued by the Non-Intervention Committee have put a stumbling-block in the way of her sending them any more.

There are more " volunteers " and effective war materials on the side of the rebels than on that of the loyalists. The following table supplied by *The Literary Digest* of January 30 last bears out its truth.

	With Loyalist	With Insurgents
German	2,000	30,000
Moors	..	24,500
Frenchmen	12,000	500
Russians	10,000	
Belgians	2,000	
Poles	2,000	
TOTAL	28,000	55,000

The number of the Italians fighting for the insurgents has not been given in this table. Perhaps *The Digest* could not ascertain by the time of its publication the exact number of the Italians. We have come to know that fifty to sixty thousand well-trained Italian soldiers are now fighting for the rebels.

III

It is common knowledge that German influence was supreme in Spain till the end of December last. Everywhere among the rebels were German " volunteers," air men, and generals. Their autocracy was intolerable even to those for whom they fought, so much so that the famous Spanish writer Miguel Unamuno who was all along supporting the rebel's cause, wrote in bitter anguish :

> "I would like to die when I think of the way the Germans behave themselves on Spanish territory, as if it was their own."

We have heard of German influence in Morocco. The rumour of German fortification of and mobilization at Ceuta, a port on the African side just opposite Gibraltar, shocked the chancelleries of Britain and France, and an earlier outbreak of another world war was threatened. This, however, was duly denied at Berlin, and a commission of enquiry having been sent there and having reported the non-existence of such things, it was set at rest. But this does not prove that the Germans have little or no influence in Morocco. In fact their influence is supreme there. That the Moors, who had been all long hated and subdued by the Spanish soldiers, are now fighting for them with religious fervour proves to the hilt how effectively the German political agents have carried on propaganda for their national ends for the last few years. M. C. Nogales, Editor of *The Ahora,* a Madrid newspaper, after a recent visit to Spanish Morocco, contributed an illuminating article to *The New Statesman and Nation,* January 30, 1937, in which he wrote :

> "The Blue Sultan (a vassal of Spain) had lost confidence in religion as a means of keeping the natives together, and realized that nationalism would be a much stronger force. He was a great admirer of the nationalist leaders, such as Mustapha Kemal, Mussolini and Hitler. Hitler in fact seemed a god to him. I was at the time astonished that this uneducated Moor, who spoke little besides Berber, should have so clear an understanding of European affairs. I have since realized that this was because the Germans spread propaganda in the Berber language. *Mein Kampf* has been translated into Arabic and other tongues of Islam."

Did not the British diplomats know all this? It is very difficult to believe that they did not. But the party in power in the United Kingdom are all either capitalists or imperialists and though they swear in season and out of season their love and respect for democracy, they are at heart pro-fascist and cannot allow Spain to go red. So, since the outbreak of the Spanish revolt, they, instead of helping the legally constituted Government of Spain, have through the Non-Intervention Committee prevented the sympathetic powers sending any help to them. However much Britain dislikes fascism prevailing in Spain, she cannot allow the Soviet influence being supreme there. *The New Statesman and Nation,* a responsible weekly of London, wrote in its issue of January 9 last :

> "The Spaniards are not wrong in believing that the British ruling class may dislike Franco but that it prefers his victory to the victory of the popular cause, and the effect of British diplomacy is rather to facilitate than to hinder the crushing of the Spanish people and the establishment of the fascist dictatorship in Spain."

The same journal elucidates the point further in its next issue thus :

> "The Government's calculation appears to be that, when the eventual victory of General Franco is secured, a fascist militarist Government in Spain, however intimately linked ideologically with the Governments of Berlin and Rome, will be economically dependent on loans from London . . . The truth appears to be that the extreme reactionary section in the Cabinet is so strongly in favour of Franco's victory in Spain that it is even willing to risk having the Peninsula virtually colonised by Germany and Italy."

The trend of British diplomacy has been clearly expressed in these two statements. But this was true only up till the end of December. Though these were written in early January, British diplomacy had meanwhile taken a new turn. Britain became more favourable to Italy than to Germany, though her principal object, that of having Spain dominated by the fascists, remained the same.

IV

I have already said that Germany appeared to be the virtual dictator of the rebels till the end of December. How German influence was growing by leaps and bounds in Spanish Morocco has also been stated. Though the Britishers were all along sympathetic to the rebels, they could not but be chary of the German and Italian influence in the south. This came to a pitch when the news of a succesful Jap-German treaty reached them. They took the hint at once, for they saw in it the danger of a coalition between two doubtful friends. They thought that if they let go the combination of these two powers (that is, Japan and Germany) unchallenged, Germany would grow much more powerful than she wanted her to be, and the life-lines of the British Empire in the East would be threatened. To be more precise, if Ceuta and the Canaries Islands become virtual German lands, both the routes to the East through the Mediterranean and the Suez Canal as well as through the Cape of Good Hope in South Africa stand every chance of being menaced. And if Italy would approve of and be a party to the Jap-German treaty, their apprehension would take little time to turn into a reality. So no sooner had the treaty reached the chanchellery of Rome and found time to be acclaimed than the British diplomats appeared before Mussolini with a very attractive proposal of their own. Rightly or wrongly, the Italians had all along been nurturing a grievance against Britain for her hostility at the time of the Ethiopian war. And though afterwards the Britishers had made some amends by prefering to have the control over the Mosul Oil Company to standing in the way of the Italian occupation of Ethiopia, this was not very convincing to the rank and file; they could not forget the immediate past. A golden opportunity had now appeared before the Britishers to vouch for their sincerity, and they at once proposed a fraternal treaty with Mussolini. Apart from the spheres of either's influence in the Mediterranean and Mussolini's assurance not to carry on propaganda in the British territories in the Near East and North Africa, there is a very important clause in it with regard to Spain. Both Britain and Italy swear to guarantee the integrity and *status quo* of Spain. This howeer does not mean that they are bound to support the Spanish Government as against the rebels. Whatever party is supreme will have their allegiance and support. The treaty was published on the 1st of January this year.

On this very day four thousand Italian soldiers reached Spain afresh. People thought that the British Government had been outwitted by Mussolini. But in the light of what I have already stated it will be clear that Mussolini by sending this fresh contigent did nothing contrary to the provisions of the treaty and the British Government also had no cause to think themselves outwitted.

V

That the treaty has served a double purpose for the Britishers is evident from the fact that the Germans who became so much powerful in Spain have been already thrown to the background.

Let me quote some valuable extracts from what the diplomatic correspondent from London wrote to the *Manchester Guardian Weekly* of February 19 last:

> "The Spanish civil war has become mainly an Italian campaign against the loyalist party and its diminishing band of supporters. Even the Germans who were so conspicuous for a while (especially in the air), are now playing a minor part.
>
> "There is little doubt that Mussolini has wished to co-operate with the other powers in making "non-intervention" effective, and there can be no doubt at all that he has wished the destruction of the Spanish Government. He has realized his two wishes in a highly characteristic manner. Enough troops and war material have been rushed to Spain to crush the Loyalists by sheer weight of numbers and metal, while the agreement to suppress volunteering will have become superfluous—unless the loyalists show superhuman powers of resistance, in which case a slightly less rigorous view of obligation under the agreement may be taken in Rome.
>
> "These, no doubt, are the reasons why Mussolini has decided to bring intervention to an end as quickly as possible. He may even find the agreement of some practical use, for it will operate—if at all—against any further support the Loyalists may get, while the rebels have now had all the support they should need for final victory, if final victory can be achieved by purely military means."

Everybody knows that Britain is striving very hard and fast to increase her military strength. But she is not yet prepared to have a world war. This is one of the reasons why her diplomacy has been kept in full play. Ethiopian independence has been sacrificed, Spanish democracy has been attempted to be throttled to death. Whose turn comes next remains to be seen.

March 15, 1937.



The Farm. Leonard Stanley, Gloucestershire, England
Etching By Iris Vivian (Mrs. Roy Chaudhury)
[Exhibited at the Indian Fine Arts Academy and awarded the Prafullanath Tagore Prize]



Pandita Gayadhara



Santa-rakshita

STATUES OF INDIAN SCHOLARS IN TIBET

BY K. P. JAYASWAL

WE owe to the Rev. Rahula Sankrityayana the discovery of three statues given to Indian scholars by the Tibetans.

I. SANTARAKSHITA

There is the statue of the famous Santarakshita at the Gyantse monastery, Central Tibet. It is an interior room (NE) now very dark, originally built in the eleventh century. The statue is life-size and is fashioned in stucco, which is beautifully coloured (deep orange). The statue is in a group, in association with three Bodhisatvas (Vajrapani, Avalokitesvara, and Manjusri), who went out of vogue after the eleventh century. The statue cannot be later than the 11th century.

DATE OF SANTARAKSHITA

[740-840 A.D.]

Santarakshita's pupil Haribhadra, whose work (a commentary on the *Abhisamayalankara*) (*Pranjaparamita*) has been published in the Gaekwad Oriental Series, has been noted in the Tibetan literature as having flourished in the reign of Dharma Pala, second king of the Pala Dynasty, whose accession has been calculated by me circa 757 A.D. (*Imperial History,* 44). Thus the date of Santarakshita (740-840 A.D.) as calculated by the Rev. Sankrityayana from Tibetan sources receives corroboration from the synchronism for Haribhadra.

Santarakshita's *magnus opus* the *Tattvasamgraha,* now published in the Gaekwad Oriental Series (Volume Nos. 30 and 31), is a unique treatise, summarising all the Indian philisophies with absolute fairness. There is no other work in Sanskrit to equal it. The Samgraha, with its prose commentary by Kamala-sila, pupil of Santarakshita, is a complete history of Indian philosophies up to their time, which will rank in the first line of philosophic literature of the world. Santarakshita's another, philosophic work is his commentary on Dharma-kirti's *Vada-Nyaya,* which was known from its Tibetan translation. The original had been taken as lost. We now have that work in the original published last year in the *Journal of Bihar and Orissa Research Society,* edited by the Rev. Rahula Sankrityayana from manuscripts discovered at Ngor and Lhasa.

Santarakshita is the virtual founder of Buddhism in Tibet. Buddhism was introduced into Tibet in the reign of the first Tibetan emperor Srong-tsan-Gampo (629-650 A.D.), but it was not firmly established until Santarakshita was invited there by that emperor's fourth descendent Thri-sron-deu-tsan, whose time has been calculated as 802-845 A.D. by the Rev. Rahula Sankrityayana and as 728-864 A.D. by others. Santarakshita founded the first monastery in Tibet (at Samye), which was after the plan of Odantapuri Vihara (now in ruins at Bihar Sharif). Later, after his death, according to his direction his talented pupil Kamala-sila was called from Nalanda, where both, master and pupil had been professors. Santarakshita ordained seven Tibetans, who were the first Buddhist monks in that country. Santarakshita thus was one of the greatest Indians, both as a scholar and as a religious propagandist and organizer. He and his pupil Kamala-sila both worked and died in Tibet.

Naturally India would like to have a portrait of Santarakshita. Fortunately Tibetans have preserved his portrait-statue. The monastery of Samye was destroyed by fire and re-built. The original statue at Samye was destroyed and the new one is not authentic. It has Tibetan features. But the statue discovered by the Rev. Sankrityayana at the Gyantse monastery is the oldest and the most reliable. The features are all Indian and individual, not ideal. The Indian monk puts on a *topi* covering his head and ears, as the sadhus in India wear (*kantop*) in winter, and the Kabirpanthis wear frequently. Santarakshita had a prominent nose, kindly eyes, a broad determined chin, a tall stature. He corresponds to the Hindu type of the western part of the United Provinces.

According to the detailed history given in Tibetan books, he was a Kshatriya belonging to a small ruling family in the district of Bhagalpur. His home was close to the Vikramasila monastery, on the Ganges. The district was called *Sahor,* which probably survives in the modern Sabour or Sabhor near Bhagalpur.

Santarakshita died at Samye, where he was buried in a stupa. The stupa fell down some forty years ago, and the bones were collected. The skull is now preserved in a glass case in the monastery at Samye. Santarakshita died at the age of about 100.

II. Pandita Gayadhara [1060 A.D.]

Gayadhara was a Buddhist scholar belonging to Vaisali (Muzaffarpur) in North Bihar. Dogmi Lotsava, the Tibetan translator, invited him to Tibet, where he helped the translation work for several years. He was presented with 300 *tolas* of gold at the time of his returning home. Gayadhara is held in high respect in Tibet and is regarded as a predecessor in the line of masters (gurus) of the Saskya monastery. His statue is preserved at the Lhakhang Chhenmo monastery (Saskya, Central Tibet). The date of the statue is about 1250 A.D. It is life-size in stucco. The portrait exactly corresponds to the typical Karana Kayastha of Tirhut (Mithila). The age of the statue is the thirteenth century.

III. Sakya Sribhadra [1127—1125 A.D.]

Sakya Sribhadra was a Kashmiri. He was the head of Vikramsila at the time of the invasion of Bihar by Bakhtiyar. He was also the acknowledged head of the Sangha in Magadha. This last Buddhist chief first retired to Jagattala in Eastern Bengal and then to Tibet. He carried with him several Buddhist scholars in that troubled time. His Bengali desciple Vibhuti Chandra has been noticed in the last issue of *The Modern Review*. Sakya Sribhadra after ten year's residence in Tibet retired to his home-country Kashmir and died there at the age of 98.

A statue of this last Buddhist leader of Magadha is at Shalu. It is the portrait of an old man, lecturing. The size of the statue is 6 inches. It is in stucco.



Sakya Sribhadra

The first two pictures are copies made by a Tibetan scholar, Dharmavardhana, who is also an artist of high order. His copies are accurate. Owing to the location of the statues in the interior they could not be photographed. The third one was photographed by the Rev. Sankrityayana himself.

The first two statues are immoveable, while the last one is moveable.



A MODEL VILLAGE IN MYSORE

By A. J. APPASAMY, M.A., D. PHIL.

On the slope of Chamundy hills about six miles south-east of Mysore City lies Lalitadripur. In 1917 His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore was deeply disturbed about the squalor and poverty of a small village in this neighbourhood. His attention had been drawn to the existence of the village, as many poor ryots had come from it to work on a new Hill Road which was being formed. It was like hundreds of villages in India, full of wretched huts with thatched roofs where men and cattle huddled together, the streets mean and dirty, the people illiterate and harassed by debt. His Highness decided to reconstruct this village on a higher level and to make it a model village. Steady work has been put into this project and money poured without stint.

The road to the village is planted up with an avenue of trees which the people take care of and own. The village itself is attractively laid. The roads are broad, measuring about thirty feet from side to side, so as to permit two carts to go to and fro without difficulty. On either side various trees, such as cocoanut, champaka and plantain, have been planted. These trees have been given free to the villagers but they have to take care of them and they undertake in writing to pay a fine if they neglect them. The young plants are carefully hedged round with thorns. It is a delight to see the plantains already tall and bearing fruit and the young cocoanuts shooting their graceful leaves. The Champaka trees, famed in India's story and song, with their light green leaves and their fragrant yellow flowers, add real beauty and charm to the place.



The old village

Seventy-five model houses have been built. The houses are of different sizes, some having only a couple of rooms. The Co-operative Society in the village supplies the timber and

other materials and pays for the labour, very little money being actually handed to the owner. The walls are of mud but are plastered over with mortar. The doors and windows are of teak and provide plenty of air and light. The roofs are tiled over. By great economy the price of the new houses is kept as low as possible. It ranges anywhere from Rs. 250 to Rs. 1000 for each house. Most of the houses cost about Rs. 500. When a new house is built, a villager is allowed to occupy it provided he undertakes to pay off the price of the house during a period of twenty years. No interest is charged. He pays a sum of anywhere between Re. 1-4-0 to Rs. 2-8-0 every month. If a man does not pay his rent for three months in succession he may be ejected and the house auctioned off. This heavy building programme has been made possible by a munificent loan of Rs. 42,980 free of interest from His Highness the Maharaja to the Co-operative Society.



The village school

In most villages the cattle-shed and the living part of the house are often together. In Lalitadripur this has been studiously avoided. A small rectangular courtyard in the back, with a tiled roof running along the four sides, houses the cattle. When the back door is closed the cattle-shed is thus separated off from the main house. Before the main house is constructed, the cattle-shed must be built by the owner of the house himself. The Co-operative Society does not build it.

As we walked through the village we saw a neat house. The yard in front of the house was clean and well-swept. Various beautiful diagrams had been run off with white powder. We were told that this was an outcaste's house. We went into the house. Four or five pictures hung on the wall. The Co-operative Society regularly offers prizes for people who keep their houses and cattle-sheds clean. Prizes are also given for keeping the best cattle as well as for being temperate. This man, whose house we entered, had won several of these prizes. One of them was a lovely little silver cup which was displayed to us with much admiration and the others were the pictures on the walls.

The most attractive building in the village was the Village Hall. There was a good-sized room, then an office room used by the Co-operative Society and the rest was left as an open portion. The strong well-carved wooden pillars on which the whole roof rested impressed us. The Co-operative Society is, as it were, the pivot around which the life of the village moves. One hears a great deal about the failure of the Co-operative Movement in India. In many villages it has been indeed a failure. Sometimes this is due to the dishonesty of the secretary and often it is due to the people not understanding the principles of co-operation. Loans are obtained and distributed not where there is real need but among people of influence. Often the loans are received by people who seem to have no serious intention of returning the money. A great deal, of course, depends upon the man who runs the local Co-operative Society. In Lalitadripur Mr. K. Srinivasa Rao, the Inspector, is a keen, practical and capable man. He has built up the life of the place. All the welfare work of the village is financed by the Co-operative Society.

Village people generally, are all of them heavily under debt . They borrow money for various purposes, such as buying land or cattle, sinking wells or extravagant weddings and funerals. They pay an exhorbitant interest to the money-lenders and are in their clutches Lalitadripur was no exception some years ago. Most of the people in the village were heavily indebted. The money-lenders harassed them continuously. A woman money-lender, spoken of by the people as Durga, gave ample room for the popular designation. The Co-operative Society has made a brave effort to pay off these various debts. A sum of Rs. 24,595 has been advanced to fifty-eight families for the discharge of their previous debts. This again has been made possible by the generosity of His Highness the Maharaja, who advanced for this purpose a sum of Rs. 15,000 at 5 per. cent interest repayable within ten years. The rest of the money is found by the Society from various sources.

The Co-operative Society sets apart a definite sum every year for the welfare work of the village. Trees are planted and prizes

are given out of this money. A night school is run also with a grant from the Society. On the outskirts of the village we saw a small house. This, said a friend pointing it out to me, is the place where the boys from the depressed classes are given baths every week.



A village house

A new venture is the co-operative marketing of the village milk. Instead of the villagers walking everyday to Mysore City to sell their milk they bring their cattle, fifty buffaloes and ten cows, to the Co-operative Society premises and milk them there. The milk is then sent in a small horse cart to Mysore where it is sold in the bazar. The members realized during ten months the sum of Rs. 1,300, which they paid off to the Co-operative Society towards their loans.

There is now abundant electricity in Mysore State and Lalitadripur has a connection. The charges for the electricity are met out of the house taxes which the Panchayat levies. Water is also laid for the village.

In villages, and I suppose everywhere, family quarrels lead to litigation and heavy expense. There is a Panchayat in the village which tackles effectively these various disputes. Small fines are levied and they are used for the welfare work of the village. The arbitration of these quarrels prevents a great deal of trouble and litigation and much expense.

The moral and religious welfare of the village is well taken care of. Weekly Bhajanas are held in the Village Hall. Ancient Indian stories inculcating spiritual and moral truths are explained to the people attractively with the help of music and song. The people are exhorted not to spend too much money on wedding expenses. They are taught to be temperate and to give written promises agreeing not to indulge in drink. Some of these men are quite faithful to their promise.

Obviously most villages cannot have the advantages of Lalitadripur. The well-built houses and the complete redemption from previous debt have been only possible due to the generosity of His Highness. People in the village are finding it continually difficult to pay off loans which have been so generously given them for the building of houses and for redemption from previous debt. The Maharaja takes a personal interest in the village. He occasionally rides on horseback through the village to see for himself what is happening. Whether he comes to the village or not he keeps himself well acquainted with the new developments in the village. As he drives in his car in the neighbourhood his eyes always rest on the village. He has a warm corner in his heart for the villagers' needs. Seeing that a good many of them are finding it impossible to pay off their loans to the Society he has arranged that many of them should be given work in the Palace and from their monthly wages, payments are made towards their loans. Most of the villagers—the total population is 929—are engaged in agriculture. They cultivate a total area of 798 acres, of which only nine acres are wet lands and



The new village of Lalithadripur

twenty-one are garden lands, the rest being dry lands. In these difficult days, agriculture does not pay much. These men, therefore, find it exceedingly difficult to return the loans which have been so generously advanced to them by the Co-operative Society. Seeing the sad plight in which they are placed, His Highness, wherever possible, provides them with jobs so that they could return the money which has been advanced to them.

There are many directions, however, in which other villages might follow Lalitadripur. They could be cleaned up and open spaces could be provided for the villagers to play and rest. Trees could be planted and these with their leaves and flowers will introduce an element of beauty into the ugly surroundings which so often characterise villages. Prizes could be given for cleanliness and temperance. A night school will be a great blessing to every village, for there are young men who regret their lack of early schooling and are only too glad to learn to read and write. When new houses are built the people should be taught to separate the main house from the cattle-shed and to let in good-sized windows in the living rooms.

The Mysore State has decided to set apart about 350 villages for intensive rural work. The various departments of the Government will do their best for these villages. We visited one such village. A couple of neat, well-built pillars marked the entrance to the village. Another couple of pillars stood on the other side of the village. Near the entrance to the village we saw a circular lawn being prepared and some seats were to be placed there for the people to rest during the cool of the evening. Unsightly huts were pulled down. The roads were being widened. A new site for village extension was chosen and it was divided off into small plots. On these plots it was expected the people of the village would build their own clean and well-ventilated houses. A dispensary was to be erected.

THE LIFE-CYCLE OF THE BUTTERFLY

By GOPAL CHANDRA BHATTACHARYA

In the fairy-tales we read of a frog who after casting off its ugly skin transformed itself into a handsome prince to the utter astonishment of the princess whom he wooed This was undoubtedly strange and exciting. But very peculiar transformations actually take place among insects, which are no less strange and are really astonishing to a degree. One who has seen a horrid-looking caterpillar change into a charming and delicately coloured butterfly will testify as to how absorbingly interesting such transformations are With numerous colour-patterns and dazzling glare of wings various kinds of butterflies always attract our attention. But few of us know their early life-history and the way their bodies and beautiful wings develop. We see around us on plants and vegetables varieties of harmful caterpillars with or without poisonous hairs, always scraping off the green pigments or eating up the entire leaves. All these repulsive and ugly-looking creatures are the larvæ of one or other variety of butterflies. The larva of a butterfly is popularly known as a caterpillar. The caterpillar is essentially the feeding stage of the insect and it possesses a very large stomach.

The larvæ of most of the beautiful butterflies have no poisonous hairs but their bodies may be bedecked with spines or horn-like appendages. The young caterpillar emerging from the egg begins to scrape off chlorophyll grains of a leaf until it grows big enough to devour the entire leaf. Different classes of caterpillars feed on the leaf of different kinds of plants. The pupæ of different caterpillars are also different from one another in respect of shape, size and colour-patterns of their bodies.

The pupa is popularly known as chrysalis of the butterfly. One who closely observes the leaves of plants and vegetables around him, must have the interesting experience of seeing various kinds of dazzling and brilliant pendant-like structures suspending from the underside of leaves or stalks of plants. These are the chrysalides of butterflies from which, sooner or later, butterflies will come out. They are incapable of movement except for slight wriggling of the posterior segments. The pupæ of moths are generally concealed in cocoons of silk but those of butterflies remain exposed and often display a brilliant metallic lustre. They look like glittering drops of dew hanging from the tips of leaves. Some of them shine like polished silver beads, some are emerald green, some may be blue or red.

Such peculiar bead-like structure and its characteristic blue-coloured brilliance once



The caterpillar of the milk-weed butterfly in a state of immobility is hanging downwards

Its skin has split dorsally

It is being gradually transformed into pupa or chrysalis



The chrysalis has almost assumed its natural shape
The pupa in its natural state
The emergence of the butterfly

attracted my attention. It was hanging from the leaf of a small plant. I was so much influenced by its beauty and grandeur that I plucked the leaf along with it and put it under a glass cover. On the following day at noon I was utterly surprised to find a beautiful butterfly with blue and black ornamentation on its wings, flapping them vigorously to come out of the cover. The bead was no longer shining and was lying aside with the leaf like a piece of cast off skin. This wonderful experience afterwards stood me in good stead in investigating into the life-histories of different kinds of butterflies and moths.

A description of the successive stages of transformations of the common milk-weed butterflies (*Danaus plexippus*, Linn.), as observed by me, may also interest my readers. This common variety of reddish yellow or brown butterfly is to be found almost everywhere in Calcutta and suburbs hovering in the air under the bright sunlit sky. They are popularly known as milk-weed butterflies, perhaps because, in the earlier stages of their life they mainly subsist on the green leaves of milk-weed creepers, which abundantly grow on big trees or fencing of gardens. The name 'milk-weed' is probably suggested on account of the copious exudation of milk-like sap from the wounds of cuts of the creeper. From morning till noon these butterflies fly over flowers for honey and with the declining sun they retire to bushes or shrubs where they rest for the night with their wings folded and clinging to the stems or leaves. The female lays minute eggs on the leaves of milk-weed creepers. After a few days, young ones come out of the eggs as minute caterpillars not more than 2 or 3 m.m. in length. For two or three days after emergence the young caterpillars live together and feed on green pigments of leaves, but as soon as they grow bigger they disperse hither and thither in search of food.

The caterpillars of milk-weed butterflies have no hairs on their bodies except six dorsal horn-like feelers, two pairs on the anterior and one on the posterior half of the body. The body of the caterpillar is ornamented with alternate black and yellow markings looking like a series of parallel rings set closely together. As soon as the caterpillar becomes properly developed it ceases taking food and remains motionless for sometime. It then crawls to a suitable place and spins a mass of silk in which it entangles its anal prolegs and hangs downward, bending up the anterior part of the body, which gradually becomes swollen. The caterpillar continues in this position of immobility for three to four hours or more while the skin splits dorsally from the head backwards. Through the split the light green body of the chrysalis appears. By the contortions of the body of this chrysalis the split is worked back towards the tail. Thus within a few seconds the caterpillar is completely transformed into a pulpy green body quite different from its original appearance and shape and still retains its hold on the support. The newly formed chrysalis wriggles and twists its body vigorously by which the cast-off skin contracts upward and drops down finally. At first the chrysalis is very soft and elongated, while the upper portion of the body gradually contracts and the lower half swells. But the swelling soon disappears and within half an hour or so the upper portion of the body by which it hangs from the support, takes a conical form and an elevated band appears next to the cone ornamented with a series of golden spots along the line. The body of the chrysalis hardens within an hour or so and assumes the characteristic form and a deep green colour with golden spots on the lower half of the body appears. In most cases the colour of the chrysalis of the milk-weed butterfly is deep green but in some it is reddish white with the same golden ornamentations as in the green ones. The cause of this difference in the same species of butterflies is not yet known.

Most of the chrysalides are inactive and helpless. They are concealed in some way or other from the observation of their enemies and protected from moisture, sudden changes of temperature, shock or other adverse influences. While the milk-weed butterflies are remarkably abundant and lots of their chrysalides are found hanging in the milk-weed hedge like green grapes, their beautiful green colour being well-matched with the green foliage, helps them in escaping notice of the enemies. This is a special form of protective colouration which minimises the chance of their destruction at the hands of the enemies. This state continues for fifteen to twenty days when a beautiful butterfly comes out of the chrysalis. During the last few hours before emergence of the butterfly the colour of the chrysalis gradually disappears and it becomes more or less transparent. The colour of the wings of the imago may be seen through the transparent skin of the chrysalis. No movement occurs, however, just before emergence. When the skin or chitinous shell bursts open longitudinally from below and a few convulsive movements of the legs and thorax of the imprisoned insect have taken place, a secondary split occurs

THE LIFE-CYCLE OF THE BUTTERFLY





The milk-weed butterfly, in chrysalis stag
The milk-weed butterfly, fully grown

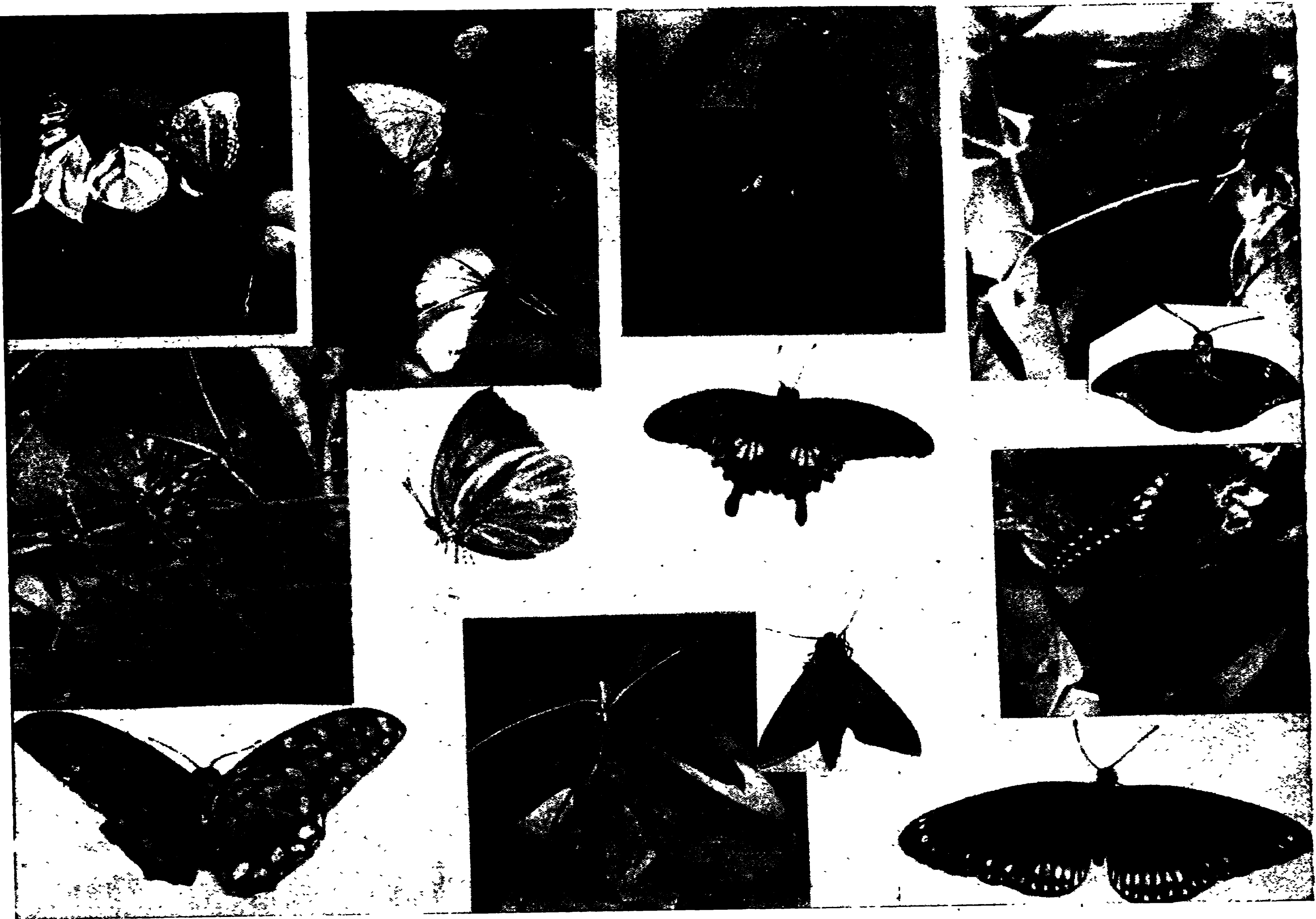




The butterfly just come out of the cocoon
The butterfly on the cast-off cocoon



Perfumed Butterflie



Bu

at the back of the thorax and the head of the imago appears. The head and the first pair of legs are disengaged first and gradually the whole body of the butterfly emerges with moist and short but thick abdomen and miniature wings. Hanging to the empty pupa case or to some other available support, the insect gets dry and its wings and abdomen gradually expand. At regular intervals the abdomen contracts and the wings move slowly up and down. Every part of the insect on leaving the pupal skin is perfect except the pad-like wings and swollen abdomen, which still import to the insect a worm-like appearance. During the time of expansion drops of fluid are emitted from the alimentary canal. The wings expand rapidly and within half an hour or so they attain their characteristic size but they are still like a piece of wet cloth quite unfit for flight. Resting for an hour or two the butterfly takes to its wings and a new era in the life-history of the butterfly is ushered in.

PERFUMED BUTTERFLIES

By F. J. DAVAR, F.R.G.S.

Butterfly collection, to the average man, usually means going to a suitable field and catching the poor little insects and sticking them on to a cork-box with a pin, where finally they are left to themselves. However, people collect them and, what is more important, know how to preserve them for the sake of their richly coloured wings; naturalists have not a small use for them; textile manufacturers treasure them for imitating their natural gorgeous designs on cotton and other fabrics; the chemist has use of them for devising the synthesis of the natural paint pigments; and very recently, it has been discovered that butterflies emanate perfumes.

B. J. Clark and Hugh U. Clark, the sons of a member of the staff of the Smithsonian Institution in Washington D.C., are generally credited with the discovery that butterflies and some kindred insects emanate delicate and intoxicating scents. These young men, who devoted several years to collecting specimens, proceeded to analyse these scents and found that the fragrance of the males was stronger than that of the females and that it varied with the species and was similar to and rivalled in its delicacy the perfume of flowers.

Among the types of scented butterflies are the common milk-weed creature, skipper, the prometha, the polyxenes and the aulomeriscio. Even the common white-butterfly has a pleasant scent, but it is difficult to detect. By taking the creature between the thumb and finger and gently rubbing the scales on the upper surface of the wings and then immediately moving the fingers under the nose, the experimenter can catch the elusive but very distinct odour. There are other butterflies, which exude a sickish sweet odour, not associated with flowers. Still others give off offensive odours. The common sulphur-butterfly, if a male, exudes an odour like sweet grass or hay.

The discovery of the two young scientists, made some time ago, has stirred the interest of many naturalists and even of the perfume manufacturers, who, though they pin no hope of transforming butterfly glands into expensive scents, visualize the probability that the delicate, fascinating fragrance may be imitated by synthetic means. The result of the new interest is a great increase in the number of specimen hunters. Last season it was discovered that it is less difficult for children to detect the mild fragrance of butterflies than for adults. This year most of the hunters will take youngsters along with them !

Not all the creatures give off only faint smells. Some of those captured last season gave off remarkably strong odours. In some cases, when they had just emerged from their chrysalis, the little creatures had no special odour, but when an old fellow would be taken the fragrance was most pronounced, so that the scent grows stronger with the age of the insect.

The scents that are reminiscent of flowers include lemon verbena, syringa blossoms and sweet peas. Other insects smell like chocolate, and still others like musk.

Scientists, naturally, are interested in the reason for the existence of these odours. If they

were provided by nature there was some purpose to be served. The theory that the odour is intended to attract one insect to another, has been discarded. The idea was ruled out because the faintness of the odour would not compete with the fragrance of flowers, over which the pretty creatures continually flutter.

One purpose of the odour may be protection. The chief enemies of common butterflies are field mice. One may find partly devoured butterflies and caterpillars on the ground in the early morning, where the unlucky insects have fallen or rested during the night. Butterflies have an inclination to sleep as low as possible. The odours, it is suspected, may be offensive to the butterflies' enemies whose sense of smell is keen.

A peculiar thing about butterflies is that the females live longer than the males. This is not a good argument for the protective qualities of the odour, for the male is said to possess more fragrance than the female.

The perfume glands of butterflies are supposed to be an attraction for the opposite sex, the sense of which is received through the antennae which corresponds to our nose. Many experiments have been tried and it has been shown that insects with the antennae removed or painted or covered with a substance which will not allow any scent to penetrate through the covering are not able to find their mates. Tests conducted with an imported species of moths with the wings so clipped so that there could possibly be no mistake, were liberated at various localities and females were then placed on a hill at an unprotected place and it was found that the male came to the female at a distance of 5 to 7 miles. The exact nature of this apparently attractive scent has not been discovered, although it is undoubtedly through scent and the scent-receiving organs on the antennae (feelers).

Whatever the purpose of the fragnance, it will not remain a mystery long because scientists are deeply interested and soon, even every Government may take a hand in the research.

LAND TAXATION IN INDIA

By MANEKLAL VAKIL, M.A., LL.B.

IX

King's Domains, Alienations and Unoccupied Lands

In British India there is no king and therefore no King's domains. In Indian States the King's domains or private cultivations through serfs or slave-like tenants-at-will, the income whereof is considered the personal private property of the King and not of the State's Exchequer, do exist and in many States all the cultivated lands of the State are held by peasants on the tenure of a mere tenant-at-will though in practice they cannot be evicted lightly for fear of a general discontent or migration of the agricultural population from that State to another. The institution of such private lands of the King is the vestige of a period when the personal maintenance of the King and his family was the fund for such income and was not met out of the general taxes from the subjects including the land tax which were levied for the general administration of the State in peace and war for the benefit of the subjects only. Now that the Kings spend far larger amounts on personal and private expenditure out of the general revenue of a State, there is no need for them to hold any private domains. In constitutional monarchies their personal and family expenditure can be budgetted for by a fixed amount.

We have already seen that in pre-British Moslem and Hindu periods of Indian History the State never claimed the absolute or exclusive ownership of the land and definitely recognised the existence of private property. Under these conditions the unoccupied land other than the King's private domains would belong to the State representing the community as a whole till any part of such land would be occupied by a peasant with the express or implied permission of the State and then the newly occupied land would belong to the peasant like all other cultivated land. We have already seen that it has been only in the British period that the theory of the ownership of all land by the State was propounded and acted upon under a change of laws and practice by the Administration of the British East India Company. The silent

revolutionary change without any reference or regard to the then existing ownership of the peasant was made by the introduction of the Zamindari systems of Northern India and recognising only a limited interest of the peasant in the Ryotwari provinces. The administrators of most Indian States began to follow British India in their claim of the exclusive ownership of all land by the State and reduce the peasantry from free to mere annual tenants-at-will. The Zamindari system of the Northern Provinces of British India brought into existence a new type of alienations by creating a special interest of the intermediate landlord for the collection of the State's land taxes. Even under the temporarily settled areas the Zamindars and Ryots are deemed to be the possessors of the proprietory right subject to the payment of land revenue. At the time of the introduction of the Zamindari system the Zamindar's share was fixed at 1|11th of what the peasant was to pay as the State's share by way of land tax. In practice the Zamindar's share was allowed to grow and he was allowed to extort as much as he could by way of rent while the State continually began to increase its share from the Zamindar to 50% of the latter's collection at the beginning of every revision except from the permanent Zamindars of Bengal, who were allowed to retain all they could collect from the peasant and pay to the State only the amount permanently fixed at the introduction of the Permanent Settlement. The protecting legislation in favour of the peasant has always been opposed by the Zamindars and the halting protection given by such legislation from time to time has proved inadequate.

Apart from the creation of the Zamindari interests by the alienation of a portion of the land tax by the East India Company there are certain types of alienations of the pre-British period which have been allowed to continue both in British India as well as the Indian States. These alienations are the estates or Jagirs that have risen out of the political conditions of feudal history before the invention of the steam engine, the development of mechanical transport and the establishment of peace over large empires through the development of transport and communications by steam power and electricity. The Governments of large areas in feudal times granted Jagirs of villages or groups of villages in return for the preservation of internal order and maintenance of military equipment for getting assistance in time of war. The Jagirdar thus acquired from the King the right to levy a land tax in his estate subject to the payment of a small tribute, if any. Even so the Jagirdar's tenants continued to be the owner of his fields and the Jagirdar was merely entitled to the State's share as land tax alienated by the State in favour of himself. His power to increase his demand from the peasant could only be limited to a similar demand by the State from the State's peasants on general considerations obtaining throughout that State for such an increase in rate. But in practice the Jagirdars also began to claim the ownership of land and collect as much from the tenant as they possibly could with the local recognition of such a practice both in British India and the Indian States after the establishment of British rule. When the law therefore comes to be revised it will have to be revised both regarding the lands held directly from the State by the peasant and the lands held from the Zamindars, Jagirdars or other alienated holders. Intermediate holders' interests can be brought down to 1/11th of the rate of taxes prevalent at the time which has been recommended by the Taxation Enquiry Committee of 1925 to be a flat rate of 25 per cent of the net annual income of the peasant. In the case of large Zamindars and Jagirdars their total incomes would have to be made subject to a steeply graded income-tax as well as the local tax for local purposes which is recommended to be ¼th of the land tax in addition. As other sources of revenue would expand for the general Exchequers of the States, a greater and greater share of the land tax could be devoted to local purposes so as to give direct benefit to the locality that pays the taxes. Such Zamindars or Jagirdars perform in these peaceful times in India no useful economic or administrative function in the State and even their incomes must be made subject to local rates and taxes for education, sanitation, wells, roads, police, etc. Such a change is not as revolutionary as the destruction of the peasants' rights by the East India Company. The Indian peasant can legitimately demand, *give us back our land,* though the large landed interests will always clamour against such a change as revolutionary and destructive to the vested interests as the Managing Agents of Companies recently did against the recent amendments in the Company Act. Even if the estates may have passed by sales into other hands no consideration can be given to such vested interests when the general policy of a State in matters of taxes is to be revised for the general benefit and prosperity of the country as a whole. Many interests are being affected by State economic legislation and no State can afford to satisfy all

vested interests as against the necessity of a general economic change in its financial policy. The peasant was expropriated without compensation and left to the mercy of the landlord and the money-lender to be brought to his present condition of a serf on the margin of starvation. A change back with the controlled share of 1|11th to the landlord from the State calls for no compensation and is less revolutionary and more wholesome in as much as the landlord will be left a maintenance and may in the poorest cases be transformed from parasitism to active work on his land. This is no hardship to a few ignorant and idle parasites when compelled to work for a maintenance while millions of peasants are being compelled to do the same on starvation incomes and for less than a living wage.

X

The Bill of Peasants' Rights

[From the series of articles on Land Taxation in India that have appeared in the Nationalist dailies of all the major Indian provinces it will appear that the new Provincial Assemblies ought to discuss at an early date the urgent problem of the reform of the Land Laws in all the provinces and adopt a uniform policy to restore to the peasant the rights of which he has been deprived by an unjust change of laws in the days of the East India Company. The writer therefore sent this Bill to the press so that it might be considered by the National Convention that was about to meet in Delhi before the commencement of the Sessions of the new Provincial Assemblies.]

Whereas it is urgently necessary and expedient to make the peasant prosperous by restoring to him his ancient rights and by protecting him against the economic effects of evil social customs

Be it enacted hereby as follows :

(1) This Act shall be known as the Peasants' Rights Act and shall extend to the whole of this Province (Every Province constituted under the new Government of India Act of 1935).

(2) The peasant shall be considered the sole and exclusive owner of the land that he tills with or without the help of hired labour The State shall have the right to tax such land at such a rate as may be determined by the Legislature from time to time but it shall claim no ownership to any land under cultivation, which may also lie temporarily fallow.

(3) The ownership of any uncultivated land shall vest in the peasant as soon as he is allowed by the State to occupy it for agricultural purposes.

(4) Any superior interests in any agricultural land now existing intermediately between the State and the actual cultivator of the soil shall not be entitled in the aggregate to more than 1|11th of the rate of tax that may be levied by the State from year to year.

(5) All such interests created by the State in the form of feudal Jagirdars or collecting Zamindars shall have no further interest in or right to the land except the right to levy the said 1|11th as a subrogation of the State's grant to them from the State's right of levying the land tax.

(6) No agricultural land belonging to a peasant and actually under his cultivation shall be subject to any existing debts secured or unsecured nor shall such land be hereafter rendered subject to any mortgage. The peasant may sell his land or the land may be sold by a Court of Law to another agriculturist for the satisfaction of any existing or future debts of the peasant.

(7) No agricultural land shall be subdivided into any uneconomic holdings either by sale or by any Law of Inheritance. At the death of any peasant the eldest of the sons shall in the order of age have the first option to cultivate the land and buy out the younger sons by payment of cash by instalments in lieu of the share of each according to his personal law.

(8) No peasant shall incur any debt for any social dinners after death nor any such debt, if incurred hereafter, shall be considered valid by a Court of Law.

(9) All existing or future debts due by any peasant may be liquidated by a scheme in Insolvency but the sale of such peasant's land, if any, shall be made only to an actual cultivator of the soil.

(10) The peasant shall be subject to a land tax at the rate of 25 per cent of the net annual value of the land (as defined by the Taxation Enquiry Committee) *i.e.*, "the gross produce less cost of production, including the value of the labour actually expended by the farmer and his family on the land, and return for enterprise," or such rate as may be granted by the Legislature from time to time based upon the settlement by the Settlement Officers for a period of 10 years according to the average of the preceding 10 years.

(11) The State shall set apart 1|10th of the land tax recovered as a Famine Insurance Reserve to meet the cost of any remission or Famine relief operations in the future. In case

of partial or total failure of crops for any reason whatsoever the State shall remit a portion or the whole of the land tax for the year.

(12) The peasant's land shall be further liable to local taxes levied by the local authorities for local purposes of Primary and Agricultural Education, Sanitation, Medical Relief, Transport or Well Irrigation, not exceeding in the aggregate 25 per cent of the then existing land tax.

(13) The Village Panchayat, the Village Sanitary Committee or the lowest local authority shall levy a graded tax of 10 per cent to 25 per cent, as it may fix, of the expenditure incurred by any person in the marriage feasting or processions exceeding Rs 50 but not on the gifts to or settlement for the marrying couple.

(14) All acts relating to Land Revenue in the province are to be considered as repealed to the extent to which their provisions are inconsistent with the provisions of this Act.

(15) The Provincial Government may make such rules as they deem proper for the due administration of the Provisions of this Act.

THE MINING INDUSTRY AND ITS IMPORTANCE

By H. D. MOOKERJEE

Food is the first essential of mankind and next come mineral products in the provision of buildings for shelter and the manufacture of the innumerable requisites of present day civilization. Thus regarded, Mining is second only to Agriculture as an indispensable activity. In the opinion of Mr. Crerar, Minister of Mines at Ottawa, mining can be developed into the Dominion's most prolific source of wealth and this is the task of the present generation. The active prosecution of mining surveys in most of the leading countries and the continual opening of new mines, enlargements of existing plants and re-opening of old workings are the best possible proof that mining interests are alive to their opportunities. The mining of coal, iron, gold, silver, tin, copper, and lead has been the chief incentive to the opening of new countries and has led to the establishment of prosperous independent colonies. The moving of population from the overcrowded countries could never have been accomplished by agriculture and manufacturing pursuits alone, as these in most cases follow the opening made by mining. The Witwatersrand Goldfield, the Transvaal and Natal Mining fields, the mineral industries of Canada and Australia present a striking illustration of the pioneer work of and continuous prosperity flowing from mining operations. Fifty years ago the Rand Mines constituted a group of mining camps inhabitated by fifty or sixty persons but today they have grown into a mining town with a population of 4 to 5 lacs of people engaged in pursuits of various kinds naturally following the openings of these pioneer excavations. The launching of the Five Year plans by Soviet Russia has brought her to the forefront of world economics and her large scale production of ores and minerals has enabled her not only to do away with unemployment and find food and shelter for her teeming millions but at the same time it has made it possible for her to compete in the world market with countries which were enjoying a monopoly in certain mineral outlets. Germany, of late, has been working her mines which were closed for a long time because of high production costs and low metal prices. In the words of General Goering, prospectors are to penetrate every corner of Germany in search of copper, tin, nickel and other ores and the mineral resources of the country are to be exploited to the utmost. The most far-reaching influence of the present German mineral policy is the stimulation of improvement in processing and application. Turning to the East we find how Japan is faced with the problem of accommodating her increasing population. She is bent on a policy of expanding her empire and we are very familiar with her recent territorial expansion in Manchuria, which is believed to be rich in certain mineral deposits. Italy's conquest of Abyssinia is too fresh in our mind and the land is supposed to be holding some important minerals as revealed by recent geological survey in that country. These illustrations from different countries show what an important part the Mining industry plays in the life of a nation.

India with her enormous mineral resources occupies a very insignificant place in the world production of ores and minerals except perhaps in the production of mica and manganese. There is a vast scope for developing the mineral deposits of India and intensive prospecting work should be undertaken at the present moment when there is all round revival of trade in the world. That the Mining industry plays an important part in our national life too will be clear from the following information which has been obtained from the latest report of the Chief Inspector of Mines in India, which indicates clearly that the Mining industry is showing signs of all round revival after the slump commenced.

Name of minerals worked in 1935	Production in tons	Value in Rupees
Coal	21,014,469	5,84,24,501
Iron	1,179,050	18,84,439
Manganese ..	422,847	40,26,439
Lead and Silver ..	460,886	....
Tin	4,383	75,94,674
Wolfram	2,549	26,21,323
Copper	350,801	34,88,808
Mica	58,553 (cwts.)	25,39,442

The number of coal mines worked was 494 and that of metalliferous mines 1318. The daily average number of persons working in and about the mines in British India was 253,970. Of these, the daily average number of persons employed in coal mines was 159,254 and the number of persons employed in metalliferous mines was 94,716. The above figures exclude the output of coal and other minerals which are being worked in the Indian States. In the Kolar Gold Field (Mysore State) the number of persons employed is 18,000 and upwards. The total quantity of fine gold produced from 1882 to 1932 was 17,252,162.782 ozs. worth £75,213,019. Messrs. John Taylor and Sons, who are working the gold mines, paid dividends of £22,933,139 to the shareholders and the Mysore Government has received a royalty to the amount of £3,973,137. Thus it is clear that the Mining industry plays a vital part in securing employment not only for the labouring classes but also for young mining engineers properly equipped with scientific and practical training. Apart from accepting jobs which may offer good prospects, our college trained young friends should develop an enterprising and adventurous nature and should try to work together in a spirit of perfect co-operation. There should be private efforts in search of mineral deposits and in finding out ways and means for their economic exploitation even at some risks in the beginning, because the risks in mining ventures have been, in most cases, justified by subsequent profits and advantages.

It is true that in other countries the States have come forward with subsidies to aid the Mining industry in times of depression, and we cannot claim to have such a State in our land. The Coal mining industry, for instances, has been badly suffering for nearly a decade without receiving any tangible help from the Government even in the matter of reduction of freight. The low price of coal has compelled the owners of mines to enforce stringent economies so much so that the managements very often have suffered from insufficient supply of materials. The consequence has been disastrous. Many mining properties have been damaged altogether by subsidences, fires and explosions which are of more frequent occurrence today than in any time in the history of coal mining in India. If the railway freight charges were reduced and further rebates granted on shipment coal, Indian coal would have certainly competed in the inland market with South African coal. It is a welcome sign that the Government have appointed a Coal Committee to study the methods of working coal mines and the causes of mine fires. They should revise their mineral policy to suit the needs of the country and place the industry on a more sound footing. The Government should devote a little more attention to this important industry as they are now doing for Agriculture and let the Mining industry and Agriculture flourish side by side for the good of our Motherland.



TYPES OF INDIAN CRIMINALS

A Plea for their Reclamation

By ATMARAM G. KIRPALANI, B.A., LL.B.

Since the time of Raja Rammohun Roy, reformers in India have done their best to purge society of many evils—social and political—but no serious attempt has been made to understand the Indian Criminal and to reclaim him. All over the country, prison houses are full and even the terrors of the "Black water" have not deterred the so-called criminals from committing offences of great enormity. It is high time that the reformer directed his attention to the great evil of crime in India, which saps the spring of the body-politic, and find out ways and means for the reclamation and education of thousands of young men and women who fill His Majesty's prisons today.

The modern school of criminal anthropologists regards the criminal as a degenerate. The Indian criminal is no exception to this rule. Lombroso was the first to propound the hypothesis that a criminal type exists exhibiting a physical neurosis, or degeneration of the brain that enables us to recognize a malefactor from birth. That hypothesis has not been found to be wholly correct. So far, no physical signs which point to absolute criminality have been discerned, any more than it has been possible to discover the external marks of invincible honesty. Yet, as pointed out by Lyon, the great malefactor is not usually a mad man, but exhibits a marked degree of self-control. Lower down in the scale of criminality, it is often very difficult to decide how far the prisoner in the dock is truly responsible. Certainly, the prisons all the world over contain a considerable proportion of persons under punishment who are little better than half-witted. The population of almost any of the large prisons exhausts the scale of unfitness, and from it is recruited a good deal of the lunatic asylum. (Lyon's *Medical Jurisprudence for India* by T. F. Owens, 9th edition, 1935).

For our purpose, we shall divide the Indian criminals into the following classes according to the system of Lombroso :—

(1) The political offender.
(2) The criminal by passion.
(3) The occasional criminal.
(4) The habitual or professional criminal.
(5) Instinctive or congenital criminal.
(6) The insane criminal.

The Political Offender

The political offender is the product of the present-day dissatisfaction with the existing system of Government in India and is drawn from the flower of the Indian intelligentia. The political offender is subdivided into two classes, namely, the non-violent and the violent type. The non-violent type is an agitator for the establishment of Swaraj in India and breaks such laws of the country as he deems harsh, and voluntarily courts prison in order to create dissatisfaction or hatred for the present system of Government. This type of offender is moved by sense of patriotism and may be, as Lyon puts it, "hero, martyr or even saint of another land or age." Mahatma Gandhi, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and their followers belong to this category. Such a type of offender may be the precursor of the progressive movement of humanity, and does not concern us here. There is no evidence of abnormality about this type.

The violent or the terroristic offenders should engage our best attention. Highly educated young men and women, especially in Bengal, who are otherwise quite normal human beings, are stung into sudden passion on account of real or fancied wrong to themselves or their countrymen and want to avenge it by shooting a Governor or a high official or indulging in acts of frightfulness.

The science of psycho-analysis would explain the conduct of these ultra-emotional people as due to inhibition and suppression of their emotions—their *libido*—which leads them to the violent exhibition of their anti-official activities. The late Mr. Sen-Gupta once said that this type of criminal does not possess a high brain quality, as is evidenced by the fact that most of them are found out before they perpetrate the intended crime. This type of criminal should be carefully studied by our sociologists and psychologists. Parents should lose no time in correcting the aberrations of their children, otherwise, there is every danger of the latter turning out to be anti-social individuals.

Criminal by Passion

The great majority of violent criminals and murderers are "Criminals *by* passion," fairly well-meaning and generally law-abiding, but act under grave and sudden provocation by some insult or wrong to themselves or their families and take the law into their own hands and thus find themselves in the clutches of the police. A husband belonging to the lower strata of society finding his wife faithless does not wait for the Law to take its course, but often-times hacks his wife and her paramour to death. A man belonging to a particular sect or community pounces on a member of a rival sect or community in a fit of religious frenzy. Thus are communal riots caused by even simple-minded, law-abiding citizens. Except for the goondas who are habitual offenders, criminals of this type are distinguished by previous honest life. Careful examination as a rule fails to show any striking evidence of abnormality, degeneration or hereditary taint in this type of criminal. Literate classes generally have more control over their passions than illiterate classes. With the spread of education, it may fairly be hoped that this type will decrease in number.

The Occasional Criminal

The occasional criminal has an element of innate criminality which leads him to commit crime when opportunity offers, and bad heredity is common in this class.

The Habitual or Professional Criminal

There are several tribes in India who are professional criminals, *e.g.*, the *Khosas* and the *Hurs* in Sind. They are a dangerous type and play havoc with person and property. Government from time to time declares such tribes or gangs as are addicted to the systematic commission of non-bailable offences as "criminal tribes." They are governed by the Criminal Tribes Act of 1924 and have to report themselves to the police at fixed intervals, and are subject to other restrictions over their movements. Many members of these tribes are now honest citizens and have taken to agriculture or ply some other trade.

Instinctive or Congenital Type

Criminals of this class form only a small percentage of prison population, but they are the most serious proportion. They frequently present well-marked physical and psychical signs of abnormality in its most pronounced shape, and they are related on the one side to the occasional criminal and on the other to the insane criminal.

Insane Type

Some criminals are insane persons and commit crimes while in a state of insanity. Our Law provides immunity from punishment to such criminals, but they are usually sent to lunatic asylums.

The discussion of the types of Indian criminals leads us to the conclusion that barring the political offender and the criminal by passion, the rest of the criminals are more or less degenerate classes or possess a hereditary taint. With the advent of the New Constitution, the political offender will have less cause to break the laws. The political terrorists have caused grave anxiety to the Government and the public, but a more humane treatment of such offenders will nip the growing movement of terrorism in the bud.

The other criminals require a close attention of the reformers. Education of the masses will go a long way to wean many persons from the path of crime and turn many would-be criminals into honest citizens. Parents could exercise a good check over the aberrations of their children. The convicts themselves could be reclaimed if we had many more Borstal schools and reformatories, instead of the soul-crushing and depressing jails where a criminal having been convicted of a solitary lapse may learn to be a hardened one. In America and other civilized countries, convicts are being sent to reformatories in increasing numbers. Judge Lindsay, whose books on prison reform are widely read, has successfully proved how youthful offenders could be reclaimed by a humane treatment and a proper understanding of their minds.

The Indian reformers must not taboo our criminal as an untouchable. But, even untouchables are getting preferential treatment. We must educate our would-be criminals on proper lines and prevent them from pursuing a career of crime. We must reform our prison system with a view to reclaim the convicts. The famous Pir Pagaro of Sind after a detention of seven years in an Indian prison for alleged serious offences has turned out to be a cultured man with a zeal to reform his followers, because his education was attended to. Why not give a chance to any other criminals?

Book Reviews

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in The Modern Review. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published. —Editor, The Modern Review.

ENGLISH

A SHORT HISTORY OF INDIA : *By W. H. Moreland and Atul Chandra Chatterji. Longmans, Green and Co. 12s. 6d. net.*

A Short History of India by Mr. W. H. Mereland and Sir Atul Chatterjee is a very useful and readable book. The authors have wisely discarded "much that is of secondary importance in order to concentrate on the main theme, the evolution of Indian culture and its response to successive foreign contacts." For the British period they "have tried to write the history, not of British rule in India, but of India under British rule." In this their attempt to rewrite Indian history with "a point of view" within a small compass (475 pages) the authors have gained considerable success, and produced a manual that will be useful, not only to the college students, but also to the general readers.

The success of a book that aspires to take a bird's eye view of the political and cultural history of India from the beginning up to date depends upon the author's discernment in determining what to include and what to leave out. Inclusion of recent discoveries and novel theories are not always desirable. The author should confine his selection to all that has gained or deserve universal acceptance. But the field of human activities covered by the cultural history of India is so vast and varied, that in making such a selection some errors of omission and commission are unavoidable, and the present work is no exception. I shall discuss one point only. The authors write about Islamic polity :—

"Another modification of great importance for India was in the treatment of the vanquished. Originally the only exception to the stern rule of Islam or death was in the case of 'the people of the Book'—that is to say, Jews and Christians, who acknowledged the authority of the Old Testament : these classes could enjoy freedom and protection under Moslem rule if they accepted the position and paid a special tax, known as *jizya*. This exception was extenued in the course of the first conquast of Sind, when the victor granted to Hindus the position legally confined to Jews and Christians" (Pp. 145-146).

This view was held by Sir William Muir and has been supported by Sir Wolsley Haig (*The Cambridge History of India*, Vol. III, Pp. 3-4). The latter authority adds :—

"By a legal fiction which placed the scriptures of Zoroaster on a level with the Old and New Testaments as a divine revelation the Magians of Persia had often obtained the amnesty which was strictly the peculiar privilege of Christians and Jews, but Hajjaj, a bitter persecutor, knew nothing of the lax interpretation which tolerated idolatry on payment of tribute, and in Central Asia idolators were rooted out" (p. 4).

The works of the Muhammodan jurists are not accessible to the present reviewer. But from statements found in Baladhuri's *Kitab Futuh Al-Buldan, The Origins of the Islamic State*, an English translation of which by Messrs. Hitti and Murgotten has been published by the Columbia University (New York, 1916 and 1924), it is evident that in practice the early Arab conquerors, including the Prophet Muhammad, was much more tolerant of the 'idolators' than is usually supposed by modern historians. Baladhuri writes about Yaman :—

"And the Prophet sent them his messengers and *amils* to acquaint them with the laws of Islam and its institutes and to receive their *sadakah* and the poll tax of those among them who still held to Christianity, Judaism or Magianism." (Part I, Chapter XV).

Again we are told in the same chapter :—

"Al-Husain ibn-al-Aswad from al-Hasan :—The Prophet collected poll-tax from the Magians of Hajar and the Magians of al-Yaman, and assessed one *dinar* or its equivalent in clothes on every adult or female from the Magians of al-Yaman."

In Part IX, chapter VII of Baladhuri's history it is stated :—

"One day he (Caliph Umar) said, 'I know not how to treat the Magians;' upon which Abdar Rahman ibn-Auf rose and said, "I bear witness that the Prophet said, 'Treat them according to the same law with which we treat the People of the Book."

From Baladhuri's account of the Arab conquest of the Persian (Sassanian) empire we learn that this precept was acted upon with regard to Persians who submitted to the invaders. Again, in the narrative of Baladhuri, Hajjaj, the all-powerful governor of Irak under Caliphs Abdulmalik (A.D. 685—705) and Walid I (A.D. 705—715), does not figure as a bitter persecutor. Central Asia (Western Turkestan) was conquered by Kutaibah, Hajjaj's deputy in Khurasan, in the reign of Walid I. But nothing is said about idolators being rooted out. Baladhuri attributes the authorship of the policy of toleration of Buddhist worship in Sind to Hajjaj himself. He writes :—

"Mahammad ibn-Kasim went to al-Birun, whose inhabitants had sent two Buddhist monks of their number to al-Hajjaj and had made treaty with him. They supplied Muhammad with provisions, received him into their city, and had the treaty confirmed." (Part XX, chap. II).

So some of the the views that have gained general acceptance demand careful reconsideration. But in spite of inaccuracies here and there, there are more points in this volume that deserve commendation than those that invite criticism. The authors have recorded the history of the British period, particularly the contemporary events, with due restraint. It is difficult to endorse their observations (p. 276) on Clive's silencing Omichund with a forged copy of the treaty with Mir Jafar containing provision in favour of him which did not find place in the authentic treaty. Ethical considerations have seldom prevented men of great foresight, daring and ambition like Clive from gaining their end by unfair means. Puritan code of morality did not stand in the way of Oliver Cromwell sending an alarming anonymous letter to Charles I imprisoned at Hampton Court, signed "E. R.", to induce the poor king to leave that place and get into the trap of Isle of Wight.* The long-forgotten *Arthasastra* of Kautilya can hardly be recognized as the leading administrative treatise of the Hindu period. That honour should belong to the *Mahabharata* that places the example and precepts of Bhishmi (embodied in the *Rajadharmanusasana* of Book XII) in the foreground.

RAMAPRASAD CHANDA

CONSTITUTIONS OF THE WORLD (A comparative Study): *By Dr. B. Pattabhisitaramayya. Published by The Hindustan Publishing Co., Ltd., Rajahmundry. Price Re. 1 : Foreign 2s.*

This is a very useful publication. The countries, of whose constitutions, comparative statements are given in it, are Ireland, Canada, Australia, South Africa, New Zealand, France, Switzerland, Germany, Kingdom of the Slavs Croates and Serbs, Russia, U. S. A., Poland, Czecho-Slovakia, Austria, Sweden, Norway, Esthonia, Great Britain, Spain, Belgium, Japan, Denmark, Mexico, and Italy. All politically-minded persons—particularly journalists, members of legislatures, and other publicists—should get a copy and use it.

ELEMENTS OF SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGY: *By B. C. Mazumdar. Published by the Calcutta University.*

In the preface to the book the Author very rightly points out the importance of the study of Anthropology for all educated persons, including political and social reformers. Administrators and other statesmen should undoubtedly have a knowledge of this science.

The book is intended for students. But it is not written in a forbidding style, as some text-books are. It is divided into five chapters, devoted to Man and his Equipment for Progress, The Adventures of Man, Expansion of Human Society, The Marriage of Man, and Religion. All the chapters are written in a popular and interesting manner. In the chapter on Marriage the Author effectively controverts the theory that some kind of marriage or other was preceded by promiscuity. Considering that moral laxity is at present widely prevalent almost all over the world, scientific views like those of the Author deserve serious study.

Perhaps on account of the nature of the subject, the concluding sections of the chapter on Religion are not as lucidly written as most other parts of the book.

R. C.

* Hilaire Belloc, *Cromwell*, London, 1834, p. 245.

STUDIES IN MODERN ENGLISH POETRY: *By Mr. Bhawani Sankar of the Department of English Studies, Allahabad University. Published by Messrs. Students' Friends, Allahabad. Pp. 277. Price Inland Rs. 3, Foreign Sh. 6.*

The first part of this book consists of three chapters dealing with the poetic tendencies which have become dominant as the influence of the accepted Victorian masters has grown weaker, and from which modern poetry has taken its start. In the second part the work of some poets has been examined in detail with a view to illustrating the new trends in English poetry. The poets selected for the purpose are Robert Bridges, Kipling, Hardy, Housman, Masefield, Rupert Brooke, W. H. Davies, and Walter de la Mare—poets who have "acquired a measure of stability and importance in the twentieth century." The author has tried to trace the development of a poet's attitude through its various phases. The treatment is not of course exhaustive, but these studies are full of suggestive thought, and some of the essays call for special praise for the earnest and sympathetic spirit in which the subject has been approached. Many readers will probably be prepared to accept the author's principle and point of view. The bibliography appended to these studies will certainly be very helpful to students of modern English poetry.

S.

LIBERALISM IN EUROPE: THE RISE OF EUROPEAN LIBERALISM: *By Harold J. Laski. Allen & Unwin, London. 7s. 6d.*

Professor Laski's new volume is a very interesting and timely publication. His book on the rise of Liberalism in Europe comes at a time when Liberalism in Europe has been getting on the decline. And the book suggests such a decline as inherent in the structure of Liberalism as raised and maintained in Europe in the period from the 15th to the 19th century. Professor Laski traces the course of the development of Liberalism in this period in different countries in Europe, marked by the ascendency of the status of contract in place of the old one of birth. Without undermining the progressive role assumed by Liberalism in many ways and departments, he stresses the shortcomings of the basis of the new status of contract from the economic point of view, as carrying the seeds of the decline of Liberalism, seen as progressive factor for long, with the pressing of new currents. In the course of his survey, Laski covers a wide field and comments on the attitudes of leading political philosophers of the period from Machiavelli to Voltaire. Professor Laski's volume is a valuable contribution to modern political literature deserving to be read and re-read.

CHANGING CHINA: *By Agnes Smedley. Lawrence and Wishart, London. 5s.*

China in the present period is going through vast and fundamental changes. Accounts of Japanese advances and reports of Nanking's surrenders have been greatly monopolizing attention to developments in China. But behind and closely bound with them, one is told, there has been proceeding a move of tremendous strength and weight—the formation and extension of a Soviet China. Agnes Smedley the well-known American journalist and formerly a frequent contributor to the Indian press, in her new volume on China, much in the nature of a sequel to her forceful earlier publication "Chinese Destinies," tells the tale of this expansion in the form of accounts of various incidents connected with it. These incidents of considerable sociological

interest lend light on many factors: methods of the Red Army, changes initiated to consolidate areas taken, the role of the Kuo Min Tang, the keen participation of women in the struggle in China, and a popular movement acting with elemental power. Miss Smedley who can claim first-hand knowledge, writes with much vigour, great directness and obvious enthusiasm. She makes no pretence of "not taking sides."

A. C. N.

EIGHT PORTRAITS: *Published by Bharat Phototype Studio, 72/1, College Street, Calcutta. Price Rs. 2. Postage extra.*

The engraving and printing of all the eight portraits in this volume are excellent. The printing of the letterpress is also excellent. The type chosen is beautiful and clear. The paper, both of the illustrations and the letterpress, is of the highest quality available in Calcutta. The binding is handsome. Altogether the volume can be literally characterized as a superb production.

Of the eight persons whose portraits have been given in this volume, the achievements of seven, though of different kinds, are of such a description as clearly entitles them to a place in this national portrait gallery. The editor of *The Modern Review*, whose portrait also finds a place in it, cannot lay claim to any such distinction. His portrait and biographical sketch might perhaps be given a place in some publication relating to Indian journalists without provoking comment.

The publisher has explained why he has included the late Mr. U. Ray in this publication. But those who, like this reviewer, knew him, would scarcely feel the need of such an explanation, in spite of his not having been famous. For, in addition to the original work which he did in connection with the half-tone process and his achievement in relation to juvenile literature, he embodied in himself a rare combination of taste for exact science and the fine arts and attainments and achievements in the same.

Within the limits of space imposed on the writer of the character sketches in this volume, he has done his work admirably. It is an extremely difficult task to give an idea of the personality, for example, of Rabindranath Tagore in two pages. But he can claim a very high degree of success. He has succeeded also in presenting to the reader clear pen-pictures of the late Mr. U. Ray, Sir J. C. Bose, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Mahatma Gandhi, Sir P. C. Ray and Dr. Abanindranath Tagore.

Succeeding volumes of the series will be awaited with interest.

X.

SHAKESPEARE CRITICISM—1919-1935: *By Anne Bradby. Oxford University Press. (The World's Classics Series). 2s. net.*

This is a welcome companion volume to an earlier useful publication in the same series, in which Nichol Smith presented a selection of Shakespeare Criticism from Heminge and Condell to Carlyle. This volume contains 15 post-war essays on Shakespeare by some of the modern Shakespearean scholars. It is quite a representative collection and includes some of the best specimens of recent studies in the line. The essays are by critics and scholars of all schools of opinion and methods of criticism, and the reader will be able to gather from this single handy volume a general idea of the trend of modern researches over a vast and ever-expanding field of literary investigation.

A comparative study of these two volumes of Shakespeare Criticism in The World's Classics Series will provide an interesting indication of the manner in which the earlier idolatrous and mystical view of Shakespeare as a miracle of nature has given place to a dispassionate and scientific estimate of him in his proper historical setting, leading not to a diminution but rather an enhancement of our admiration for his powers as a poet and craftsman.

P. K. GUHA.

STUDIES IN THE HISTORY OF THE SIKHS: *By Nahar Singh, M.A. Second edition, Lahore. Pages 118.*

The history of the Sikhs is a theme which, if handled by a Greene or a Fisher, would rival in interest Motley's *Rise of the Dutch Republic.* The Hindu India having lived many times the lease of life of the Phoenix, built for herself a funeral pile in the shape of 500 years' alien rule only to emerge back to life in the second half of the eighteenth century, not in her old self but as a New India of a composite character. This New India though strong of limbs was weak in brain and short of sight if not blind. The history of India in the eighteenth century reminds us of the story of the *Upanishad*—the story of the non-co-operation of various organs of the body with the idle belly and the consequent suffering of all. The Marathas, the Deccani Musalmans, Rajputs, Jats, Sikhs, though limbs of the same body-politic, were found not to speak of non-co-operating with one another, but one limb bent as if on tearing off the other. India of the eighteenth century was saved from self-destruction by the intervention of the British Imperialism in the nineteenth century which bound down every limb to its place and administered the balm of peace to all.

The history of the sikhs is a chapter of the history of the eighteenth century India. It illustrates one great lesson of history; namely, that persecution did never succeed in crushing a just cause or in extinguishing the flame of liberty last refuge of which is neither the poet's ocean-girt isles nor the peaks of the Alps, but the undaunted heart of a virile race.

The annals of the Sikh people as summarised in the book under review gives an impression that even Islam and Christianity had not perhaps encountered a more determined and prolonged persecution than did the Sikhism of Guru Govind. As the fires of Smithfield or the Inquisition and the sword of Alva had failed against the Protestants of England and Netherlands, so did the relentless wars of extermination waged by the later Mughals and their Subahdars of the Punjab fail to wipe off the Sikhs. These wars against the Sikhs have the same features as the campaign of Ahmed Shah Abdali against the Jats of Bharatpur; namely, the merciless price of Rs. 5 set on per head of the enemy, combatant and non-combatant. (*History of the Jats*, pages 97-121).

The second edition of Mr. Nahar Singh's book proves its popularity among the Sikhs, though scholars may not welcome it on account of the author's lack of discrimination in selecting his authorities. The greatest authorities on the period of Sikh history treated in Mr. Nahar Singh's book (1710-1753) are William Irvine and Sir Jadunath Sarkar. But these are the very sources almost shunned scrupulously by this author. The author has either been very lax in orthography or intently given us the Sikh pronunciation of Muslim names; *e.g., Bazid, Masar-ul-umra, Amdat-ut-tawarikh* etc. Here and there we come across some Sikh authorities used by the author. In fact the best service to history which Sikh scholars can render is to make a thorough investigation of written and unwritten sources of the Sikh history as Marathas are doing for their history. These will live whereas the so-called general histories—which are no better than communal polemics—will soon sink into oblivion.

K. R. QANUNGO

BEOWULF AND THE RAMAYANA: A STUDY IN EPIC POETRY: *By I. S. Peter, M.A., (Madras), Ph.D, (Lond.), Presidency College, Madras. John Bale, Sons and Danielsson, Ltd., 83-91 Great Titchfield Street, London, W. 1.*

A well-documented book, being a study in comparative literature, on Epic Poetry, Indian and Anglo-Saxon. It was a thesis expressly written and approved for the degree of doctor of philosophy in the University of London. Dr. Peter writes on Epic Construction, political and social conditions in the epic age, epic philosophy and common characteristics of Heroic Poetry. But there are occasions when it is difficult not to find fault with the author; *e.g.*, in his view that "Valmiki has given the Epic a peculiarly feminine atmosphere" (p. 68); "Dasaratha was a puppet in the hands of Kaikeyi" (p. 78); "These institutions" (polygamy and concubinage) "are responsible for the representation of the kings as sensual and pleasure-loving" (p. 79). More reprehensible is the view entertained by the author that "The narrative of the birth of the war-god Kartikeya, the story of the formation of metals, and the escapade of Indra with Gautama's wife Ahalya, cannot be considered as very pleasant reading." The learned doctor must have read Hesiod's theogony as well as other accounts of creation given by primitive poets and incorporated in the later doctrines of different peoples; set in their proper perspective, they do not offend the reader; and there appears to be no reason why one should take a different view with regard to the Ramayana, which, as the author has quoted with evident approval about Beowulf, consists like all popular epics and epic sagas, of two elements—myth and history.

Students of epic poetry will derive profit and pleasure from a perusal of this volume.

P. R. Sen

STUDIES IN EDUCATION: *By H. S. Wanchoo. Allahabad.*

This is a volume of essays and addresses on different aspects of education by H. S. Wanchoo, the well-known educationist of U. P. I welcome it as a valuable contribution to our educational literature. All the chapters of the book are interesting, stimulating, and thought-provoking. Its printing and get-up is excellent.

Mr. Wanchoo is not a mere theorist in education. When he speaks he speaks with the authority of a man who himself has tried and initiated some experiments in the field of education in his province. The reviewer was present at one of the Education weeks organized by Mr. Wanchoo and he can bear witness to the good work that was done there. He has also seen the experiment about school tiffins initiated under the inspiration of Mr. Wanchoo in some of the schools in Benares. What Mr. Wanchoo says on this topic is worthy of note by every one interested in the education of the youth of the nation. The problem of the health of our school children is fast becoming very acute and the sooner we can find a solution to it the better it will be for us. A large portion of our educational expenditure is wasted simply because ill-fed and under-nourished children are not in a position to profit by the education we provide for them. You cannot build a A1 nation out of C3 materials.

A. N. Basu

THE INDIAN COMPANIES ACT 1913, AS AMENDED UPTO 1936 BY ACT XXII OF 1936: *By N. K. Majumdar, M.A., R.A., Registrar of Joint Stock Companies, Bengal and R. N. Majumdar, B.Com., R.A., Registered Accountant. Published by M. C. Sarkar and Sons Ltd., and Kar, Majumdar & Co., Ltd., Calcutta.*

In this treatise, the authors have presented very clearly a comparative view of the Indian Companies Act 1913, as it was and as it is now, incorporating the amendments introduced by the Amending Act of 1936.

The new and the old Acts have been printed on pages facing one another to facilitate comparison. Elaborate notes have been added under each section to explain clearly the meaning of each section, the notes especially will be of great assistance in clearing doubts.

The authors' notes and comments on section 277 will be of much help to companies established outside British India. A general survey of the company law as given in the introduction will help the reader to understand the scheme of the whole Act and the improvements in the company law by the Amending Act.

A complete synopsis has been given showing the contents of the new Act arranged according to its sections, with the corresponding sections of the English Act of 1929.

The book will be of great assistance to company directors, managing agents, managers and secretaries in steering clear of pitfalls.

The stamp duty payable on documents connected with company matters and the fees chargeable thereon, have been very clearly stated in the appendix. The book however, suffers from two defects *viz.*, (1) the case law has not been cited and (2) the Rules under section 151 of the Companies Act, 1913, have not been given, although the authors have noticed in appendix IV the amendments made in the Companies Rules 1914.

Jitendra Nath Bose

THE NATURE AND GROUNDS OF POLITICAL OBLIGATION IN THE HINDU STATE: *By J. J. Anjaria, M.A. Longmans, Green & Co. Price Rs. 7-8. Pages 303 including a select bibliography.*

This book, once submitted as an M.A. thesis for the Bombay University, forms the second volume of the Regional and Sociological Studies edited by Dr. N. A. Thoothi. The method followed here is to take up the theories of political obligation with which every student of political philosophy is familiar in the writings of Western publicists, and classify Indian political thought accordingly. Thus the theories of Divine Right, Social Contract, Force and Organism form the basis of classification. The treatment is scholarly, accurate and critical. The end of the Hindu State, the relation between the State and the individual, and the nature of the Hindu State are parsed in review.

The important chapter is the last one in which the author discovers that the nature of political obligation in Hindu India was *Swadharma* based on the rock of *Swabhaba*. In other words, personality was its keystone. In actual practice however, Dharma was identified with a principle of social order that was rendered sacrosanct and static by its equation with the Divine principle. As such, it acted as a steam-roller and checked all change.

The author ends by claiming that the provision for the flowering of personality is the end of all State action.

Dhurjati Mukherji

A CIVILIZATION AT BAY: INDIA—PAST, PRESENT & FUTURE: *By Dr. Kunhi Kannan, M.A. Ph.D. Pp. xviii+504+xvi. G. A. Natesan & Co. Madras. Price Rs. 3.*

The author, the late Dr. K. Kunhi Kannan was Entomologist to the Government of Mysore. This work has been published after his death in 1931. It is a brilliant essay on the various and different aspects of Indian life and its problems. The versatile mind of the author treats the various questions in a masterly manner. His treatment of a question is like that of an impartial

historian, fully conversant with the manner in which it has taken its present shape. Each one of the twenty-eight chapters—from the Joint family and the Indian Home to Indian States and Indian Nationalism, from Caste and Religion to Indian Women and Indian Art, from the Village Community and Indian Individualism to Over-Government and Over-Population—reflects the versatile mind of the author, his reasoned conservatism and a real capacity for compromise.

Writing on the Indian Muhammadans the author observes :—"With the Hindus, the memory is still green of the travail and tribulations the country had to undergo during Muhammadan invasions. . . . The Muhammadans, on their side cannot forget that, not very long ago, Hindus were their subjects. . . . The conviction lingers still that, should any occasion still arise for a trial of strength, they may yet prove their superiority in arms.

"And there is much to foster that sense. If any altercation ensues all the Muhammadans on the spot make common cause and threaten violence, no matter how unjust the cause they espouse. These grievances of the Hindus can disappear only if they are capable of union in the same degree, or at least will stand no longer any bullying. No Government, however vigilant and powerful, can prevent these excesses against which the checks must arise within Hindu society itself. The mild and peaceable Hindu, inclined to give way rather than assert, tempts them to bully and exploit.

"Islam and Islamic Empire grew together. The cohesion and discipline, the comradeship in arms and the share in the rich booty played no small part in giving to Islam its democratic spirit. While this sense of brotherhood has been a great asset [it] has failed to develop a national, as distinguished from a communal, conscience. It accounts, partly at any rate, for the refusal of charity by Muhammadans to Hindu beggars, and for Muhammadans wherever possible, giving their custom to Muhammadan shop-keepers, a reservation which Hindus rarely observe. The sacrifice of the cow on the day of *Bakrid*, an animal sacred to Hindus, was intended to humiliate them, and is now retained to preserve the dividing line of the Muhammadans.

"The Muhammadans have too long avoided the road of political progress for fear of the spectre of a Hindu majority. Nor is the political opportunism, which has helped them to secure concessions and privileges, very much to the credit of their intelligence and political sagacity, for the opportunism has not been theirs so much as of the rulers. They have been rather the victims. The minor concessions that they are able to secure from time to time, only render it more and more difficult to obtain the larger concessions on which one day they must set their hearts. Mir Jaffer's defection caused Sirajuddowla's ruin, but paved the way for his own."

These are some of the gems culled at random. We would ask the thoughtful and serious reader to get a copy and peruse the same slowly, inwardly marking the thought-provoking observations of the author. He is one of the very few Indians, who, while giving to their respective professions of their best, have yet the leisure and inclination to think over various problems facing new India.

J. M. DATTA

HINDUSTAN YEAR-BOOK 1937 : *By S. C. Sarkar. M. C. Sarkar & Sons Ltd. 15, College Square, Calcutta. Price Re. 1.*

A year-book today, like a dictionary, is needed on the table for constant reference. British year-books—and there are several of them—cannot, for obvious reasons, meet all the requirements of an Indian politician or journalist. M. C. Sarkar and Sons have removed a long-felt want by the publication of an Indian Year-Book, the *Hindustan Year-Book*. There is an Indian *Who's Who* chapter appended to it. There are also chapters on Census, Education, Geographical names, Provincial divisions, Banks, Libraries, Railways, Ruling Princes and Chiefs, Sports and various other subjects. There is a list of the winners of the Nobel Prizes. The year-book is full of useful information.

L.

ENGLISH-SANSKRIT

PRACTICE OF BHAKTI-YOGA : *By Sri Swami Sivananda Saraswati, Ananda-Kutir, Rikhikesh. Published by Em. Airi, Editor, "Ideal Home" Magazine, Amritsar. Pp. xxviii+423. Price Rs. 3-0-0.*

An excellent handbook for the practice of devotion from the pen of one who has practical experience of the subject. The book consists of nine chapters with an appendix. The 1st six chapters deal with Bhakti and its classifications, name, faith and love, Bhakti-Sadhana, obstacles in God-realisation and Samadhi. The Sanskrit texts of the Bhakti-Sutras of Narada with English translation and commentary are given in the 7th chapter. Some inspiring songs and anecdotes from the lives of some of the Indian saints are incorporated in chapters viii & ix. The appendix contains some advice to young Sannyasins and a glossary of Sanskrit words with their English synonyms. In going through these chapters one will find ample evidence of author's mastery over the details of Bhakti-yoga. His views are catholic. To him "Bhakti is not antagonistic to Gyana;" both will lead to the same goal. But in page 198 his reflections on the Bengalis and the Bengali Sannyasins are quite improper, rather sad; he is somehow or other prejudiced.

Some of the discrepancies found in the book are noted below.

In page 17 author's classifications in Bhakti are not rigidly logical. The sixth classification, which embodies Sattvika, Rajasika and Tamasika Bhakti, cannot be an independent one, as these are included in Gauni Bhakti of the 5th classification. For, according to Bhakti-sutras of Narada, Gauni Bhakti is of three kinds based on either of the three Gunas (Sattva, Rajas, Tamas) or on (*a*) affliction (आर्ति), (*b*) desire for knowledge about God (जिज्ञासा) and (*c*) self-interest (अर्थार्थित्व), यथाक्रम् —("गौणी त्रिधा गुणभेदादार्तादिभेदाद्वा").

The five subdivisions of each of the five primary Bhakti-rasas as stated in Bhakti-Sastras are Bibhava, Anubhava, Sattvika-bhava, Vyabhi-chari-Bhava and Sthayi-Bhava. The Bibhava is the exciting cause of devotion, and the other four are the outward expressions of different kinds of mental state of a devotee. Crying, laughing, dancing, singing etc., are called the Anubhavas. Stambha (stupefaction without speech and motion), Sveda (sweating), Pulaka (horripilation), Svarabheda (broken articulation), Kampa (tremour), Vaibarnya (change of colour), Asru (tears) and Pralaya (fainting) are the eight Sattvika-bhavas. The author, in going to enumerate the eight signs of Bhakti by which he perhaps means the eight Sattvika-bhavas, has dropped two of the latter, namely, 'Stambha' and 'Vaibarnya' and put therein two of the Anubhavas—'crying' and 'laughing', (p. 24). There are five kinds or rather grades or states of Mukti instead of four as stated by the author (p. 24). He has omitted the Sarsti-Mukti.

There are plenty of printing and other allied mistakes in the book. Some of these are mentioned here. The correct reading of the Sruti quoted in page 232 is "Na Karmana na prajaya dhanena tyagenaike amritatvamanashuh" instead of "Na karmane no prajaya danena

tyageneva amritatvamanusha." The texts of the 1st, the 49:h and the 71st of the Bhakti-sutras of Narada when corrected will read rtspectively (*a*) "अथातो" etc., in place of "अथातौ" etc., (p. 273), (*b*) "…अनुराग लभते" instead of "…अनुरागं लभते" (p. 326) and (*c*) "पितरो" 'मोदन्ते etc., in place of "मोदन्ते पितरौ" etc., (p. 334). The usual mode of transliteration of Sanskrit words in Roman characters with diacritical marks has not been followed in the book; this is a great drawback.

Inspite of all these minor defects the book will be an useful companion to those who aspire to realize God through the path of devotion.

ANANGAMOHAN SAHA

TELUGU

NEHRU CHARITRAM : *By Komanduri Satagopacharyulu, M.A., B.L., Coconada. Pages 177. Price eight annas.*

History is talked of as essence of innumerable biographies, as such India needs many historical biographies in all the languages to infuse the spirit of Nationalism and culture during these days of India in making. As a President of the Congress, as a leader of the teeming masses of India, and finally as a writer, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru shines supreme in the political horizon. Through all these aspects the author provided glimpses of this Indian leader in a vivid style. However, the religious outlook and the political tenets of the Pandit are not presented in a chiselled finality in the work, which shares the fate of an introduction to a greater and elaborate one about the life. A comparative sketch between the Pandit and the Mahatma affords a fine reading and a better understanding of both the leaders. The work enhances the small number of biographies in the language.

B. SUNDEVRAM RAU

GUJARATI

CUTCH NA KALADHARO *i.e.* CHANDRA VANSHA CHARITRA : *By Dulerai L. Karani, with a foreword by Narayan Visanji Thakkur. Printed at the Bahadursinhji. Printing Press, Palitana. Cloth bound : illustrated : Pages 814+8. Price Rs. 5 (1934).*

This substantial volume of the history of Cutch—an important Native State of Western India—is based on many sources : specially bardic literature and folklore, both of which exist in a large measure in Cutch and await sifting, sorting and discreet disinnuation at the hands of those who are interested in history and chronicle. Cutch is an ancient land and has undergone many vicissitudes of fortune, and thus possesses interesting history. It is connected on one side with Sind and on another with Kathiawad and Gujarat. Its history therefore would throw light in the history of those provinces. One source for writing the history of Cutch is chronicles and poems written by Mahomedan writers. As remarked by Mr. Thakkur in his foreword—and Mr. Thakkur is an attentive student of such chronicles and poems in the original—these chronicles and poems having been written with the object of exalting their own creed and depressing that of the Hindus do not at all times represent true facts. The greater is the need therefore of sifting the material among from that source. This book represents great labour and trouble, and is very valuable for the future chroniclers of Cutch, as it has brought together in one place much useful matter.

MAHARAJADHIRAJ : *By Madhavran Tribhuvan Raval. Published by the Gujarati Printing Press, Bombay. Cloth bound. Illustrated. Pages 318. Price Rs. 3 (1935).*

This is a novel depicting two incidents connected with the well-known Solanki King Siddharaj of old Gujarat, one to his discredit, the other to his credit. The discreditable incident is his attempt to abduct a very beautiful married woman of the digger class, called Jasma Odan, and her suicide in defence of her chastity. An amount of folklore is collected round this events and it may or may not have happened. There is a chance of its being apocryphal. His conquest of Malwa is the other incident. Both are narrated in an easy chatty style and are founded on certain original sources which are mentioned in the foot-notes. The book is divided into three sections: The third is a monograph on the Sahasra Ling Tank which Siddharaj got excavated and at which excavation he saw Jasma working as a labourer and was enamoured of her. This monograph is the first of its kind in our literature and is sure to prove a very good guide to those who desire to study the subject.

(1) BALVAKHOR : *By Shantilal M. Shah, Bar-at-Law : Bombay. Paper cover : Pp. 120. Price Re. 1/- (1935).*

(2) SASUJI : *By Dhansukhlal K. Mehta. Cloth Bound, illustrated, Pp. 194. Price Re. 1-8 (1934). Both published by the Gunasundari Karyalay, Bombay.*

The first book represents the social stage through which educated boys and girls are passing at present. The title means "Rebel." Both Vilas and Kunj—the heroine and hero—are the rebels. Vilas was married much against her will to an old man—the uncle of Kunj. She loved the nephew; and conspiring with some friends they made the old man sign *in terrorem* a deed of divorce. Amongst the higher caste Hindus divorce does not obtain; but the rebels were of opinion that they could create such a precedent and they did it. Perhaps it would not stand the test of law. It is, however a pleasant play. The second book (Sasuji : mother-in-law) is a collection of twenty-four humorous stories; well maintaining the level at which Mr. Dhansukhlal is usually entertaining his readers. The incidents are very homely : that helps to fulfil the object with which the stories are written.

K. M. J.

PORTUGUESE

PORTUGUESE E MARATAS : *By P. Pissurlencar. Nova Goa.*

This is a reprint from the Bulletin of the Vasco da Gama Institute, and it refers to the restoration of Salsette and other places about the middle of the 18th century. Count of Sandomil, who had succeeded John Saldanha da Gama as the Viceroy of Portuguese India, was bent upon wresting "just a little more territory" and while he began negotiations with Peshwa, he also made preparations for the next war. Cession of Passein, Chaul and the island of Salsette became an important question, and the author quotes from *Successos da India no Governo do Conde de Sandomil* and other manuscripts from the *Biblioteca Nacional de Lisboa* as well as from official correspondence preserved unpublished in the Historical Archives, New Goa, from which interesting details of diplomatic negotiation, carried on with Baji Rao about 1740 and through Stephen Law, Governor of Bombay, and Captain Inchbird, come out.

P. R. SEN

THE SINHALESE NEW YEAR

BY P. K. DANIEL

THE thirteenth of April is a great day in Ceylon, for on that day falls the Sinhalese New Year. Before the Portuguese occupation of the island, with its attendant introduction of Christianity, and when Buddhism was the professed religion of every Sinhalese, the New Year was a national festival; but, in course of time, with the spread of Christianity, the observance of this ancient custom has been confined to the Buddhists alone, although no religious significance, as in the case of "Wesak" or Lord Buddha's Birthday, has ever been attached to it. The Sinhalese New Year has always been a social event, entering into the inmost life of the Buddhist community of the beautiful island of Ceylon.

The approach of the New Year is felt even as early as the middle of February. In towns, in villages, in the remote outlying districts of the island one hears the monotonous tom-tom of the "Rabana"—a large, low drum placed on the ground, with a group of women seated around it, and hitting away in what they believe "rhythmic repetition." The "rabana" is an important item for the New Year, and every Buddhist land-lord is the proud possessor of one, its size and quality increasing in direct proportion to the wealth and influence of its owner. To the average Sinhalese woman—I am not speaking about the educated and 'society' ladies —the "rabana" is the only means of recreation, and it comes once a year too. Hence she is virtually privileged to make the best of the occasion even at the discomfort and annoyance of the entire neighbourhood. As days advance the frequency of the rabana playing increases until, from the tenth to the thirteenth of April, it becomes nothing but a continuous tom-tom, day and night, one group taking it up where another has left if off. To you and me this 'rabana' business appears silly, getting on our nerves rather; but to the women who are playing the thing there is transcendent rhythm in it, and they appear to be simply carried away by the excellence of their performance.

New Year! Everything must be new. The whole house, down to the kitchen utensils, undergoes renovation. By the end of March all repairs to the house are completed. Then the walls are whitewashed, new curtains put up, a full range of new pots and pans—earthenware, of course,—are bought and the furniture are polished and upholstered anew. In certain orthodox homes the patriarch of the family goes even so far as to dispose of all existing pieces of furniture and to purchase new ones instead. At any cost, New Year must begin in an atmosphere of comfort and affluence!

About a week before the festive day the women folk get busy. Tills are opened, money removed from the Post Office savings bank and every cent of the whole year's careful hoarding up is gladly brought out. Coolies bring sacks full of provisions and the mistress of the house sorts them out, assigns her dependants their respective duties and details out the entire programme of the culinary department. During that week and the next the 'Lady of the House' is really a very dignified personage. Her skill is particularly brought into play where the preparation of sweetmeats is concerned; for no home is worth its name that cannot produce a generous supply of sweetmeats for the New Year. The pride of place among these sweets goes to the much loved 'Kiawung"—a bun-shaped delicacy made of rice flour, mixed with brown sugar or honey and spices and fried in coconut oil. "Dodol"—a black variety of muscat, and "Seenikyawungs"—small, crisp, sugared sweets, are also not less important. And the making of all these goes on till the New Year Eve when the old cooking vessels are cast away for good and the kitchen fire of the expiring year is put out for ever.

The great day has dawned at last. After locking up the house the inmates make their way to the nearest spring or the river where they indulge in the traditional oil bath—daubing the body from head to foot with gingili oil and finishing off with a good bath, washing away, so to speak, all uncleanness of the past year. It is picturesque indeed to see a bevy of shapely women proceeding in single file after the New Year Bath along the roads and lanes, each with a towel put over her head and carrying a small pail in her hand. They have come back to their houses, but not yet entered. Nor will they unlock the house and get inside until that all important auspicious moment—"Nakathe" as

they call it—has arrived. The women are more particular about it than the men and they are careful enough to have ascertained that hour well in advance either from the almanac or from the nearest priest; for it is their implicit faith that the happiness of the whole of the coming year depends entirely upon occupying the house and lighting the kitchen fire at the most auspicious moment. On entering the house the first thing they do is boiling some milk in one of the newly purchased pots.

What follows needs no description: Enjoyment all through. Feasting and merry-making everywhere. The shrill notes of the 'Seraphina' harmonise for the occasion with the plaintive tunes of the violin. The harsh sound of the 'Tabla' and the varying cadence of the vocal accompaniments add in no less degree to the tumult of the whole scene, while the intermittent and deafening clang of the 'rabana' proceeds from the women's quarters. Every one swims in a sort of unearthly delight, free from any conventions whatever and perfectly free to indulge oneself in what constitutes his or her conception of ideal happiness.

For three days at a stretch this merry-making goes on, and then begins the sending and receiving 'presents'—the finishing touches of this colourful scene. Every now and then one can see a little girl, carrying a tray containing home-made sweets supplemented by a comb of bananas, making her way through the busy thoroughfare. She is taking the New Year Present to the house of a friend or relative or a benefactor who seldom returns the tray empty or the girl empty-handed. Thus ends this great annual event with the final exchange of tokens of goodwill, friendship and social union during the whole of the coming year.

It is interesting in this connection to note that the thirteenth of April is also the Hindoo New Year Day, an event equally important in the neighbouring continent. Three days later, on the sixteenth of April, falls the Burmese New Year, a grand festival of another Buddhist nation. Could it be doubted, then, that all these adjoining peoples, so diverse in manners, customs and religion, have had a close affinity to each other in that central nucleus of the ancient civilization of India, which eventually gave rise to the present individuality of each of these nations?

COMMENT AND CRITICISM

"JAPANESE BUDDHIST AND BUDDHISM IN INDIA"

WITH reference to our note under the above caption in our last December number Mr. Devapriya Valisinha, General Secretary, Maha Bodhi Society, writes to us:

"Your statement that 'some Indian artists headed by Mr. Nanda Lal Bose offered to execute all the frescoes on the walls of the Mulagandhakuti Vihara at Sarnath without any remuneration,' is untrue. No such offer was ever made to the Maha Bodhi Society by Mr. Bose or any other artist."

Pandit Vidhusekhar Sastri and I personally made this offer on behalf of Mr. Bose to the late Anagarika Dharmapala at Sarnath in his bedroom on the occasion of the opening of the Vihara in 1931.

Mr. Valisinha refers to Mr. Bose's previous estimate of Rs. 10,000. That is true. But it is also true that when the work was not given to him on the basis of that estimate owing to financial reasons, he made the offer, referred to in our note in the December number, through Pandit Vidhusekhar Sastri and myself to the late Anagarika Dharmapala.

Mr. Valisinha thinks that I have "done a great injustice to Mr. Broughton" who gave Rs. 10,000 for the frescoes. I did not mention his name, as I did not remember it. But if I have been unjust to him, I withdraw my remarks with apologies.

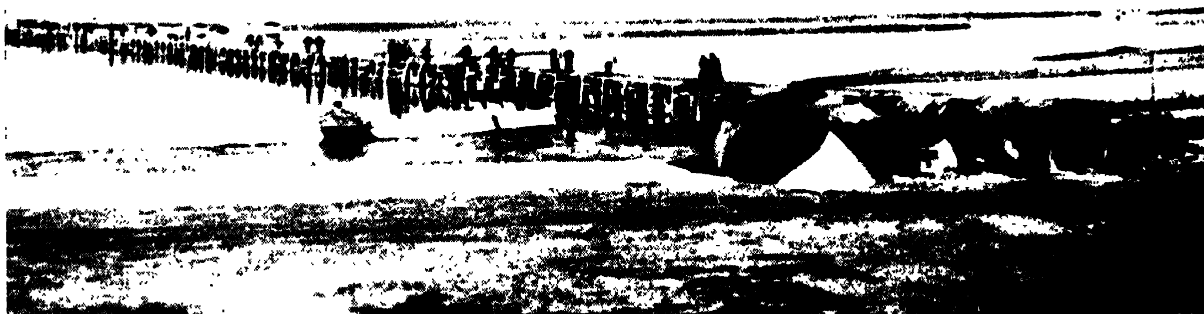
Mr. Valisinha says: "The analogy of the Bible, bottle and the bullet has no parallel in Buddhism. Any history book will convince the reader that Buddhists have kept religion and politics absolutely apart."

If Mr. Valisinha will re-read the note he will find that nothing was said in it against Buddhism. Imperialism is an "ism" different from the teaching of both Buddha and Christ. Imperialists who profess to follow Buddha or Christ do not really follow either.

RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE



Sian is the scene of the recent capture by rebel forces of General Chian Kai Shek, who has since been released. Showing the release of General Chian Kai Shek's "Birthday Planes" (presented to him by the people of China on his fiftieth birthday) after being held in Sian for three weeks



The Sienyang Road Bridge, the most southerly point reached by the Red Army in Shensi

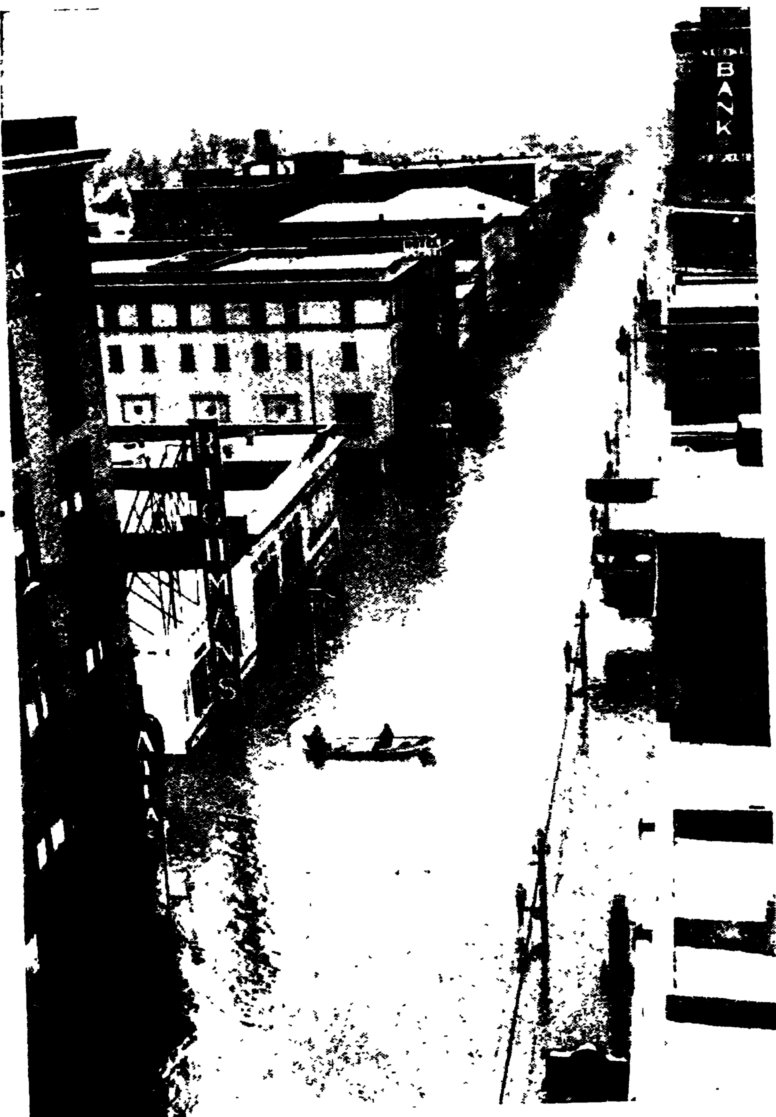


The inhabitants of Sian bearing slogan inscribed banners, advocating the continuance of the rebellion against the Central Government



Cinema attendants in new "Uniforms."
The attendants of a certain cinema house in England, adjusting their gas helmets with the aid of a mirror

Herr Hitler reviewing black-shirted guards in the Wilhelmstrasse



The menace of the U. S. floods. The main business thoroughfare of Portsmouth, Ohio, seen here submerged beneath muddy waters; now rowing boat chugs along instead of tramcars



Japan's new cabinet. General Hayashi's headquarters for his cabinet-forming activities was the mansion of Mr. Yokoyama, which was crowded with workmen, advisers, newspapermen and well-wishers



Jemi Mody, who recently returned to India after cycling round the world, seen with some of the trophies presented to him



Japan too arms. Girl students are also given military training, so that they may be mobilised in times of war

Italian mountain soldiers setting out on a ski" run during the manoeuvres

FEDERATION AND INDIAN STATES IN THE EVENT OF CONSTITUTIONAL BREAKDOWN

By SARDAR RANBIR SINGH, B.A., LL.B.

SECTION 45 of the Government of India Act 1935 empowers the Governor-General in his discretion to suspend the constitution when he is satisfied that a situation has arisen in which the Government of the Federation cannot be carried on in accordance with the provisions of the Act and to assume to himself all and any powers vested or exerciseable by any Federal Authority by issuing a proclamation to that effect. The last portion of sub-section (4) of the above section is important from the States' point of view. It says,

> ". . . . The Government of the Federation shall be carried on in accordance with the other provisions of this Act, subject to any amendment thereof which Parliament may deem it necessary to make, but nothing in this sub-section shall be construed as extending the power of Parliament to make amendment in this Act, without affecting the accession of a State."

The latter portion of this clause is unnecessarily vague, and does not clearly empower the States to secede from the Federation in the event of a breakdown of the constitutional machinery. It is of course clear that all courts would in any case regard the Governor-General as the sole authority to determine whether an emergency had arisen or not. The net effect of the proclamation under the above section would be to supersede the Council of Ministers and the Federal Legislature and the Governor-General would virtually constitute the whole Government. At the end of three years these emergency powers must come to an end and either the original constitution is restored or it is amended by Parliament. If the latter course is adopted and the constitution is amended past all recognition, the position of the Indian States in that contingency deserves special consideration.

The Government view on this point appears to be that the Instrument of Accession once signed is irrevocable and becomes fully binding on the State making it, and that the Act does not give power to the Federated State to secede from the Federation under any circumstances whatsoever. In view of the rather vague drafting of section 45 clause 4, it can be certainly argued that the States have no power to secede. Once Federation is complete, it appears, the only legal means whereby any State which has acceded could apparently secede from the Federation is by presenting a petition to the Imperial Parliament and thereby securing legislation to release it. In that respect its situation might resemble Western Australia.

Prof. Keith, an eminent constitutional author, is of the opinion that although the Act is silent as to the position in such an event, it should certainly be open to any State to argue that any drastic amendment in the Constitution is equivalent to a breach of the Instrument of Accession. He has further said that the amendment made by Parliament must be subject to the restriction of Schedule 2 as regards changes which may be made without affecting the Accession of the States. But no legal means have been provided under the Act under which the States could obtain redress in this respect.

Schedule 2 of the Act enumerates the provisions of the Act which may be amended without affecting the Accession of the States. This should mean by direct implication that any provisions not mentioned in Schedule 2 cannot be amended without affecting the Accession of the States. This means that the Princes have the right to revise their position in the light of the amended Constitution, whenever any such amendments are contemplated.

Section 6 (5) also provides that no amendment, unless it is accepted by the Ruler in a supplementary instrument, shall be construed as extending the functions of any Federal Authority in relation to the State.

In all fairness to the States they should have the power to secede from the Federation as soon as the constitution under which they agree to federate is radically changed. The States now agree to surrender certain rights to the Federation as contemplated in the Government of India Act, 1935. As soon as these conditions disappear, the powers surrendered should automatically revert to the Rulers of the States. The doctrine of *Rebus Sic Stantibus, i.e.*, the

right of a party to a treaty to 'denounce' it, if the circumstances contemplated by it and under which it was made become completely changed, should be applied with full force to the Instrument of Accession.

Under such circumstances, I hope the Government will admit the justification for a safe-guard in the Instrument of Accession providing for the right of the States to secede under the aforesaid circumstances. Such provision will not militate against any existing statutory provision of the Act itself and is only an appropriate addition to safe-guard against any possible emergency.

POOR STUDENTS' SELF-HELP CIRCLE, BENARES HINDU UNIVERSITY

By U. A. ASRANI

The Hindu University is singularly suited to be the poor man's university. About twenty per cent of its students get free-studentships and poor students flock to its portals from all parts of the country. The cost of higher education at most other centres as well as the large number of unnecessary 'necessities' with which a university student raises his standard of living, make poverty alone a sufficient disqualification for admission. Here on the other hand we find a university which though exuberant in the variety of its courses, both academic and technical, is simple in its life and economical in its expenditure. A poor student need not feel out of element here. I have myself known many who came to Benares with only a pair of shirts and a pair of dhoties each, and in due course, graduated. Some of these poor students ultimately distinguished themselves so well that Benares may well feel proud of them.

Even in the days of the old Central Hindu College founded by Mrs. Besant there used to be an institution in it called the Vidyarthi Sahayak Sabha which was very active in the support of poor students. When the Hindu University took over the Central Hindu College as its nucleus in about the year 1917, and offered a large number of free-studentships, the scope of the Vidyarthi Sahayak Sabha became naturally confined to giving help to poor students only in case of special necessity. Even as such, the Central Hindu College Vidyarthi Sahayak Sabha collected and distributed about Rs. 500|- every year, and with the patronage of the students and the staff it keeps on functioning to this day. Sister institutions of the same type have been opened in the Ayurvedic College and the Central Hindu School as well. In 1928 a new department was also added, namely, the Vidyarthi Sahayak Library for giving free loans of books for periods of a year or more at a time.

In the very beginning the originators of the Vidyarthi Sahayak Sabha realised that charitable help to the deserving poor has surely its own place in a country like ours, but it has its baneful aspect as well. It tends to lower self-respect;—a man who has learnt to beg will very probably remain a beggar in spirit all his life. With this point in view they instituted a system of loans or debts of honour instead of charities. They wanted every recipient to return the loan at his own convenience and thus to save himself from the stigma naturally attached to the idea of charity. Experience showed, however, that the word 'loan' remained only on paper and that in a large percentage of cases it became virtually a gratuity. Many of the recipients of loans from year to year seemed to disregard the value of self-respect as compared to the money they had borrowed.

This indicated to some of the workers of the Sabha that the methods so far adopted were suited either to the very brilliant students for whom even charitable help may not be out of place or only to a fraction of the rest who may be selected with some scrutiny. By far the larger number of poor students required a different treatment. After all a sense of self-respect and gentlemanliness are not qualities insignificant compared with university degrees; probably it may be the other way round. It was felt that a new department should be opened for encouraging among poor students the idea of earning by their own efforts during leisure hours, instead of their asking for loans or chari-

ties. We had heard of Self-help Centres and Labour Procuring Bureaus at some American and European Universities. A small number of students was actually tried from this point of view as early as 1923 and the scheme appeared quite practicable.

The number of poor students in the Hindu University exceeds by far those who are helped by free-studentships from the university or by loans from the Vidyarthi Sahayak Sabhas; and for some of those who are thus helped, the help is not adequate. So a scheme of Self-help was welcome even as a supplement. A few very noble souls again, refused point-blank to ask for charity; they wanted work. The Secretary of the Central Hindu College Vidyarthi Sahayak Sabha had therefore to shoulder this new responsibility and he carried it on as a side line for some years. In the year 1932, it was found that the time was ripe for organising on formal lines a Student's Self-help Circle. The circle has since then been working steadily and has been slowly expanding its activities. A number of poor students have been taking advantage of the opportunities and encouragement which it affords, and I believe the Self-help idea has fixed its roots by this time in the University.

The Self-help Circle has by now got a photographic darkroom, a pure-ghee depot and an office room. It keeps its stationery stall or a stall for books and pictures on the road-side in the evenings whenever there are students to run it. The following avocations have so far been actually followed by poor students working under its auspices.

(A) *Academic occupations*: (1) Giving tuitions to children of professors or to college students of lower classes. (2) Holding a class on German or French. (3) Holding a class for Shorthand. (4) Teachership in some night class of some Social Service Association. (5) Typewriting. (6) Astrology. (7) Teaching photography. (8) Teaching painting, music, etc.

(B) *Industrial occupations, etc.*:—(1) Making hair-oils, tooth powders, inks, etc. (2) Making sherbats. (3) Painting trunks. (4) Painting names or numbers on furniture, trunks, etc. (5) Making water-colour pictures or cartoons for hostel magazines. (6) Fret-work. (7) Making socks. (8) Lantern slide making. (9) Photographer's work. (10) Making Ayurvedic tonics. (11) Regutting rackets. (12) Picture framing.

(C) *Commercial or business occupations*:—(1) Selling pure ghee. (2) Selling pure milk. (3) Selling sugar in packets of 2½ or 5 seers. (4) Selling stationery or drawing instruments. (5) Selling second-hand text-books or books on health, religion etc. (6) Selling University publications. (7) Selling dry fruit. (8) Selling Kashmir silk and other cloth. (9) Selling toilet materials. (10) Order supply. (11) Managing a mess. (12) Intimating examination results by post or telegram. (13) Selling bread.

(D) *Physical Labour and miscellaneous*: (1) Dragging trolley loads of bricks for University building constructions. (2) Polishing furniture. (3) Painting doors or windows in University buildings. (4) Shoe polishing. (5) Gardening. (6) Gatekeeper's duty in cinema houses.

The reader may well ask as to which of the above-mentioned lines have been found to be most lucrative. So far, the student who sold Kashmir silk a few years back has earned the most. Next comes the one who is running our pure ghee depot; the student who made hair-oils and sherbats two years back and the one who was holding a stationery stall during July and August last also deserve creditable mention. Anyway, our experience has shown that the earning does not depend so much on the nature of the occupation as upon the pluck, business capacity and perseverance of the student who undertakes it. Every one of the above lines is, I believe, capable of yielding under proper conditions Rs. 10|- to Rs. 15|- per month to a poor student for work during his leisure hours.

The circle does not of course run all the above-mentioned lines at the same time, nor does it claim to be able to provide occupation for every student who applies to it. The applicants have their own limitations and aptitudes; and some of them in spite of our propaganda of dignity of labour cannot be pursuaded to take up non-academic occupations. The circle keeps a register showing against each applicant's name his qualifications and the occupations he would desire to follow; and it tries to satisfy as many as possible according to its own opportunities and financial limitations. During the current year (since 1st April 1936) it has provided so far, means of earning in the following lines to the numbers of students mentioned against them:

Tuition work	6
Typing work	5
Selling bread	2
Selling pure milk	1
Keeping a stationery stall	1
Photographic work	1
Regutting tennis rackets	1
Keeping a pure ghee stall	1

Fretwork	2
Communicating examination results	1
Picture framing	1
Selling toilet materials	1
Keeping a stall for framed pictures, fretwork, soaps, hair-oils, ink, etc.	1
Teaching music and painting	1
Selling paintings	1
Dragging trolley-loads of bricks for university constructions	6
Polishing furniture, and doors in university buildings	11

The actual number of students helped is only 41, because some followed more than one occupation successively or at the same time. The above figure does not include of course those who tried some occupations only for a few days nor those who got tuitions or some other work without the intervention of the circle. Two ex-members of the circle who graduated this year, have started the manufacture of hair-oils, inks, soaps, etc., on factory scale outside the university; the circle helps them now merely in marketing their products.

I have sometimes marvelled at the immense hardships which some of our poor students undergo in the course of their education. I have known a large number who got absolutely nothing from home and many who lived under conditions which will not be dreamt of in other university centres. It is not unusual, for instance, to find a poor student living on one meal a day, one who always cooks for himself or washes his clothes himself or even one who sleeps at night in some corners of verandahs of the hostel in order to save himself the hostel rent. The poor students who are brilliant in studies usually secure some support as free-studentship or scholarship from the University. The students who suffer these hardships are very often those who owing to lack of opportunities or otherwise have not been able to show good examination results. A number of people therefore wonder whether an ordinary third class B.A. or B.Sc. degree in these days of unemployment is worth all this sacrifice. I myself feel somewhat like this sometimes. But why should we be overcritical with these poor young men? Our whole education, our training at home and the whole atmosphere in our country conspire to kill initiative and enterprise.

Anyway the Self-help Circle acts both ways. If any poor student earns by the sweat of his own brow, why should anybody grudge him the opportunities of employment, however small, which a University degree affords? He may not be a brilliant student but he does not ask for any charity. On the other hand he has learnt to use his head or his hands for earning even during student-life. When it comes to seeking for employment, he will not feel so helpless as his richer comrades do or those who have educated themselves on other people's charity. He will most probably not bear the insults of superiors nor debase his conscience for the sake of his employment or promotions. Tuition or other teaching work is usually available to only a small number and the market for such so-called 'dignified' services has been considerably spoiled by intense competition; hence most of those who come to the circle for help learn the dignity of labour. Our present Pro-Vice-Chancellor, Raja Jwala Prasad Sahib, is himself a very strong advocate of this idea, and it is chiefly due to his encouragement that our poor students have been able to take their share in construction work. When the Sapru Unemployment Committee was holding its sittings here two years back, Raja Sahib brought Sir Tej Bahadur to see the work of our circle and he was very much impressed.

With my teaching experience of about twenty years I feel that our system of education is guilty of some serious omissions. At present in our universities students are trained mainly in respect of the faculties of understanding and memory; there is very little spirit of initiative or enterprise and very little of character-building. If you insult a servant, he goes away, caring little for what he will eat on the morrow; but an average graduate of our universities will put up with insults, in order that he may not lose his job. An educated man unable to make both ends meet by fair means not infrequently supplements his earning by questionable methods instead of trying some more productive lines. Is this education? This keenness of intellect manufactured in heap-loads without any simultaneous development of self-respect, initiative and character is, I beg to urge, a serious situation for educationists to tackle; our Self-help Circle is our humble attempt in that direction.

[Photographs illustrating the article appear elsewhere]

THE RELIGIOUS FACTOR IN TRIBAL UNREST ON THE NORTH-WEST FRONTIER

BY PROF. NANDA LAL CHATTERJI, M.A., Ph.D.,
University of Lucknow

THE hostile activities of the Fakir of Ipi and the consequent troubles in Waziristan and the Khaisora Valley, which have caused great anxiety to the Government of late, have once again demonstrated the religious background of all tribal unrest in the transborder country. In the last Assembly debate on the frontier policy the Government spokesman, Sir A. Metcalfe, made it appear that these troubles had originated entirely from religious causes, and that they need not be regarded as connected with the new frontier policy of peaceful penetration in the tribal country, which was very strongly criticised by the opposition members.

A study of the history of the frontier risings from the medieval times to the present day, however, clearly establishes the fact that religious propaganda constitutes a subsidiary factor, and serves only to expedite the combination of the otherwise scattered and disunited tribesmen against the common foe. The mischief-mongers and political agitators have invariably used religion as the most convenient and effective war-cry, and have succeeded in fomenting widespread trouble thereby. It would therefore be wrong to attach too great an importance to the religious aspect of frontier outbreaks as is generally done even by the Government authorities. To interpret border risings merely, or even principally as periodical outbursts of religious fanaticism amounts to looking only to a fringe of the problem.

It is easy to understand why the religious factor in frontier unrest has received an undue prominence.

Firstly, the tribesmen are undeniably the most fanatical people in the world, and are excessively susceptible to any violent religious preaching.

Secondly, it is the influential 'Mullahs' alone who possess any real hold over the inordinately democratic, turbulent and unruly people; hence no rising can be planned easily in this country without the direct or indirect co-operation of some one of the so-called "Mad Fakirs" who thus attain a cheap and exaggerated prominence on every occasion of tribal conflagration.

Thirdly, any opposition against the Europeans or their policy is bound to assume a religious character, and appear to be a "Jehad" against a Christian Government.

Fourthly, every important outbreak since the occupation of the Punjab has been known to have been due apparently to the exploitation of the cry of religion being in danger. The people have readily sacrificed their lives as martyrs in the cause of their faith.

Fifthly, the extensive employment of non-Muslim sepoys such as the Sikhs and the Gurkhas in the frontier areas has further tended to inflame the fanatical zeal against the "infidel," and arouse religious passions of the worst kind.

Sixthly, the presence of Sikhs and Hindus, particularly rich traders and money-lenders, in the frontier districts, and the inevitable temptation to plunder them form another ground for religious propaganda.

Lastly, any widespread Muslim religious agitation in India has its natural repercussions in the tribal country too. The serious Wahabi outbreak in Lord Elgin's time, for example, was considerably influenced by outlawed sepoys and Wahabi agitators from India, who collected men, money, and arms from almost the whole of Northern India from Peshawar to Patna in the interests of a holy war. Similarly, the present troubles fomented by the Fakir of Ipi are also said to be connected with the Shahidganj Mosque agitation in the Punjab.

In medieval times also when there was no Christian Government to be opposed and India was ruled by the Mughals, there was perennial trouble in the border highlands, and even in those days these risings frequently assumed a religious character.

The most important rising which gravely endangered Akbar's empire was to some extent inspired by the followers of Shaikh Bayazid, 'Pir-i-Raushan,' the founder of a religious-

reform movement which had won numerous converts in and outside India. This spiritual leader announced himself to be the promised Messiah of God, and gathered a large following in the tribal country. Having easily united the scattered tribesmen, he made himself the religious and temporal leader, and started a militant crusade against other sects and religions. It is significant that Akbar in spite of his great resources failed to solve the frontier problem satisfactorily, and after a futile attempt to crush tribal lawlessness he established some order only by pensioning off the tribal leaders and by overlooking their depredations. Peace was never permanently established even by Jahangir and Shahjehan, and in Aurangzib's time there was a grave situation in the frontier owing to the risings of the Yusuf-zais, the Afridis and others. This frontier warfare cost heavily to the empire, and prevented Aurangzib from crushing the Rajputs and the Marathas. Thus, it is no exaggeration to say that frontier unrest materially contributed to the fall of the Mughal Empire.

In more modern times when the Punjab passed under Ranjit Singh, the Sikhs too failed to curb tribal lawlessness, and the religious zeal they displayed in ruthlessly massacring the Muslim tribesmen whenever possible produced a corresponding fanatical zeal and spirit of martyrdom among the latter. Thus a tradition of deep-rooted religious animosity against the Indian Government was the natural sequel to the blood and iron methods adopted by the Sikh authorities in dealing with the frontier people. The excessive repression inspired by religious ardour defeated its own end, and the Sikhs in spite of their best efforts could not establish an effective sway over the tribes. The bloody measures of Sikh generals like Hari Singh only temporarily succeeded. The Sikhs left after their short rule a heritage of lawlessness and bitter crusading spirit all along the frontier, and it has consequently been difficult for the British Government to convince the people that they were not actuated by any religious motives in interfering in their country for establishing peace and order therein.

The very fact that the Government of India has been seeking to establish its direct control over the borderland, and open it up by constructing a network of roads and railway lines has created the suspicion in the minds of the tribesmen that the English want to rob them of their traditional independence and attack their religion. The policy of expansion and penetration has been the underlying cause of panic and discontent, and the disgruntled parties therefore have readily responded to the appeal of their spiritual leaders, who in season and out of season preach a crusade against the "infidel" intruders.

The Government policy immediately after the occupation of the old Sikh border was such as was likely to give rise to suspicion and misunderstanding. The very leniency of the Government after the harsh rule of the Sikhs proved suspicious. The first step of the Government was conciliation of the tribesmen. No serious attempt was made to disarm the people, on the other hand the odious capitation tax and other frontier duties of the Sikh days were abolished, trade was encouraged, medical relief was freely provided in hospitals, tribesmen were encouraged to settle in the British territory, and colonise waste lands, the ranks of the army and the police were thrown open to them, and above all, tribal allowances were also granted. This friendly policy proved successful on the Baluchi frontier, and came to be named after its greatest exponent, Sandeman.

The success of Sandeman's policy of conciliation and friendly intervention was chiefly due to the fact that the Baluchi tribes were comparatively less warlike and fanatical than the Mohmands, Afridis, Orakzais, Wazirs, and Mahsuds who inhabit the tract between the Peshawar border and Southern Waziristan, *i.e.*, the North-West Frontier proper. The introduction of this policy among these warlike tribes proved a failure. The tribesmen, far from appreciating the conciliatory gesture of the British Government, mistook it as a sign of weakness, and began to resent the new forward policy which appeared to them more thorough than the crude repressive measures of the Sikhs. The latter at least had not cared to interfere in their country much beyond the Hazara and Peshawar districts, whereas the British Government began gradually to open up their inaccessible country after partitioning it with the Amir of Kabul in 1893, and as such have necessarily given grounds for an intense opposition which is fanned at times by religious zeal and propaganda.

The tribal risings in their origin are essentially political and economic, and they indicate a popular reaction against outside interference. The Government has tried to build roads and railways so that these may serve as channels of commerce and civilization, but these roads and railways appear to these freedom-loving people as detestable symbols of

their enslavement. The unruly elements express their displeasure and annoyance by murdering British officers, or by pulling down telegraph posts, or by obstructing the building of roads. The authorities order punitive raids, bombing from the air, fines, or blockade, all of which serve only to exasperate the people still further. On such occasions alone do the infuriated elements unite at the welcome call of some enterprising and daring 'Fakir' who holds out the promise of successful revenge, and plunder in addition. Amir Abdur Rahman had once warned the Government in one of his letters to Lord Lansdowne, "You will always be engaged in fighting or other trouble with them. They will always go on plundering . . . . If at any time a foreign enemy appears on the borders of India these frontier tribes will be your worst enemies." The words have proved prophetic !

The religious factor aggravates the task of pacification in another way. Among the tribesmen it is considered one of the primary religious duties to grant asylum and help to a fugitive. The violation of this religious principle is the worst sin that a Pathan could commit. Thus even the friendly tribes are compelled to take up arms against the Government, when some runaway mischief-mongers wanted by it seek their hospitality and assistance. It is always difficult therefore to capture the hostile leaders when they once gain asylum somewhere. In such cases even their whereabouts cannot be known for weeks and months. They will not be surrendered on any account in spite of fine, or blockade. Some of the 'Fakirs' who gave trouble in recent years could not be long suppressed for this very reason, as they could get shelter and protection from the fellow tribesman particularly on the other side of the Durand Line. The latest instance of this is the case of the Fakir of Ipi, whom the tribesmen refused to surrender, or expel from their country, and even the pro-British elements expressed their helplessness in this matter.

That insult should be met with insult, and should be wiped out in blood is another of such principles which compromise the Pathan code of honour and religion. Punitive measures adopted by the Government thus not only do frighten these people, but only intensify the desire for wreaking a bloody vengeance. Repression merely heightens the smouldering discontent, and leads to a vicious circle, as each punitive raid or blockade leaves in its wake a volume of discontent and bitterness which culminate in another rising of revenge as an act of religious duty on the part of those who have been wronged.

Some Muslim leaders in India like Mr. Shaukat Ali have publicly hazarded the opinion that if a repressive policy is long continued in these highlands, India is likely to be involved in a serious war in which the Muslim powers of Asia would join their Pathan co-religionists against the enemies of Islam. This, of course, is an absurd view, as it is impossible even for all the tribes to forget their age-old dissensions and combine, and even if they could do so, to gain the support of distant Muslim powers in a religious crusade against India ! Blood-feuds and internal jealousies have been so chronic among these warlike highlanders that in spite of centuries of warfare no central power has yet arisen in that land, and there is no chance of one arising in the future. That they could suddenly sink their historic differences, and found a republic as the Pathan Congress leader, Dr. Khan Sahib thinks likely, is no more than a fanciful danger.

That some of the Muslim leaders in India are inclined to take a communal view of the unrest in the tribal country is hardly surprising when the Government authorities themselves unduly exaggerate its religious side. The frontier problem has too long been either evaded, or inadequately dealt with. The duty of the Government is clear. Mere repression or blockade will not do. A sifting and impartial enquiry is needed to study the real grievances of the frontier people. The time has come to realize that the problem is essentially politico-economic, and it is useless to dismiss the frontier risings as inevitable phenomena caused by religious fanatics.

In a semi-primitive society such as is found in the border country, religious fanaticism is bound to be one of the motive-forces of any political or social upheaval that may occur. A statesmanlike handling of the situation presupposes an investigation into the roots of the trouble. A superficial view such as is taken generally by the military authorities is not only based on a misreading of the past history of the frontier people, but is also responsible for the growing aggravation of a serious menace to India's peace and tranquillity.

THE BIOLOGICAL INTERPRETATION OF DEATH

By K. B. LAL, M.Sc. (Alld.), Ph.D. (Edin.), F.R.E.S.

MANKIND, since ages past, has schemed to put off old age and escape death. Of the methods adopted for the achievement of this ambition, a large number has relied on the appeals to the supernatural. In the quest of youth natural efforts like exercise, good food and normal living have been supposed to help less than the merits of charms and potions, involving little trouble and promising the shortest cut to the goal. The post-mortem experiences of an organism being unknown and beyond the range of experiments, it is not surprising that in considering the problems of death man has listened more eagerly to the theologian and the philosopher than to the biologist, and a credulous society anxiously seeking information has long depended on the mercies of the mystic and even of the charlatan. Yet the act of dying is essentially a biological phenomenon and fully capable of interpretation in the light of advances made in the biological sciences.

In all higher animals including man, death appears as the final phase of a life that starts its existence in the fertilisation of the egg by the sperm. It is succeeded by a stage, usually inside the mother's body, marked chiefly by the differentiation of the tissues and growth of the future child. The next stage may be that of childhood, from immediately after birth till adolescence, a period of growth and active development. From the standpoint of growth, the period of youth following childhood, is more or less a stationary period of life, and it is doubtful if even it may be said to have a really distinct existence of its own. It merges insensibly in the last stage, the period of decline of mental and physical vigour and of decay, culminating in the total cessation of all activities called death.

If the whole animal kingdom be taken into account it appears fairly obvious that neither of the end periods in the life of an individual are essential. It is well known that in certain animals very low in the scale of life, the distinction between male and female is, at best, very feeble and new individuals need not be born as a result of a previous sexual union but may merely arise as an outgrowth on one of the parent's body, budding off it in course of time and completing their development as a fresh progeny. They are in the most literal sense 'a chip of the old block.' But even in animals where the differentiation of the sexes has occurred, it is sometimse found that an offspring of a virgin mother thus doing away with the necessity of the male parent for the function of procreation. Such animals do not exhibit the first stage of the fertilisation of the egg by the sperm. At the other end certain very lowly organised animalcules forestall death, as it were, and before signs of any senile decay may set in, they divide into two thereby indirectly giving birth to a new offspring. This division may go on indefinitely the animals leaving nothing in the process corresponding to a corpse, and clearly there can be no death without a corpse. They may, however, die through accident or unfavourable circumstances, such as drought.

There seems to be no reason, then, to suppose that death is the inherent attribute of all living beings. Further evidence for assertion may be found in the fact that even in higher animals including man, the real elements that are concerned in the act of procreation are merely passed on from parent to the offspring *without suffering death,* and it is only the body that lodges them that dies. The human eggs and sperm may in this sense be said to be immortal. But even for the perishable body it has been shown that tissues isolated from such advanced organs as the heart and the kidney are capable of remaining alive, given proper food and environment, for considerably longer periods—often indefinitely—than would the body of the individual from whom they are taken. Thus in one case tissues taken from the heart of a chick embryo and suitably nourished kept alive for 15 years, much longer than the average life of these birds. Lastly, according to an American authority, there is evidence that in a certain fish development and growth proceed indefinitely without the onset of senility and the fish may perish only of accident.

The question arises, if neither death nor birth (in the conventional sense in which we know it) are essential concomitants of existence, where exactly do these two all-important facts

of the animal kingdom come in the scheme of life. It seems fairly certain that death made its appearance before the differentiation of the sexes and the consequent birth of the individual by the union of the egg and the sperm occurred but long after life itself came into this world. The latter contention is substantiated by the case of the immortal protozoon animals referred to above; as to the former, it is well known that in such lowly organised animals as the sponges, wherein the first beginnings of sexual reproduction may be traced but is not the rule of multiplication, death occurs normally and as a natural certainty. Other animals also, specially certain insects, which are not born as the result of any sexual process, die normally after a brief existence.

Death is justly regarded as the means of complete destruction of the individual, but a little survey will show that in the animal kingdom this result has been gradually achieved through a series of transitional stages. In some lower animals though the average span of life is short the purpose of death is not fulfilled as easily as in the higher. Thus in certain worms repair of parts of the body accidentally mutilated or damaged is a normal process in their every day life. Many lizards possess the power of regenerating portions of their tail accidentally bitten off by an enemy. In man this faculty is completely lost, and about the only vestige of the power left is the ability to regrow parts of the skin, the hair and the nails. Hence the higher an animal is in the scale of evolution the greater are the chances for its injuries to be irreparable and the less for it to resist death once it is involved in a serious accident. It seems logical then to regard death as a consequence of the increasing complexity of the organisation of man and other higher animals. Worms have neither a well developed body nor any of those mental attributes usually associated with the higher animals, but they have the wonderful capacity to regrow their lost parts when cut in two or three and in course of time become as many individuals. To this extent they may be immune from easy destruction. There is much less chance of a mechanism breaking up if it is simple and straight than when it is complex and tortuous.

Very early in the evolution of animal life when the struggle for existence began to count as a factor in the regulation of populations the necessity for a complex organisation of the body was increasingly realised. Paradoxical as it may sound, while the transition from the simple to the complex was acquired with the undoubted purpose of surviving, the inevitable result was the appearance of natural death amidst the immortal colony of the protozoons who were the earliest progenitors of us all. Today for some of them life is still for ever, but life only in the extreme of simplicity, in specks in drops of water, in tubes and in glass jars. Who would not readily bargain for death with such a life as this for the one we now enjoy.

It will have been clear from the foregoing paragraphs that death occurs not because the substances composing the body are mortal but because the tissues of which it is made are so well differentiated and so highly specialised that in the changing environments of life, sooner or later, they fail to find conditions of their continued existence and succumb whenever unfavourable circumstances prove too much for them. This is shown by the fact that systems and organs that come in contact with outside agencies fairly frequently and intimately wear and give way more easily than those which have less opportunities of being influenced by external conditions. Thus it is a matter of common knowledge that comparatively more people die of digestive and respiratory diseases than, say, of troubles in the kidney and the circulatory system, and stomach and the lungs are exactly the organs which are affected every day by such foreign materials as the food and the atmospheric air, while the circulatory and the excretory systems remain more or less shielded from such influences.

It is often wondered why people of all grades of society die at all possible ages. In man so many factors, artificial and natural, are at work that it is extremely difficult to advance precise reasons, but it may be said broadly that his longevity is, in great measure, determined by his own constitutional make-up as inherited from his parents and grand-parents and only to a very limited extent by the environment in which his life happens to be passed. This effect of heredity in deciding the period of life has been clearly demonstrated by a number of American workers in the case of a certain fly whose short generations make it a fit subject for experiments of this kind. In determining life some part may also be played by natural selection in which the fittest are said to survive. In man, however, the effect of this agency is to a great extent mitigated by the role of medicine and of humanitarian bodies which of necessity must help the phisically unfit to survive.

Efforts to correlate longevity with any broad facts of animal structure or life-history in different specific groups have so far failed.

Neither size nor intelligence nor any other attribute that we know of may necessarily denote greater or lesser longevity. Parrots live longer than horses and such intelligent creatures as the ants and the bees are quite short-lived. Some small reptiles may easily live twice as long as the elephant. It is, however, possible to establish a mortality relationship amongst different individuals composing a specific group, a biological fact which has long been applied in acturial science.

Man's ambition to prolong life to the utmost, whatever the consequences, physical, economic and political, still remains. Of late the ambition has seemed more than ever nearer realisation by the famous researches of Dr. Serge Voronhoff and his declaration that the revitalisation of old age and the avoidance of premature death are within the realms of practical possibility. Death, it has been said in a preceding paragraph, is determined more by factors of heredity and less by the surroundings in which a man lives. While the latter can be controlled at will, it seems very difficult to say at the moment how far the substitution of certain youthful glands for the old ones will counteract the effects of the former and prolong life.

If rejuvenation becomes easy, and therefore popular, another blow will have been given to what little of the force of natural selection may still be operating in human societies. The present writer doubts seriously the value of an unduly prolonged life even though it may be maintained without any impairment, mental or physical, right to the end. Its inevitable consequence must be greater overcrowding in this already overcrowded world leading to a rigorous restriction of births if not to a greater territorial greed on the part of the nations. But a far more undesirable result, as it appears to the writer, may be a world hundred years hence peopled largely with fully grown up men and women but with far fewer children, a prospect which no lover of children could contemplate with equanimity. Nor is there any guarantee that only useful lives will be prolonged and not those of criminals and all sorts of other undesirables who may have the necessary means at their disposal. It is, however, conceivable that the state may care to regulate the quality of the populations under its charge and permit only such individuals to be operated upon as it thinks fit in public interest. If rejuvenation must come, one wishes that some such arrangement prevailed.

THE QUEST FOR BEAUTY

By CYRIL MODAK

III. In Life's Temple

Tribute of Mind

In the Upanishadic allegory of the Chariot, ancient India illustrated the truth that whatever dominates the mind must dominate the whole life. If the mind is given over to the direction of wisdom, the individual does not come to grief. But if the mind is a hireling in the service of ignorance there is no security, no hope. Wisdom does not mean erudition. Ignorance is not necessarily lack of academic training. Ask the poet, the lover of Beauty-which-is-Truth, or the philosopher, the lover of Truth-which-is-Beauty. They know. Wisdom is right perspective of values. It is the clear recognition of things that are real and those that are mere shadows. And the worst ignorance is a persistent and malignant aversion to right evaluations. Just as wrong perspective mars the effect of a painting, so false judgments ruin the beauty of a life. No poet or artist with the most fervent devotion to Beauty can create a truly great masterpiece unless he can recognize Beauty, unless the mind is dominated by a concept of the Beautiful.

It is tragic that some *terms* have gathered round them the rumbling of so much intellectual thunder that many sensitive, 'tender-minded' and even sincere people treat them with superstitious fear. 'Mind,' 'concept,' 'philosophy,' and the like are among these dreaded and tabooed terms. These tender-minded people think that profound devotion suffices without

the meddlings of the mind, without the confusions of philosophy. Pascal said, "The heart hath its reasons of which the head knows nothing." And these sincere enthusiasts of the supremacy of the heart seem to believe that emotional experiences are trustworthy guides. But put one of them through a Socratic test and it becomes very evident that he and his kind are only defending 'intuition' against the iconoclasm of 'dialectics.' To be sure, the artist does not arrive at his ideal of Beauty through a process of dialectical crystallization. But he does focus his mind on the beautiful in the phenomenal world and use this picture as teleological evidence for the construction of his ideal of the Infinite-Beautiful. When this ideal is absent the creative activity lacks direction, the artistic work lacks unity, and life is wanting in poise and harmony.

It is true that a pure intellectualist may be an aenemic personality with no warmth of emotion. He cannot be an artist. But the lover of beauty knows that he must keep both his eyes open, the eye of intuition and the eye of reason. It is unsound theory that makes the two contradictory or even exclusive. Reason and insight are complementary and inclusive processes of the one movement towards Love-Beauty-Truth. A flash of insight is often preceded by long and strenuous mental activity, as a river bursting on the plains suddenly comes to light, but may have struggled obscurely among the hills as a meandering little stream for many miles. Intuitions—not fancies—never yet visited a man who was not so absorbed in thought as to forget to close his mind's doors. The lover of the Infinite-Beautiful is so caught up in rapt contemplation that immediate awareness and reasoned insight, thought and feeling and will, function in unison, and in Tagore's words, he utters but one cry,

"Shatter all from this beggar's bowl: put out
This lamp of the importunate watcher:
Hold my hands, raise me from the
Still-gathering heap of Your gifts to the
Bare infinity of Your uncrowded presence."

The tribute of mind is that unflinching contemplation which blazes the trail for the individual's thoughts and passions and activities towards Transcendent and Absolute Beauty.

Tribute of Heart.

To know is to love. Contemplation on the Infinite-Beautiful leads to the eager longing for communion. But unthinking and unperceiving devotion vents itself in unstable and whimsical paroxysms, urging men and women to court the flame sometimes, to be sure, but never inspiring the sustained effort that is needed for truly great creative work. In the presence of some emotional stimulus the individual reaction may make a saint of the worst sinner, a hero of the worst coward. The pragmatist asks: "Is this not enough?" Nothing short of complete mastery is enough. The artist who under the intoxication of liquor does execute a technical masterpiece lacks inner power, which must inevitably be reflected in his work. It is not enough that he produce a masterpiece. It is necessary that he produce it as a master. The true lover of Beauty finds in his ideal all the animating inspiration that he needs and his refined devotion depends upon no crude external stimulation. Devotion must be raised to the reflective level, must become an ideal if it is to contribute towards the making of a beautiful life.

If the pure intellectualist is an aenemic, the pure emotionalist is a plethoric personality. All through the history of romantic religion and culture there are maudlin extravagances which are symptoms of disease rather than health. Primitive emotionalism produces romantic literature and art, lacking in vigour and balance. It produces erotic mysticism, degenerating into orgies far from being religious. It tends to produce a cultural atmosphere in which men strive to be languishing, mellifluous Romeos, and women endeavour to be sweet ethereal Juliets. It produces no Augustine with his ideal of Beauty, no Dante with his ideal of Love, no Harishchandra with his ideal of Truth, no Spinoza wth his ideal of Wisdom, no Elizabeth Barret-Browning with her ideal of Womanhood. Mere emotionalism is as pernicious as a drug habit, and leads to the same consequences. The lover of Beauty loves what he knows and ever seeks to know he loves. Thus, when he thinks or sings or acts or writes or paints or chisels he is aware of the presence of that ideal which draws out his whole being 'as sunlight drinketh dew.' No disappointment or misfortune, no suffering or sorrow, no adverse circumstances or stubborn impediments can any longer affect his devotion to Beauty. He knows

"Love is not love
That alters when it alteration finds,
Or bends with the remover to remove."

He knows

"it is an ever fixed mark
That looks on tempests and is never shaken;
It is the star to every wandering bark
Whose worth's unknown, alt ough his height be taken."

The artist comes by this quality of devotion, this refinement of love, when he fearlessly puts

his emotions in the melting pot of reflective meditation. The tribute of heart is an enduring love that vitalizes the whole personality, not to waste itself in riotous excesses or sudden flashes, but to spend itself in a steady deathless flame of creative, noble, beautiful living.

Tribute of Will

To know is to love : to love is to co-operate with the object of love. The three-fold nature of the intelligent being corresponds to the triune nature of reality. Through contemplation the artist's *mind* seeks to *know* the *Truth;* through communion his *heart* desires to *appropriate* the *Beauty,* and through co-operation his *will* strives to *realize* the *Love* of Ultimate Reality. When he has understood something of the design of the Infinite-Beautiful, when he has caught some inkling of the End towards which Beauty leads the universe he desires to do the will and reveal the glory of the Beloved. He reproduces his vision in colours or in stone. He expresses it in music and poetry. He interprets it in philosophy. And he translates his vision of the Infinite-Beautiful in love and friendship, sacrifice and service, in noble and gracious morality. Having dedicated himself unreservedly to Beauty, the artist uses all the untiring ingenuity of art to make his life a symbol suggestive of the divine eclat of his Beloved. His moral and spiritual aspirations struggle for an outlet in self-forgetful co-operation with the highest which he knows. He is not and cannot be satisfied with connoisseurship in art or life. He must act vigorously. He must live abundantly. He must spend himself in intensely active execution or the good will of the Infinite-Beautiful which he has appropriated and wills to will spontaneously. His unhesitating and enthusiastic activity in co-operation with the immanent Ideal reveals a considered and knowing assurance in its purposiveness. This faith of the lover of Beauty is not a charitable asylum where his mental lethargy may seek refuge, but the well-equipped observatory from which his mind can look upon the starry firmament with understanding and reverent wonder.

"Strong Son of God, immortal Love,
Whom we, that have not seen thy face,
By faith, and faith alone, embrace,
Believing where we cannot prove."

This faith is not the blind inert acceptance of a sluggish or slavish will, but the comprehending dyanamic assent of volitional vitality. It is a faith that underlies all Science and Philosophy and Art and Life, of which Santayana says,

"Bid then the tender light of faith to shine,
By which alone the human heart is led
Unto the thinking of the thought divine."

And George Santayana may well have added

"Unto the loving of the Loveliness benign."

The 'will to believe' is not a perverse desire to accept what facts do not warrant, or to do the spectacular. It is the insight that comes after 'much fasting and prayer,' after long contemplation of and communion with Supreme Beauty.

If, however, the mere emotionalist is a plethoric, the mere volitionalist is a varicose personality. When the power of will is used only for repression and supression, it is being dissipated. The result of rigorous repression without wholesome expression is spiritual depression. That was what Europe was suffering from in the time of Rousseau and just before his time. The *control* and *restraint* preached with such vollubility by a Puritan type of moralists, too timid to do a wrong thing all their lives, misplace the emphasis on *foregoing* and *holding back* instead of on *discipline* and *exercise* necessary for truer and completer activity and fuller self-expression. The tribute of will is the whole-hearted acceptance of the invitation of the Infinite-Beautiful to participate in the process of the revelation of Beauty-Absolute in and through the world.

When, in the restricted realm of art, the subtle, sure, and unerring co-ordination between perspective of values, emotion of ideal, perception, imagination, and designed execution is indespensable, how can a similar, though infinitely deeper co-ordination be considered superfluous in the larger domain of life? Let but the ineffable splendour of the design of the Infinite-Beautiful burst through the cloudy skepticism that darkens the mind so often, and from that moment of spiritual quickening the individual pledges his troth to Transcendent Beauty, and even afterwards his one endeavour, now impassioned and glorious, now quiet and brooding, is to fill every part and phase of his life with the melody of the message of the whole. And his entire personality lifts its hands to the Infinite-Beautiful and prays in the words of Tilak, the poet,

"As words and their meaning are linked,
Serving one purpose each,
Be thou and I so knit, O Lord,
And through me breathe thy speech."

The imagination fails to picture the heaven that will descend on earth when every individual breathes the speech of Supreme Beauty.

THE INDIAN BUDGET

By ASHOKE CHATTERJEE

"All despotism is bad; but the worst is that which works with the machinery of freedom."—Junius.

In the final stage of the discussion of the Finance Bill, Mr. Bhulabhai Desai referred to the parliamentary system of India as a costly farce. He also expressed his preference for a plain, unvarnished despotism as against an illusory freedom. The majority of the members of the Assembly shared the feelings of Mr. Desai and many of them expressed their views in an unequivocal condemnation of the policy and conduct of the Government. Some of these critics have been staunch supporters of the British Government of India during their entire political career. But the Viceregal recommendation of the Finance Bill came as a clear-cut expression of Will; and as far as the Assembly was concerned, this meant the curtain. History repeated itself in the following words :

"In pursuance of the provisions in sub-section (1) of section 67-(b) of the Government of India Act, I, Victor Alexander John Marquess of Linlithgow, do recommend to the Assembly that it do pass the Bill to fix the duty on salt manufactured in or imported by land into certain parts of British India, to vary excise duty on sugar leviable under Sugar (Excise Duty) Act of 1934, to vary certain duties leviable under the Indian Tariff Act, 1934, to vary excise duty on silver leviable under Silver (Excise Duty) Act, 1930, to fix maximum rates of postage under Indian Post Office Act of 1898 and to fix rates of income-tax and super-tax in the form hereto annexed.—(Signed) Linlithgow, Viceroy and Governor-General."

Those who did not agree with Sir James Grigg were deeply moved by their failure to induce the Government to change their Financial Policy. The Assembly members had a real grievance, for, though the British Government could assume that, politically, all Indians were infants and should be dealt with accordingly, they offended the experienced economists and financiers constituting the Assembly very deeply by disregarding their opinions on a question which they understood well enough and, perhaps, better than their rulers.

Generally speaking the financial measures recommended by the Government are expressive of a hurried adoption of unimaginative short-cuts. In arranging for the income and expenses of Government, one of the first considerations should be a consciousness of economy in the spending side. It is not to be assumed that Governmental expenditure is never wasteful and always at a level below which efficiency cannot be assured. The general impression is that this expenditure can be easily reduced by even as much as ten per cent without jeopardising India's communications, administration, defences, etc. etc. We have pointed out on many occasions that the defence item alone is a grave source of waste. In modern times it has come to be acknowledged that for the proper defence of a country, the entire nation together with its capital and human resources should be stimulated and organised to meet all emergencies. The idea of a concentrated, specialised and exclusively military organization expresses an inherent desire for aggressive warfare. It also costs a great deal more. The idea of the national army is ultimately better for national defence, even if it were far less spectacular and useful for imperialistic purposes in comparison with a smaller and wholetime army. Reduction of the regular army and the formation of a much bigger national army organized for defence only, should at once ensure economy and better defence. This may, of course, create a state of unemployment for professional fighting men and also inconvenience a good many people who profit by the existence of costly military departments; but these are hardly our national affairs.

It is not possible to enumerate all possible economies in the different departments in this short article; nor does the writer presume to be an expert in such matters. But it may be safely assumed that a balanced budget could have been secured by reducing expenditure in some of the departments. Closer control of expenditure, and insistence upon buying all requisites at the cheapest markets of the world without giving any preference to any particular foreign manufacturers, would also show considerable saving. In short, it is unbelievable that with a little effort, the Budget could not have been balanced, without having recourse to fresh and increased taxation which, in the opinion of competent economists, would injure India's national productivity and well-being.

Coming to taxes, one may question whether

all evasions are being fully enquired into. It is a well-known popular assumption that in the matter of Income-tax certain groups of traders and commercial men habitually pay far less in taxes than they should, considering their profits. Such individuals as are expert evaders of the Income-tax generally do not conceal their wealth in anything excepting in their account books. People who grow rich and manifest their riches in everyway without ever declaring large incomes over a long period, should be suspect. It is well-known that the Income-tax Collectors of the Government of India are very cautious and keen scrutinisers of the affairs of such persons as are not well versed in the esoteric secrets of accountancy. A good many people have to pay a higher Income-tax than they should strictly legally, only due to their ignorance of the Laws pertaining to this Tax or because they keep no correct accounts. But this over payment would be very small compared to the evasions that clever people achieve. The evaders are either more intelligent than the officials or the officials are unaware of the existence of such practices. Whatever the reasons might be, the assumed evasions would amount to a very large sum, and a little overhaul in this department may be expected to yield something substantial in revenue.

Supposing that the Government were anyhow obliged to increase their revenues through fresh or increased taxation; should they have behaved like the proverbial drowning man, by catching at the nearest available straw? Burke said,

> "Taxing is an easy business.—Any projector can contrive new impositions; any bungler can add to the old; but is it altogether wise to have no other bounds to your impositions than the patience of those who are to bear them?"

The Budget discussions rather point to a loss of this patience. The "pathetic contentment" of the Indian masses has been a political phenomenon of wondrous stability. But we are not referring to this pathological state of mind of the conquerred peoples of India. There have been among our "representative" men, some, who have assiduously displayed a "calculated contentment" with all things done by our British rulers. During the Budget wrangle even the patience of some such politicians was badly ruffled. The Government of India should have looked upon this hitherto impossible gesture as a danger signal. But they thought better not to do so.

The raising of the excise duty on Sugar, has not only been a grave blunder but an act of deliberate provocation to a large number of shareholders and workers who had staked much in this industry, depending on continued State support. The progressive burdens placed on an infant industry which came into existence, more or less at the request of the Government so to speak, may be interpreted as breach of faith. It is believed that many sugar factories will now close down and a large number of shareholders ruined. The loss to the workers and the agriculturists would also be considerable.

One of the major principles of Taxation is that the gains from an imposition must not be overweighed by direct or indirect losses. It is quite possible that a crisis in the Sugar industry may mean a direct loss of revenue through a fall in sugar factories' profits. For, such factories as would have to close down would never do so without a struggle. This struggle will mean a kind of competition which will hit all factories, losing ones as well as the prosperous. Regarding the indirect losses to the community, one need not speculate. These losses will be certain to arise. So that the expectations of Sir James Grigg have a full share of doubtfulness. Could he not manage things differently and better?

Who was it that said that he found some indulgences to be very good patriots in yielding a revenue? Love of wines and spirits, tobacco and opium usually pays more into the coffers of the State than any virtuous appetite. The exploitation of the indulgences for purposes of revenue, has its evil side; but when it is a choice between increasing the cost of a man's salt, sugar, bread or clothes and his intoxicating pleasures, one may safely assert that these injurious habits should pay. If all *Biri* shops had to pay for a special vendor's licence, it should yield a very high return. The fees could be collected quite cheaply by selling the fee stamp through the post offices and by making a rule that the licence stamp should be displayed in all *Biri* shops in a frame placed in a prominent place. The police could easily check all evasions and this would also give a productive occupation to the guardians of Law and Order. And, of course, all cigar and cigarettes imported from abroad should pay high duties. Opium and Spirits could also bear a little further burden.

The Federal Finance Committee appointed in 1931 pointed out the possibilities of a system of Tobacco vend licenses. They also recommended the excise duty on Matches and suggested the creation of state monopolies for profit.

Matches have shouldered their share of the burden and this has been interpreted as a Tax paid mainly by the poorer people on a necessity. The Tobacco selling licence would surely stand comparison with the excise on Matches.

As regards monopolies, if the Government arms and munitions factories could manufacture more extensively all articles commonly required for sporting, defensive and military purposes, it would create a profitable monopoly for the Government of India, which the industrial public will not resent. A little relaxation of the operation of the Arms Act would give a fillip to the monopoly. Restrictions upon the importation of cheaper standard arms and munitions would also help to establish the monopoly on sound basis. We believe that the changes brought about by the creation of mechanical armies, the air force and by the development of modern chemical warfare have turned the Indian Arms Act into an unnecessary and useless restriction upon the rights and liberty of the people. The prevalence of *dacoities* and robberies with violence in India, prove that the Arms Act merely impedes honest men in arranging the defence of their homes and property. Bad men somehow get hold of their own supplies of arms, etc. Therefore the Act should be enforced with greater leniency both from the revenue and this other point of view.

It was intended by the writer to show that the finances of the Government of India are being managed in an unimaginative way and with a stubborn conservativeness which is at once wasteful, unproductive and irritating to the public. If in this short article, this point of view has been explained with any degree of clearness, it has served its purpose.

WHO IS A BANKER

By J. C. NAHA, Cert. A. I. B. (London)

There has been some controversy with regard to the definition of the term "*Banker.*" An eminent English authority on Banking, J. W. Gilbert, F.R.S., said :

"By custom we call a man a banker, who has an open shop with proper counters, servants, and books for receiving peoples' money in order to keep it safe and return it on demand, and any man who has opened such a shop we call him a banker without enquiring whether any man has given his money to keep."

The subject is no doubt controversial and deserves the attention of all serious students of banking.

There is no statutory definition of the term "*banker.*" The expressions such as those appearing in the Bills of Exchange Act, 1882 (English), and the Stamp Act, 1891, do not lead us in the least nearer the truth. The Act defines a banker as a person carrying on business of banking—an expression as vague.

In the opinion of Sir John Paget :

"No one can be a banker who does not (1) take deposit accounts, (2) take current accounts, (3) issue and pay cheques drawn on himself, (4) collect cheques crossed and uncrossed, for the customers."

More recently, the Ministry of Labour in England, in connection with the Bankers' Special Scheme for Unemployment Insurance, has defined the term "*bank.*" Though not strictly statutory, the definition has the statutory authority for the special purpose for which it was made. The scheme lays down that the expression "*bank*" shall be construed so as to include only institutions where "a substantial part of such business consists of the receipt of money on current account to be drawn upon by cheques."

The law does not restrict the operation of a person carrying on the business of banking (as is commonly understood), neither is the registration of business necessary.

Any person carrying on business as such may call himself a *banker.* There is no legal restriction to the use of the expression in India. And since the term *bank* or *banker* associates with it a character of stability of quite exceptional kind, it has now been very freely used after the business name even by the persons and firms doing money-lending only as a part of their ordinary business.

In some cases it has also been found that the use of the expression *banker* has little or no bearing at all with the business of the firm using it.

Section 80, Bills of Exchange Act, 1882 (English), which is equally applicable to India, provides :

"Where a banker on whom a crossed cheque is drawn, in good faith and without negligence pays it, if crossed generally, to a banker, or if crossed specially, to

the banker to whom it is crossed, or his agent for collection being a banker, the banker paying the cheque, and, if the cheque has come into the hands of the payee, the drawer, shall respectively be entitled to the same rights and be placed in the same position as if the payment of the cheque had been made to the true owner thereof."

Now, what constitutes a banker in the meaning of this section? This pertinent question may be asked. Ramdas Pantalu & Co. a firm of indigenous bankers who carry on the business of banking and do all the operations required by a banker to do, in the opinion of Sir John Paget, present a crossed cheque over the counter of a Joint Stock Bank for payment. Will the bank be justified in paying the cheque?

By the Bank Charter Act, 1844, s.21, every person carrying on business of banking in England and Wales must make an annual return of his name, address and occupation, or in the case of Companies and Partnerships, the names etc., of all persons composing the Company or Partnership, and the name by which the business is carried on. Similar returns are prescribed by the Bankers (Ireland) Act, 1825, and the Bankers (Scotland) Act, 1826 (Sheldon).

By section 4 (1), Indian Companies Act, 1913,

"No Company, Association or Partnership, consisting of more than ten persons shall be formed for the purpose of carrying on business of banking unless it is registered as a Company under this Act or is formed in pursuance of Act of Parliament or some other Act of the Governor-General in Council, or, if a Royal Charter or Letters Patent."

By section 136 (1) of the same Act,

"Every Company being a limited Banking Company or an Insurance Company or a Deposit, Provident or Benefit Society shall, before it commences business, and also on the first Monday in February and the first Monday in August in every year during which it carries on business make a statement in the form marked "G" in the Third Schedule, or as near thereto as circumstance will admit."

FORM "G"

* The share Capital of the Company is Rs......... divided into.........shares of.........each.

The number of shares issued is:

Calls to the amount of Rs.......per share have been made under which the sum of Rs.......has been received.

The liabilities of the Company on the thirty-first day of December (or thirtieth of June) were—

Debts owing to sundry persons by the Company:
- Under decree, Rs.
- On mortgages or bonds, Rs.
- On notes, bills or hundies, Rs.
- On other contracts, Rs.
- On estimated liabilities, Rs.

The assets of the Company on that day were:
- Government Securities (stating them) Rs.
- Bills of Exchange, hundies and promissory Notes, Rs.
- Cash on hand and with Bankers, Rs.
- Other Securities, Rs.

(2) "A copy of the statement shall be displayed, and, until the display of the next following statement, kept displayed in a conspicuous place in the registered office of the Company, and in every Branch Office or place where the business of the Company is carried on."

From the foregoing one can probably safely conclude that until it has been decided otherwise by a competent Court or by a legislative enactment, any person, firm or Corporation, carrying on business of Banking, receiving money on Current Accounts and doing all the functions of a banker, in order to have the full recognition of the status of a *banker*, must comply with the above statutory requirements.

* If the Company has no Capital divided into shares the portion of the statement relating to Capital and Share must be omitted.

ANIMAL WELFARE WEEK

THE "Animal Welfare Movement," organized by us in 1925 on a small scale, with the object of reducing the slaughter of animals and preventing cruelty to animals, has shown gradual progress during the last twelve years. It is encouraging to see that a large number of people, irrespective of caste, creed or colour, have come forward to support the movement. It is our fervent hope that this movement will tend to reduce cruelty at least for a few days. It should be understood that we are sparing no pains to propagate this movement all over the world within a few years.

This movement has no religious bias at all; and we request all to kindly co-operate with us in observing the "Animal Welfare Week," which falls in the first week of May every year. The following three precepts have to be observed during the week:—

(1) To abstain from killing.
(2) To take only vegetarian diet.
(3) To give rest to animals between 11-30 A.M. and 1 P.M. and to abstain from travelling in vehicles drawn by animals during that time.

Further, in order to increase food products in the country we request all to kindly plant at least one food-producing plant during the above week. The co-operation of priests and teachers of all religions is earnestly invited. Please permit us to thank those ladies and gentlemen, who have given their kind support to the cause of dumb friends during the last twelve years.

Teachers and Students of Universal College

Panadura, Ceylon,
15th March, 1937.

DEPROVINCIALIZATION OF GOVERNMENT SCHOOLS

By BEPIN B. BANERJI

In 1932, when pressed hard on the floor of the Council Chamber by Sj. Shyama Prasad Mukerji, the then Hon'ble Minister for Education held out the hope that the question of the deprovincialization of Government schools would be "sympathetically considered" by Government in the near future. But the matter has since then been practically shelved, and its place has now been taken up by a proposal to reduce the number of schools and other retrograde measures that will retard the progress of education in the province.

Now this is not the first time that words of promise to our ear has been broken to our hope. Let me cull here a few instances from Government archives. In the Fourth Quinquennial Review of the Progress of Education in India (1897-98 to 1901-02) it is stated that in "privately managed schools the salary scale ranges from Rs. 5/- to Rs. 78/-" or, in other words, there are teachers in privately-managed schools who do not earn even the wages of a coolie! In this very Review, Government seemed to be very pathetically moved to improve this sad state of things, but what has been done is known to all.

Again, in a resolution on Indian Educational Policy issued by the Governor-General in Council in February, 1913, Government admits "on a special enquiry that out of 4700 teachers in private-managed schools about 4200 were in receipt of less than Rs. 50/- a month, 3300 of less than Rs. 30/- a month, while many teachers of English and classical languages drew salaries that would not attract men to the superior domestic service."

In this very resolution it is also stated that "the policy of Government is to improve the few Government schools by introducing a graded service for teachers of English with a minimum salary of Rs. 40 and a maximum salary of Rs. 400 per month." Just below the above it is also stated that "the policy of Government is to increase largely the grant-in-aid in order the aided institutions may keep pace with the improvements in Government schools and to encourage the establishment of new aided institutions, where necessary."

Now, what the Government has done to give effect to this solemn resolution is to raise the salary of even a Matriculate in the Government service not only to Rs. 40 but to Rs. 75 to begin with and the maximum salary of a Headmaster of Government schools not to Rs. 400 but to Rs. 800 per month, but in the case of private schools, effect has been given to it in curtailing the grant on the flimsiest ground or reducing it almost to the freezing point! This is how pledges are redeemed.

With one more instance, we close this chapter of regrets. The Retrenchment Committee, presided over by that astute business magnate, Sir Rajendra N. Mukerji, recommended the deprovincialization of schools on the ground that Government institutions having ceased to function as pioneers in education can no longer expect on principles of equity and justice to have a better treatment at the hands of Government. The speech of Lord Lytton at Jalpaiguri and the gramophone utterances of the then Minister for Education were also very "sympathetic"; we now find that these sympathies are 'matters of principle' and not of practice; otherwise, how could the Ministry of Education sit tight on so many solemn pledges made by Governors, Ministers, Committees, not to speak of the opinion of the general public eagerly desirous of giving a smattering of education to their children and raising the percentage of literates of their country to an optimistic limit.

Now, what are the reasons of the Hon'ble Minister for setting his face against these assurances? From the Press report of the speech delivered by the Minister of Education in the calmer and safer atmosphere of a Government school it appeared that he had staked the issue on two things (1) efficiency and (2) economy. Efficiency of an educational institution evidently lies in teaching and discipline. It is unnecessary to speak here at length on teaching. The test held by a third party, *viz.*, the University, dearly shows how the ill-equipped, ill-staffed and ill-housed schools are successfully competing with the privileged class of schools of the same type for the upkeep of which Government has been spending the major part

of the educational grant in the shape of pay, pension, building and equipment.

Necessity is the mother not only of invention but also of efficiency and it is this which makes the teachers of private schools more efficient than their pampered brethren under the Government. The tenure of the service of a teacher in a privately managed school depends on the quality of his work; while "the ancient solitary reign" of their fellow-workers in the other schools is in no fear of being "molested" even by the most "wandering" and erratic master. Thus, necessity, if not anything else, compels him to put more zest into his work than his fellow-workers in the Government schools. To do this on pay which is often less than the wages of a coolie and to show equally good, if not in many cases better, results in teaching bespeaks a devotion to duty which should be rewarded by Government by allowing them to have their proper share of the provincial revenues to which on account of their merit as well as numerical strength they have no less claim than the teachers in the sister institutions under the management of Government.

Anent the contention about a better and healthier tone of discipline in the schools under the direct management of Government, we admit that the teachers of the privately managed schools have their difficulties in maintaining "law and order" among the heterogenous crowd that are recruited to their schools from squalid homes and undesirable surroundings. But in spite of all these there has not as yet been any case of physical violence, not to speak of murders, of teachers by pupils in these much-maligned schools under the management of private agencies. In fact, if psycho-analysts are to be believed, the buoyant elastic nature of children, if repressed, will one day cross the rubicon of consciousness and stern measures will have their reaction; while a hearty handshake will do more to maintain that subtlest of subtle things, discipline, than mailed fists and bloodshot eyes.

On the question of economy it is opined that the sum that will be released by deprovincialization of schools and colleges will be negligible and the services of the teachers in Government employ cannot be dispensed with. I hope to be excused for tiring the patience of the readers at the fag-end of the paper with a few figures culled from a Government Report. In the Seventh Quinquennial Report on the Progress of Education of Bengal for the years 1922-23 to 1926-27 the number of schools for males and females in 1927 is stated to be 1045 of which 47 are under the direct management of Government and 998 are under the management of private agencies, and the expenditure incurred by Government in maintaining their 47 schools is Rs. 13,34,261 which the amount spent by Government for the upkeep of 998 private schools is Rs. 12,38,399, *i.e.*, Government do not think it worth their while to spend even that amount for the maintenance of 998 schools which they spend to maintain 47 schools of their own. And this is done though the utility of the two classes of schools of the same type is now admitted by the highest authority to be on a par. If Rs. 13,34,261 now spent for Government schools be released and added to Rs. 12,38,399 now spent for private schools, the Government help will, in stead of being negligible, be evidently doubled.

The Hon'ble Minister has very rightly felt for the loss of service of teachers in Government employ, but just below the expression of this laudable feeling, he has let the public know that there is a proposal on foot to effect heavy reductions in the salaries of teachers of Government schools. We do not understand how the two things tally. Deprovincialization will not end in the loss of service as feared by the Hon'ble Minister, it will mean a reduction in salaries which he himself proposes to do in the near future.

So looked at from all points of view, Government should be well-advised now to give effect to the solemn pledges of so many highly placed officials and well-constituted committees not only to ensure better progress but also to allay heart-burning among the same classes of public workers who can, in the present state of educational progress of the country, reasonably lay equal claim to the provincial revenues at the disposal of Government.

INDIAN PERIODICALS

A Prayer

Let honour come to me from Thee
through a call to some desperate task,
in the pride of poignant suffering.
Lull me not into languid dreams;
Shake me out of this cringing in the dust;
Out of the fetters that shackle our mind,
make futile our destiny;
Out of the unreason that bends our dignity down
under the indiscriminate feet of dictators;
Shatter this age-long shame of ours,
And raise our head
into the boundless sky,
into the generous light,
into the air of freedom.

Rabindranath Tagore
in The Visva-Bharati Quarterly.

Dr. Sir Brajendra Nath Seal

Mr. Sachchidananda Sinha, the Bihari leader who edits *The Hindustan Review,* pays the following tribute to Dr. Sir Brajendra Nath Seal in the March number of that monthly :

Sir Brajendra Nath Seal, the General President of the Parliament of Religions which commenced its sittings at Calcutta on the 1st March, has personal reminiscences of Sri Ramakrishna Paramahansa. Swami Vivekananda used to look upon him as an intimate friend. It may be recalled in this connection that Sir Brajendra Nath was invited to London in 1911 to open the Universal Race Congress, the first of its kind in the present century.

Prof. Brajendra Nath Seal is one of the greatest Indian Savants.

A man of prodigious learning in almost all branches of human knowledge, he is a living example of the genuine philosopher whose portrait Plato paints so inimitably in the *Republic.* 'He has taste for every sort of knowledge and is curious to learn and is never satisfied.' He is a man 'whose mind is fixed upon the true being, has no time to look down upon the affairs of earth or to be filled with malice and envy contending against men; his eye is ever directed towards things fixed and immutable.'

Even as a school-boy, Brajendranath was known as a prodigy. As a College student, he came under the influence of Dr. Hastie, who was then the Principal of the General Assembly's Institution, and turned his attention to Literature and Philosophy. During the five years of his college life, he read everything, literally everything, that there is to be read of English Literature, Philology, History, Jurisprudence and Philosophy.

After taking his M.A. degree, he in his own thorough manner, studied Economics, Sanskrit Literature and Hindu Philosophy. Besides English, Sanskrit and his mother-tongue Bengali, Dr. Seal knows French, German, Italian, Persian, Latin and Greek, well enough to read books in these languages.

It will naturally be asked how it is that so remarkable a man is so little known and appreciated. The answer is very simple. How many men are there in the country capable of sufficiently gauging his worth? 'No man,' says Hegel 'is a hero to his valet, not because the hero is not a hero, but because the valet is a valet.' Further, the utter unworldliness of the man and the total absence of all traces of ambition from his nature have stood in the way of his becoming generally known. There does not live a man more indifferent to fame and recognitions. Absorbed in the contemplation of the True, the Good and the Beautiful, self-extinguished in the Absolute, what cares he for the tinsel of the world's honour and applause? The supreme felicity of perceiving all things in the Absolute and the Absolute in all things is to him everything and all else simply nothing. If he had been like ordinary men, if he had known and cared to use the art of self-advertisement, if the prize of the world had the least attraction for him, his name today would have been a household word throughout the civilized world. It is in spite of himself that he at last slowly got recognition. The unique honour which the organizers of the Universal Races Congress did to him by selecting him as the first speaker and the opener of the proceedings was appreciated by his countrymen.

A philosopher and a recluse though he is, Dr. Seal possesses administrative abilities of a higher order. So strong is his sense of duty that he personally does the work which others leave to assistants and clerks.

Such is the man, so great and yet so simple, in the world but not of it, who shows in his life what the educated Indian can be.

The Essence of Hinduism

The following is reproduced from an article in *The Vedanta Kesari,* which is a compilation of relevant passages from the several speeches delivered by Mahatma Gandhi in Travancore during his recent visit to that State in connection with the Temple Entry Proclamation.

I have found in the original Vedas the essence of Hinduism. That essence is—God pervades in everything and God is the Ruler, Creator and Lord of the world. He being the undisputable and unchallengeable Master, we dedicate everything to Him every day, and He provides our wants. This faith is enunciated in the first Mantra or the Isa Upanishad. The essence of Hinduism is briefly, but equally brilliantly, given inspite of untouchability in this first Mantra of the Isa Upanishad.* The

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* ॐ ईशावास्यमिदँ सर्वं यत् किं च जगत्यां जगत् ।
तेन त्यक्तेन भुञ्जीथाः मा गृधः कस्य स्विद् धनम् ॥

All this, whatsoever exists in the universe, is the vesture of tne Lord. Having renounced (the unreal), enjoy (the Real). Do not covet the wealth of any man.

meaning of this Mantra in a nutshell is that all are created by the one God, and that all must enjoy in common what God has given, and that one should not covet another's wealth. God, according to that Mantra, is Ruler, Master and Lord, and pervades all this universe to the tiniest atom. It means He is not merely in your and my hearts, but he is literally and absolutely in every one of the innumerable things, in the bones of your body and in the hairs of your head. Therefore He is nearer to me and you than our dearest ones. That is the essence of Hinduism, and we realise that truth in this magnificent Mantra as we realise that you are sitting here and listening to me.

Having realised that truth, the seer who has given this Mantra to the world proceeds to say that since God is near to us and dominates all our actions, we must voluntarily resign and dedicate at His feet all that we have hitherto in our presumption and ignorance regarded as our own. God provides everything, and nothing belongs to us. He being their indisputable and unchangeable master. The Mantra next says—'Covet not anybody else's riches.' But only after that act of conscious and delebrate renunciation and dedication we shall have to eat, cloth ourselves and house ourselves. For that the Mantra says—After having dedicated, you enjoy and use all the necessaries of life given to you by God Himself with His own sacred hands.

Now this requires the same trust, the same faith and the same love that a child without reasoning out things for itself has towards its parents. The child never reasons for itself and it depends upon its parents for its supply. The parents are as much mortal as the children. It is infinitely more logical of us then that we should have at least as much faith and trust in God to give us food and cloth.

Just as we require food for the body, so also we require, in the shape of prayers, food for the soul, for we know and recognize that there is something besides our body. If you try prayer for some time sincerely, you will discover with me that whereas you may go without bodily food for some time even with profit, you may not desire to go without the spiritual food. Some sort of evening prayer before retiring to bed is necessary. If prayers are offered both in the morning and evening, you will soon find that a time will come when you will be disgusted if you omit to offer prayers. Since there are millions in this country who cannot even recite Bhajanas, our forefathers have discovered a method which is a mere recital of the name of God whom you recognize as Rama, Krishna or by thousands of other names.

Even if all the Hindu Scriptures were reduced to ashes, if this one Mantra of the Isa Upanishad alone remained embeded in the memory of the Hindus, it would be sufficient for Hinduism to abide for ever. The Bhagavad Gita which has been my Kamadhenu (the mythical cow that yields all one desires) in all difficult times was based on the truth embeded in that Mantra. The last nineteen verses of the 2nd Chapter of the Bhagavad Gita are reminders to every Hindu of how he should conduct himself on earth.

Hinduism and Untouchability

In an interesting essay in *The Aryan Path*, Dr. Radhakumud Mookerji chronicles the labour of several generations of social and religious reformers in India who have fought the sin of Untouchability.

The land of the Tamils is famous for the great Vaishnava leaders called "Alvars" who flourished from the seventh to the tenth centuries, those poet-singers who wandered from shrine to shrine, composing hymns, singing them in ecstasy, and falling in trance on the floors of temples. They freely taught the outcastes, some of them being themselves outcastes. Twelve of these "Alvars" are regarded as teachers of the Sri Vaishnava sect which arose about this time. Of these the fifth Alvar Sathakopa was a *Dom* and the ninth, Andal, was a woman.

The many Sakti cults responsible for the Tantra literature, which were in evidence as early as the time of Harsha (seventh century) embraced men and women of all castes, together with outcastes. But the problem of the depressed classes was tackled best by the many Bhakti movements which arose between 900 and 1350, in spite of the political revolutions which followed the Muslim conquests in India.

The earlier "Alvars" prepared the ground for the advent of the great religious leader, Ramanuja (*c.* 1050-1137).

Though he started as a strict conservative he defied tradition by permitting the outcastes the right of temple entry once a year. He also bestowed the sacred thread on the Sudras and the outcaste adherents of his sect, though it was a special lowcaste sacred thread. There was a regular group, all belonging to the Sudra caste, who were his special disciples and were known as *Satanis*. The Sri-Vaishnava sect of Ramanuja ministered to all four castes and also to outcastes, several of whom figure in the list of Sri-Vaishnava Saints.

There were also in the North about this time some renowned Maratha *Bhaktas* among whom caste distinctions were swept away in the flood of religious emotion. One of them was Namdeva. A tailor by birth and occupation, he spent his life preaching Bhakti both in the Maratha country and in the Punjab, where his hymns were brought together in a *Grantha*.

The next is Eknath (died in 1600), a Brahmin, who did not believe in caste and suffered for his convictions.

The great Tukaram (1608-1648) was a petty shopkeeper and a Sudra whose father was a corn-dealer.

The foremost of the Gujrati Sashana was Narsi Mehta, (1413-1476) a Nagar Brahmin, who preached in Gujrat and Cutch. Along with him may be mentioned Akho of Ahmedabad, a goldsmith (1613-1663), Ranchhor Das (1764), and Santa Ram, who had many Muslim pupils, and Madhogarh (1824).

A greater outburst of the same religious movement was witnessed in Bengal under Chaitanya (1485-1533) whose preaching effected further relaxations in the rigidity of caste rules in the sphere of spirituality.

A person of any caste could share his worship and become a member of his community, some of whose votaries would eat freely with others, irrespective of caste. A devoted pupil of Chaitanya was Yavana (Moslem) Haridas, son of Malai Kazi, who was converted to Vaishnavism by the orthodox Brahmin scholar Advaitacharya. His conversion was reported to the king of Gauda who had him tried by a court of twelve Kazis and publicly whipped. Chaitanya had a drama enacted at Nadiya to justify the conversion of Haridas, pointing out that "the way of love and faith is different from the one prescribed in the Sastras," on the strength of his favourite motto taken from the *Brihat-Naradiya Purana* :—"Even a Chandala if he is a devotee of Hari is to be preferred

to a Brahmin." The *Chaitanya Charitamrita* refers to one Kalidasa, a Kayastha, who made it a practice to eat food left by low-caste people like *Doms* and *Hadis*.

Another great agency in the social uplift of the depressed classes was the Ramaite religious movement founded by the great Ramananda, who probably lived between 1400 and 1470 and started as a follower of the sect of Ramanuja. Ramananda is known for his early abolition of caste distinctions in accepting disciples, thereby emphasising the old Vaishnavite position that Bhakti and not mere birth leads to salvation. Ramananda himself found his first religious teachers in two saints of the lowest castes, Sathakopa and Vishnuchitta. He had as his personal disciples quite a motley group which included a Sudra, a Jat, an outcaste, a Moslem and a woman. Twelve of these were themselves saints and religious leaders of the highest order, *viz.*, Ravi Das (a Chamar), Kabir, Dhanna (a Jat), Sena (a barber), Pipa (a Rajput), Bhavananda, Sukhananda, Asananda, Sursura-nanda, Paramananda, Mahananda, and Sri Ananda.

Of these, the most striking is Ravi Das, the Chamar of Kasi, whose spirituality conquered the pride of higher castes. Jhali, the Rana of Chitor, became his disciple and there is a story that even Mirabai was also his disciple.

Sena was the barber of his king who was moved to become his disciple! Dhanna (1415), a Jat, had a Brahmin teacher who himself referred him to Ramananda for his higher instruction. Pipa (1445) was a Rajput chief who with his wife Sita left his Kingdom under Ramananda's teachings. It is said of Sukhananda that he lived day and night in *samadhi*, and fully justifying his name. Sursurananda renounced the world with his wife. Among other noted disciples of Ramananda, were Anantananda of Jaipur, Krishna Das, Agradasa and Kilha. Kilha, the son of a Subedar, belonged to Gujrat, and was himself the founder of the Khati sect.

Like Ramananda's teachings, those of Kabir were equally fruitful in producing a bountiful crop of saints, founders of independent sects which did not believe in the distinction of caste in religious life.

They were Kabirpanthis (1470) in Benares; Sikhs (1500) in the Punjab; Dadupanthis (1575?) in Rajputana; Bal Dasis (1600) in Alwar; Satnamis (1600) in Narnal (Delhi); Baba Lalis (1625) in Dehanpur (Sirhind); Sadhs (1658) in Delhi; Charan Dasis (1730) in Delhi; Siva Narayanis (1734) in Chandrawar (Ghazipur); Garib Dasis (1740) in Chudani (Rohtak) and Ram Sanetus (1750) in Shahapur (Rajputana). Of these great religious leaders Dadu was outstanding like his teacher Kabir. According to some, his time was 1603-1660. He had a number of Moslem disciples, some of whom were themselves founders of sects. Most famous of these was Rajjab in whose sect the position of the Guru is given to a Hindu or a Moslem according to spiritual superiority.

Almost equally striking among the disciples of Dadu was Lal Das who hailed from the predatory tribe of Meos and won recognition as the chief spiritual leader in Alwar. Ghazidasa, a Chamar of Chattisgarh, Central Provinces (1820), made himself the greatest moral force for the uplift of his community as followers of the sect of Satnamis. The Siva-Narayanis, again, are marked by their disciples being drawn from outcastes. It is stated that Mohammad Shah of Delhi (1719-1748) became a member of this sect and favoured its founder with the gift of the royal seal.

Mention may be made in this connection of the sect of Kabir led in Kathiawad by Bhan (1700-1775), a Lohana by caste, some of whose pupils became famous teachers, such as Jivan Das, Trikam Das, both outcastes, and Rabi Saheb, a Baniya.

Chamar Ghasi Das (1875) was the founder of an important sect which did not allow fish, meat or drink to its followers. Lal Beg is another Chamar saint who founded a sect that is flourishing in Bikaner.

The Granth Sahib

Like Kabir Guru Nanak abjured Sanskrit, the language of the priest, and as he was a Punjabi by birth, he made his own mother-tongue the vehicle of his thought. One of his successors modified the Sanskrit script and devised the *Gurumukhi* script for the use of the Sikhs. H. C. Kumar writes in ***The Scholar*** :

To the fifth Guru, Arjun Dev belongs the great honour of collecting and classifying according to Ragas, or musical scale, the hymns of his predecessors and compile the *Granth Sahib* (in 1604). He was a most lovable and winsome personality. A man of wide culture, deep learning and utter humility, he himself made a considerable contribution to the *Vani*, word, of his predecessors, and made the *Granth Sahib* a unique compilation of religious literature. For, in this Bible of the Sikhs, we find the hymns not only of the Sikh Gurus themselves, but of many a Muslim Saint like Shaik Farid, and even of untouchable Saints from all parts of India, such as Dhana, the Jat, Sadna, the butcher, Ravi Das, the shoe-maker, Saina, the barber, and others. Kabir, of course, had a large and honoured place among these, while his Master, Ramananda, is represented by at least one hymn. The *Gita Govinda* of Jai Dev, in the 12th century, and the hymns of the Maharashtra Saint, Nam Dev, were all laid under contribution, and give to the *Granth Sahib* a touch, broad as Truth and high as God.

The hymns of Guru Arjun himself are surcharged with the perfume of deep devotion to the Guru and are vibrant with fervent yearning for Union with Him and with the Over-Soul. His language is far more polished and far less involved, and his famous *Sukh Mani*, the Jewel of Peace, is a marvellous revelation of how in his skilful hands, Punjabi becomes the vehicle of the highest truths of Hindu philosophy. Guru Arjun was as truly the father of the Punjabi language as Chaucer was that of English. The *Granth Sahib* is a specimen of spiritual democracy.

Guru Arjun, who compiled the Granth Sahib or the Sikh Scripture, also completed Har Mandir the House of God, better known as the Golden Temple.

The excavation of the tank had been begun by his predecessor, Guru Ram Das, after whom it was called Ram Das Sar; but the work was carried to completion by Guru Arjun, who also built the Temple. The original structure must have been a simple one. But in the troublous times that followed, it attracted the unwelcome attention of the Muslim rulers of the times, who more than once laid sacriligous hands on it. Ultimately, Ahmed Shah Abdali razed it to the ground. But it was rebuilt soon after by Maharaja Ranjit Singh, the Lion of the Punjab. It is a small but elegant building of pearl white marble, with open doors on all sides, and walls inlaid with precious stones in beautiful designs of flowers and birds. The Granth Sahib is displayed in the middle-

of the Temple, and sacred music goes on night and day. No human or other figure finds a place anywhere on the walls and the premises, and with the beautiful tank of Immortality on all sides, the temple offers a contrast to Hindu buildings of this kind. The Golden Temple is as sacred to the Sikh as the Kaaba to the Muslim or Benares to the Hindu. The town of Amritsar is situated round the Temple.

India's Fiscal Policy

Prof. B. P. Adarkar, Allahabad University, pleads in his article in *The Twentieth Century,* for a bolder and more progressive application to India of the principle of Discriminating Protection. He concludes :

In the first place, the theoretical foundations of *Laissez-faire* have been found to be inadequate because the assumptions on which they are based, such as, that there is full employment, that "wage-rates tend to adjust themselves to demand and supply conditions in suchwise that no involuntary unemployment, other than such as is due to industrial fluctuations, can exist," that cosmopolitan good is the good *par excellence,* that changes in distribution would make no material alteration to international values,—these assumptions cannot be granted. Even the international division of labour, which is the mainstay of Free Trade, is not above reproach, because it is capable of doing permanent harm to a backward country in respect of its production and productive capacity and because what tends to be is not necessarily for the best. So far as India is concerned, her case falls within the category of backward agricultural countries "wishful to develop manufactures," and possessing, cumulative potentialities of natural and human resources. Thus Discriminating Protection of a piecemeal variety hardly meets the requirements of her industries, which, if we are at all to be honest about it, are undoubtedly shouting for a rapid growth. What is needed is a comprehensive visualization of the industrial problem as a whole and we must also remember that industrialization is a cumulative process, as there is a close interdependence between industries, old and new. The burden on the consumer and on the agriculturist are merely the arguments of crocodiles: there is no loss caused to these interests for which they will not be more than compensated in other ways, owing to increase of employment and owing to internal demand for food-stuffs and raw materials having increased. Moreover, under present circumstances, at any rate, owing to the steep fall of prices of all kinds, the consumers (*i.e.,* people still deriving incomes through employment or otherwise—not the unemployed) have gained all along the line. For these reasons, I have no sympathy for the so-called consumers whose mythical interests seem to dominate our fortunes in fiscal policy. It should be remembered that every fiscal measure is bound to harm some people and benefit others, or harm the same people in some ways and benefit them in others : the function of economists is to deal with each case justly weighing the pros and cons and considering the *tout ensemble* of results and not merely to harp upon one set of such results. Owing to a lack of industrial and commercial development in India, there is in evidence today a growing middle-class unemployment, which has been caused as much by an increasing maladjustment of the labour supply as by a growing stream of population. At a time when the rest of the world's countries have safe-guarded their production structures and markets by restrictive measures against a plethora of dumped goods, what has the Government of India done? Our Government is about the only one to have achieved the singular distinction of having done nothing in a world depression which has hit agricultural countries the hardest. Our Government is obviously out to maintain *Laissez-faire* in all its pristine purity; it would even go to the length of sacrificing Indian currency and fiscal policy on the altar of a false internationalism, lending volunteer services to its cause by refusing to enter into "a race of competitive depreciation" and to complicate (*sic*) international trade by imposing artificial "trade barriers." For this Yeoman service to the cause of internationalism, the Government of India verily deserves the Nobel Peace Prize for all years to come.

The Jharia Coal Industry

Prof. S. R. Bose, in the course of his article on the above subject, writes in the *Indian Journal of Economics* :

The coal industry, particularly the Jharia coalfield, has come of late to claim a good deal of public attention due chiefly to the disastrous fires occurring in quick succession at the three important collieries of Bagdigi, Giridih and Loyabad, but partly also because of the prominence given by the Press to the views of certain experts like Sir Lewis Fermor and Dr. Cyril Fox about the possibility of the exhaustion of the supply of good metallurgical coal due to wasteful methods of production and consumption followed in this country. That the use of coal was not entirely unknown in India before the advent of the British is proved by the occurrence of such place names as Barakar (meaning chief mine), Kalipahari (meaning hill of coal), Angarpatra (meaning stone of charcoal), and Damodar (meaning fire in the stomach or bed). All the above places are at present important centres of the coal mining industry.

Owing to the lack of the means of communication and the comparative abundance of wood the use of coal as fuel was confined to the immediate vicinity of the places where coal deposits occurred.

There is a local tradition current in the Jharia coalfield as to how the use of coal spread and a trade in coal developed. The tradition asserts that in the early days people from Midnapore used to come up the Damodar with boats laden with salt which they sold to people along the route. It so happened that once when the merchants had anchored their boats at a place called Nonachra (about two miles from Raniganj) and had made their ovens for cooking their food on what they thought to be black rock, they found that very little wood fuel was necessary, as the black rock took fire and began to burn, thus helping them to cook their food. On enquiry from local people they were told that the black rock was "Pathar Kaila" and could be burnt. While leaving the place they took a boat-load of this rocky coal with them and thus the use of this fuel was made known to the world outside.

The first Englishman to discover the existence of coal in Bengal was probably Mr. Suetonious Grant Heatly who, in 1774, was the Collector of Chota Nagpore and Palamau. He, along with one John Sumner, submitted in 1774 a memorial to Warren Hastings for a license to work coal mines in Pachete and Birbhum. The license applied for was granted and the first coal mine was opened in 1774 near Sitarampur. The chief use of coal in India about this time was by the East

India Company who used it in their arsenals for fusing metals for casting ordnances and the coal used came from England as ballast in sailing ships. For a long time doubts were expressed about the quality of Indian coal and it could not make much headway. The first mention of Jharia in connection with coal occurrences in the Damodar valley is to be found in a proposal submitted in 1777 to Government by Messrs. Motte and Farquhar to cast shot and shell in the pergunnah of Jerriah.

With the establishment of the Geological Survey of India in 1856 the coal deposits of Jharia came to be definitely located.

In 1890 the East Indian Railway Company deputed their mining engineer Mr. T. H. Ward to make an examination of the resources of the Jharia field. His report was very favourable and the East Indian Railway immediately undertook the construction of a new line from Barakar to Dhanbad which was opened in 1894. The B. N. Railway authorities, too, established their own connections with the Jharia field.

With the establishment of railway communication the importance of Jharia steadily increased.

In 1908 the headquarters of the Gobindpur sub-division were transferred to Dhanbad (4½ miles from Jharia) and the sub-division was renamed Dhanbad. In 1909 the headquarters of the department of mines in India were removed from Calcutta to Dhanbad. It has now been decided to construct an aerodrome at Jharia. Upward of 200 million tons of coal have been raised from the Jharia field since 1894, which at a price of Rs. 3 per ton, is worth sixty crores of rupees. Since 1908 the Jharia coalfields have been supplying about half the total coal produced in India. The area of the field is about 150 sq. miles and is estimated to contain about 20 thousand million tons of coal, of which ten per cent is of good quality suitable for the manufacture of metallurgical coke. The mining settlement of Jharia had in 1933 a population of 534 thousand souls of which 73 thousand were actual workers.

In 1933 there were 219 mines in the Jharia field but 67 per cent of the output of the Jharia coalfield came from collieries controlled by no more than 13 firms of managing agents. The average number of workers employed per mine was 350 and the output per mine was three thousand tons a month. The output per worker was 133 tons a year, which is only one-fifth of that in U. S. A. and only half of that in Japan and Great Britain. In the Jharia field 18 seams of coal have been traced.

The Nature of "Folklore" and "Popular Art"

A sharp distinction is commonly drawn between "learning" and folklore, "high art" and popular art: and it is quite true that under present conditions the distinction is valid and profound. Ananda K. Coomaraswamy writes in *The Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society*:

We may very well ask what is the true nature of folk and peasant art, and whether such an art differs from that of the *kavi* and *acarya* in any other way than in degree of refinement. In traditional and unanimous societies we observe that no hard and fast line can be drawn between the arts that appeal to the peasant and those that appeal to the lord; both live in what is essentially the same way, but on a different scale. The distinctions are of refinement and luxury, but not of content or style; in other words the differences are measurable in terms of material value, but are neither spiritual nor psychological. The attempt to distinguish aristocratic from popular motifs in traditional literature is fallacious; all traditional art is folk art in the sense that it is the art of a unanimous people (*jana*). As Professor Child has remarked in connection with the history of Ballads, "The condition of society in which a truly national and popular poetry appears . . . (is one) in which the people are not divided by political organizations and book-culture into marked distinct classes; in which, consequently, there is such community of ideas and feelings that the whole people from one individual."

It is only because we regard these problems from the narrow standpoint of present circumstances that we fail to grasp this condition. In a democratic society, where all men are theoretically equal, what exists in fact is a distinction between a bourgeois culture on the one hand and the ignorance of the uncultured masses on the other, notwithstanding that both classes may be literate. Here there is no such thing as a "folk" (*jana*), for the proletariat is not a "folk," but comparable rather to the outcaste (*candala*) than to a fourth estate (*sudra*); the sacerdotal (*Brahmana*) and chivalrous (*ksatriya*) classes are virtually lacking (men are so much alike that these functions can be exercised by *anyone* (the newsboy, for example, becoming a President), and the bourgeoisie (*vaisya*) is (assimilated) to the proletarian (*candala*) masses, to form what is in effect a unanimously profane "herd" (*pasu*) whose conduct is governed only by likes and dislikes, and not by any higher principles. Here the distinction of "educated" from "uneducated" is merely technical; it is no longer one of degrees of consciousness, but of more or less information. Under these conditions the distinction of literacy from illiteracy has a value altogether different from its value in traditional societies in which the whole folk, at the same time that it is culturally unanimous, is functionally differentiated; literacy in the latter case, being quite unnecessary to some functions, where moreover its absence does not constitute a privation, since other means than books exist for the communication and transmission of spiritual values; and, further, under these circumstances, the function itself (*svadharma*), however "menial" or "commercial," is strictly speaking a "way" (*marga*), so that it is not by engaging in other work to which a higher or lower social prestige may attach, but to the extent that a man approaches perfection in his own work and understands its spiritual significance, that he can *rise above himself*,—an ambition to *rise above his fellows* having then no longer any real meaning.

In democratic societies, then, where proletarian and profane (*i.e.*, ignorant) values prevail, there arises a real distinction of what is optimistically called "learning" or "science" on the part of the educated classes from the ignorance of the masses; and this distinction is measured by standards, not of profundity, but of literacy, in the simple sense of ability to read the printed word. In case there survives any residue of a true peasantry (as is still the case in Europe, but scarcely in America), or when it is a question of the "primitive" culture of other races, or even of traditional scriptures and metaphysical traditions that are of anything but popular origin, the "superstitions" involved (we shall presently see what is really implied by this very apt term) are confounded with the "ignorance" of the masses, and studied only with a condescending lack of understanding.

How perverse a situation is thus created can be seen when we realise that where the thread of symbolic and initiatory teaching has been broken at higher social levels (and modern education, whether in India or elsewhere has precisely, and very often intentionally, this destructive effect), it is just the "superstitions" of the people and what is apparently irrational in religious doctrine that has preserved what would otherwise have been lost. When the bourgeois culture of the universities has thus declined to levels of purely empirical and factual information, then it is precisely and only in the superstitions of the peasantry, wherever these have been strong enough to resist the subversive efforts of the educators, that there survives a genuinely human, and often indeed a superhuman wisdom, however unconscious, and however fragmentary and naive may be the form in which it is expressed. There is, for example, a wisdom in traditional fairy tales (not of course, in those which have been written by "literary" men "for children") that is altogether different in kind from such psychological sense or nonsense as may be embodied in a modern novel.

Economic Realism

The Mysore Economic Journal writes editorially :

The General Elections have ended in British India and there are now going on discussions as to the acceptance of office in the different Provinces. Whatever may be the case with the three Provinces of the Punjab, Bengal and Assam, the Congress has majorities in the rest of the Provinces and there is no question that the people in them are ready for an advance in them. They are tired of the halting policy of the previous Ministries and they desire a change which may mean a forward policy. The question of office has two sides; the first is the political and the second, economic. Here, in this instance, the political will mean the economic, and the economic thus automatically becomes the political. The "fight," as it is called, may go on; but it cannot be gain-said that it requires aid from the economic side. The need for an active "Economic Development" policy is thus supreme today in the Provinces of India. If the Congress Provinces lead the way and develop an economic policy, which is both popular and sound, then the communalistic Provinces cannot lag behind. They are bound to suffer by comparison. Their people are bound to cry out and develop a mentality which is bound to render their governments weak and bring about the resignations of the Ministries concerned. Thus, even in the communalistic Provinces, the Congress forward economic policy would lead the way and help to obtain for the masses the advantages of a sounder economic system. The need for grasping this important aspect of "acceptance of office" is thus great.

A forward economic policy may not mean anything more for the present than the evolving of a policy which might help the amelioration of conditions for the masses, the rural masses, the labouring masses in industrial areas, and the urban and metropolitan unemployed. A policy that might mean some hope for these different classes who are crying for relief should be evolved without delay, if the present discontent is to be allayed from each of these quarters. What might help in the solution of this problem is a well-considered policy of Economic Planning. This phrase need not turn away people from all thought of it. Some feel afraid of it altogether, with visions of Soviet Russia horrors of Communism and terrors of absolutism. There are plans and plans. And a plan suited to India and her genius is quite possible. There is no reason why such a plan should not be evolved by competent Indians and given effect to in the best interests of the country. There is no turning away from such planning today, as Nationalism means first self-sufficiency and self-respect. If the Congress Provinces take to planning, the communalistic Provinces will beforelong have to follow suit. This would, beforelong, pave the way for inter-Provincial action with great benefit to the country.

The suggestion of office acceptance has thus a side to it which is full of promise. Nobody denies that the Congress, having won the elections, has every right to use its victory on its own lines. But it should be guided by the requirements of the situation, if it is to make the best of the situation today. Realism should guide its policy, if it is to retain even its "fighting spirit" as it is called. A good policy is bound to make it even more popular and help to maintain its firm hold on the masses and the classes. Such a policy, too, would justify its success, and help to its future as well. There may be conditions attached to its action in the strictly political field, but there can be no gainsaying that it will be doing the right thing in setting a high example in political sphere, if in accepting office it made economic development its first plank in any policy of action it might chalk out for itself. That would help the Congress to kill communalism and place patriotism where it ought to be.

The Philosophy of Literature

The following is the concluding portion of the philosophico-literary article from the pen of Rabindranath Tagore, the first part of which we reproduced in our last issue from *The Visva-Bharati Quarterly* :

Stagnant water is dumb, close air is oppressive, and it is I repeat, vacancy or vagueness of consciousness that is most intolerable for a human creature. When, on the other hand, the consciousness of "I am" attains a certain fullness, reaches a certain intensity, it brings our individual personality into touch with the Supreme Person, whereupon from Infinity comes, in trun, the response "*I am.*" At this level our being rises above all distinction of pleasure and pain into the ineffable bliss of supreme realisation. And, as in the work-a-day world man is occupied with endeavours to fulfil his needs, to add to his possessions, to increase his knowledge, so in his literature and art he is persistently striving to enlarge and enrich the content of his consciousness, in order to raise his soul to higher and higher levels, to become more and more his true Self. To what an empty desert would man's life be reduced if some cataclysm were to destroy his accumulated treasures of art and literature ?

To express the beautiful, therefore, does not sufficiently indicate the aim and end of literature.

The perception of beauty has also its different levels. Beauty is easily distinguishable on what I have called the groundfloor. It is clear that the flower is beautiful, the butterfly is beautiful, the peacock is beautiful. At a higher level, where Mind sits jointly in judgment, and character comes in as an element to be taken into consideration, it is not so easy to come to a decision about that is or is not beautiful, for reliance cannot then be placed on the verdict of the senses alone. Whereupon there comes in what may be called the distinction between the attractive

and the significant, the latter being the give of deeper joy. The dance tune attracts by its prettiness as soon as it is heard. The classical melody has a character which makes a profounder appeal, an appeal that requires culture of mind for its appreciation, for the realisation of that which is implied.

This brings us to the fundamental characteristic of literature.

The attractive things that we ordinarily call beautiful or interesting are such as are obviously real to us. Merely to express them as they are, would be but the reporting of news. It is for literature to bring home to us the appeal of that which is not obvious about them, —in a word, to make us aware of more and more realities, ordinarily beyond our ken.

Most things in this world belong to the category of common or ordinary. Thousands of people pass along the street, and though each one of them is an individual, they are to me merely a crowd, shrouded in the vagueness of a collective name. To myself I am special, unique. Another person can only become real to me if he is presented on the same footing. This cannot be done through the relation of need. Let me here relate, once more, an incident of which I have told before in a poem.

I was then away in the country, all alone. I had only one servant who used to go home at night and come early in the morning, duster over shoulder, to start his day's work. There was nothing noteworthy about him, either of body or mind. His great quality was his taciturnity. So that I became really aware of his existence only on a morning when he failed to make his appearance; for which reason I found my bath unprepared, my study untidy. When, somewhat later in the day, he turned up, I asked him, with no little asperity, where he had been all this time. "My little girl died this morning, Sir!" was all he said, as he fell to work with his duster. A shock went through and through me. He, who had so long been hidden from me under his servanthood, now came and stood by me on the same platform, revealed in his individuality.

The beautiful carries on itself the Creator's passport and so has entry everywhere.

But what is to be said of such invasion of my consciousness by my old servant? By no stretch of language could he have been called beautiful. Nor was the fact that, like so many other men, he was the father of a girl, of any special interest. What was it, then that happened to awaken me to a sense of his individuality?—One touch of sorrow had, all of a sudden, made him real to me! That is what literature has done for Sancho Panza, the servant of Don Quixote, whose existence has been made much more real for us than the lives of all the Indian Viceroys put together. I dare say that the times when Kalidas created his Sakuntala were teeming with matters of social, political and economic interest, but where are all these today? There remains only Sakuntala!

Man's ordinary world of reality, so-called, is a veritable Milky Way; comprised mostly of the vogue nebulae called Society, Nation, Empire, Commerce and what not; the sentient life of individual man is hardly to be discerned through their foggy amorphousness. Under the ashes of the one generalization, War, there lie smothered the smouldering griefs of thousands of hearts; the crimes and horrors covered up by the name of Nation, if brought into the light, would leave no place for humanity to hide its shame; if we fail to see the folly and slavery perpetuated under the shadow of Society, it is because we are of the victims whose minds it has paralysed. Amidst the vast insensibility pervading these nebulous abstractions, it is Literature that comes to our rescue, by making vivid to us, by causing us acutely to feel, the existence of the speciality of things and events, in relation to our own speciality.

This speciality, this individual personality, of man is the greatest mystery with which he has to do. It begins at the core of his being and extends to infinity. It inhabits man's body, rises beyond it into his mind, and transcends even that, to overflow the very ends of past and future. It appears to range within limitations, but in truth it overpasses them, and acknowledges no boundary; that is why it seeks the aid of Literature and Art to express itself, to get itself recreated in terms of deathless joy. Such expression brings it into relations of similarity with the universal. Through such creations it sends its reply to the messages of the Supreme Person who, from beyond the darkness of multitudinous facts, shines in the unutterable mystery of the Truth which is Beauty.

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Italy's New Serfs

The Italian Fascist leaders constantly claim that Fascism unceasingly champions the cause of the agriculturists. Writing in *The Living Age*, Carl T. Schmidt summarises the results of his inquiry into the condition of the agriculturists in Italy—the hours of the working day, the level of wages and their purchasing power and other allied matters:

The long efforts of labor organization to legalize the eight-hour day met with nominal recognition in a decree of March 15, 1923, which stipulated that the normal working hours of hired laborers in all industries, including agriculture, were not to exceed eight a day or forty-eight a week. (However, on June 30, 1926, the Government authorized employers to increase the working day to nine hours.) But the significance of the general regulations has been destroyed by many qualifications that offer agricultural employers easy opportunities for prolonging the working day.

For instance, the 1923 decree provides that in case of technical or weather contingencies a maximum of ten additional hours per week may be required without extra pay. Also, the legal limit may be exceeded when a suspension of work might entail damage to human beings or production. Moreover, working hours do not include breaks for rest or meals; many syndical agreements provide that time spent in going to and coming from the fields (often quite long) is not included. Furthermore, the Fascist collective contracts generally provide for various daily maxima in different seasons, merely requiring an *annual average* of eight hours a day. During the winter months—when it is impossible to do much farm work—the maximum daily hours are frequently six; during the spring and autumn they are eight, and in the summer—when work is heaviest—nine and often ten hours are the rule. Thus the many laborers who find jobs only in the summer are obliged to work well beyond the legal limit without additional pay. But even these wide limits are often surpassed by employers who violate the contracts.

With the stabilization of the lira in 1927 began a period of continual and drastic wage-cuts—actively sponsored by the Government—that continued into 1935. Although the decline has been general, agricultural workers have suffered more than those in industry or commerce. According to official Italian statistics, the wages of agricultural male laborers throughout the country averaged 14 lire per day in 1927, 13 in 1929, 10.90 in 1931, 9.25 in 1932 and only 8.90 in 1935—a decline of 37 per cent in eight years.

The Fascists have also given much publicity to their schemes for settling agricultural workers and their families on reclaimed lands and in the African colonies. So far, however, this has been of slight significance. Only 11,400 families were settled in internal zones during 1929—35, and rural migration to the colonies has been negligible. On the other hand, migration to foreign countries—formerly the most important means of reducing the pressure of population on Italy's slender resources —has fallen off markedly, not only because of foreign restrictions, but also because of the hostile attitude of the Fascist regime. In consequence, emigrant remittances have declined enormously.

In 1927, communal employment offices, controlled by local Fascist organizations, were given the exclusive privilege of placing workers. Unemployed members of the Fascist party have preference in the allocation of jobs.

Furthermore, municipal officials are authorized to expel from the towns and send back to their native villages all unemployed workers who have no immediate prospect of jobs. Evidently, there is less concern about the presence of unemployed in the countryside than in the cities.

Certain categories of farm workers, although not insured against unemployment, have been entitled since 1917 to small benefits in case of accident, since 1919 to old age and invalidity pensions, and since 1927 to insurance against tuberculosis. But only a fraction of the receipts of the insurance institutions have been paid out in recent years as benefits, for the Government has increasingly used these funds as a convenient and important source of credit.

Under the Fascist labor laws all disputes between employers and workers must be submitted first to the Government for mediation, and then, if not settled, to special courts for compulsory arbitration. Resort to any other method of settling disputes—as by striking—is illegal.

In other respects, Fascist agricultural policy operates in the interests of large landed property, commercialized agriculture and finance capital. The essence of the 'Battle of Wheat,' for example, has been the imposition of an extremely heavy tariff on imports of foreign wheat, which has given big profits to the large, wheat-producing landlords. Small holders and share-tenants, however, have gained little from this, and in many cases have even lost, inasmuch as they consume the bulk of their production and frequently even must buy wheat to satisfy all their needs. And to the agricultural wage workers the tariff is only a factor in higher living costs—all the more burdensome because of the importance of bread in their diet.

The steady deterioration of working conditions during the fourteen years of Fascist rule is reflected in a marked decline in mass living levels.

Even in the best of times the diet of the Italian rural population has been inadequate. But since 1930 both the quantity and quality of food available *per capita* have fallen appreciably. Most notable is the reduced consumption of wheat, meat products, sugar and olive oil. In fact, average wheat consumption is now lower than immediately before the War. A sharp drop in the use of salt suggests that less cooked food is being eaten. Housing and sanitary conditions, too, are deplorable in many districts. According to an official survey of rural housing made in 1934, not less than 6.5 million persons (a third of the rural population) were then living in 'almost absolutely uninhabitable' houses. Some 300,000 to 400,000 peasants were living with their farm animals in smoke-filled caves and in hovels of straw and foliage.

Thus, for the millions of poor peasants and rural workers, the Fascist economic and political system—despite its masquerade of 'ruralization' and 'deproletarization'—has meant complete subjection to the propertied groups. All authentic labour organization has been shattered, and many of the gains in working conditions achieved by the unions have been lost. The eight-hour day has been forgotten, real wages have been forced below their pre-War level, the uncertainty of employment has mounted seriously.

Education in Japan

Willard Price contributes to the *Life and Letters Today* an interesting article on Education in Japan, which he describes as 'the right arm of manifest destiny.

No nation expects more of education. And with good reason. Education made Japan. Education has put her on a par with the other great powers. May it not, during the next century, carry her beyond them? For the unknown, but not undreamed of, triumphs of the coming age, super-education will be necessary. Therefore Japan is undertaking intensive education with a Spartan rigor and zeal unmatched in history.

The educational task that has been carved out is prodigious. Japan is the first nation to adopt as a deliberate educational policy the synthesis of all the world's knowledge. All that the East knows, all that the West knows, Japan is determined to know. She shall be the interpreter between Orient and Occident. She shall not be an Eastern Power nor a Western Power—but a world Power.

Of all Japanese children of school age 99½ per cent are in school. No great nation in the world has a higher literacy than Japan. No nation spends more money on schools in proportion to its population and wealth. And no other nation has so swiftly mastered the lessons of past centuries and alien cultures.

Contrary to cliche, the Japanese are not imitators. They are assimilators. Nothing has been taken over as it is. Everything has suffered a sea-change into something rich and strange, something essentially Japanese, suited to the temperament of the people.

Nothing is made easy. Under the public school system, there are six school days a week. The number of school days in the year are from 220 to 240, as against a rough average of 150 in Europe and America. Summer vacations run from four to six weeks in length. Primary school theoretically requires six years, middle school five years, high school three years, university three years. That adds up to seventeen years. Actually, however, examinations are so stiff that any student who can complete his education in seventeen years is a prodigy. Many a student must retake his examination three or four years in succession before he wins promotion to the next higher school. The vast majority cannot make the grade—the few who do are graduated from the university at an age of from twenty-five to thirty.

Primary school is compulsory. The higher schools are not—and only 10 per cent of primary school students ever see the inside of a middle school. When middle school graduates bend over their high school entrance examination papers, they do it with the bitter knowledge that only one in fourteen can hope to pass. And of high school graduates who take university examinations, a third will get through.

The hardest job of the Japanese student is to learn his own language. Added to its own difficulties are the difficulties of Chinese—for modern Japanese contains a sprinkling of more than 50,000 Chinese characters. The primary student toils over his own language seven hours a week in class, seven hours a week at home, a total of fourteen hours a week for six years. At the end of that time he has mastered only about 3,000 of the Chinese ideographs (each having five or six different meanings). He can read a newspaper. But he is still baffled by a magazine or book, unless written in the most colloquial speech.

It is also difficult for a Japanese to learn foreign languages, since they are not all cognate with his own. But he must learn them, and many of them, not in the academic fashion of the Western student, but so that he can actually use them in daily conversation and communication. Industrialism requires the languages of industrialism. And foreign trade will go to the trader who can understand the speech as well as the needs of his customers.

The strain of preparing to meet all the world on its own terms means physical breakdowns, nervous disorders, a frightful toll of tuberculosis, and a suicide cult. An English student would hardly commit suicide if he failed to pass an examination. But education means everything to the Japanese. His family is probably undergoing severe privation to send him to school—for there are no scholarships. If he repeatedly fails he cannot bear the disgrace. There are more than three thousand student suicides a year.

Where the educational strain does not break a man, it makes him. The Japanese educated mind is a precision machine. It can be geared to any problem and will grind away at it with an impersonal zeal. It has been disciplined to go on and on, without fatigue.

The body too has been severely disciplined. Dormitory life is monastic, the rooms chill, the food meager. Students, no matter how rich, are expected to share the simple lie of their teachers—and the average salary of teachers in Japan is 60.40 yen, less than twenty dollars a month.

Physical training in Nippon's schools is rigorous, and has been credited with increasing Japanese stature one inch in the last thirty years. Bodies are built that will endure Manchurian winters, tropical heat. A *ju-jutsu* school in Tokyo holds its classes at 4 A.M. during the coldest winter months, and at noon during the hottest summer days. In all schools, military training is compulsory. Whereas fourth-fifths of American teachers are women, four-fifths in Japan are men—and these men are all soldiers. Normal school is so akin to an officers' training camp that graduates are required to spend only one year instead of the usual two in the army. They come out of school trained soldiers. These soldier-teachers start inculcating the soldier-spirit in their youngest charges.

The chief outcome of all this is not mere physical toughness, but an ethical edge that will cut through

any obstacle. Plain living, hard schooling, unquestioning obedience, the habit of application, the passion of 'patriotism' (a word and sentiment the polite world had supposed to be demoded), and the code of death rather than surrender combine to make men who are obtuse to discomfort. They seem not to know when they are cold, hungry, weary. And every quality that will serve them in war serves them equally well in the industrial conflict now under way. For industry is military. It is manned by soldiers. The soldiers, it must be remembered, are not a class apart in Japan. They are Japan. Every able-bodied man is a soldier, subject to a call to the colors, and in the meantime enrolled in the industrial army. Japan's economic march is being made by soldiers, disciplined, hardened, intensively trained.

It is going on in Germany

This list of rules and regulations of the Nazi concentration camps is reproduced from *The New Republic* :

According to these rules, prisoners are classified into three categories. The first group will be released after three months if they have never violated any of the camp regulations or been placed under arrest, have changed their attitude in favor of National Socialism, renounced Marxism, and made a written list of the names of the leaders of their political group who have not yet been capturerd. The second group are those who are on a three-month probation to be transferred to the first group. They were previously in the third, which includes all other prisoners, but "demonstrated by their demeanor and attitude that their protective arrest has brought about the desired results." There is no other way to get out of the third group, and any prisoner who is punished with arrest in the camp is automatically put back into it. He is not, however, told his rating. Of course, this means simply that prisoners can be kept in the camp forever, without any appeal. It is specified that "prisoners sentenced to solitary confinement at any time may never expect to be released."

A prisoner is given a number of days of arrest for such offenses as sitting on his bed without permission of his company commander, hanging linen in barrack windows, going on sick leave without reason (the doctor being the sole judge as to whether he is sick), or "bawling crying, or behaving in an unseemly manner" (eight days for the last). Arrest means confinement in a cell, sleeping on hard boards and eating bread and water with warm food only once in four days. Other disciplinary measures, which are apparently used at random, are listed as penal drill, corporal punishment, deprivation of mail privileges (two letters a month), deprivation of food, lashings, solitary confinement and tying to a post.

Death is the penalty for an amazing list of offenses. Any prisoner who "harangues his fellow prisoners, or delivers inciting speeches to them in the barracks, spreads true or false stories pertaining to the life in the concentration camp, receives or communicates to others such information, induces others to flee or commit any similar crime, refuses to be obedient, or calls upon others to act in a like manner, willfully causes a fire or other damage . . ." is shot or hanged.

The same journal has the following note on Carl von Ossietzky, who, along with hundreds of brave comrades, fought for years under those regulations :

The award of the Nobel Peace Prize to Carl von Ossietzky had the happy effect of getting him out of jail, but it is now clear that the Nazis are not prepared to let him go free in any real sense. The report of two English doctors who went to Germany to investigate von Ossietzky's health . . . . agrees with the latest press dispatches. Both say he is still under close surveillance and will not be allowed to leave the country. The doctors state that although when they were in Germany the government had announced that von Ossietzky was a free man and could go to Oslo to receive the prize "if his health permitted," he had no passport. They themselves were constantly harassed by the Gestapo, and were not permitted to see or examine Ossietzky, or to deliver to him messages from the London Royal Institute for International Affairs and other organizations. Now the latest information is that preparations have been made to transfer the $40,000 peace-prize fund from Oslo to a Berlin bank. Whether Ossietzky himself, under extreme pressure, is transferring the money, or whether an attempt is being made to get it into Germany without his consent, cannot be told at this time. There could hardly be a more sickening irony, however, than the use of this money for building Nazi cannon.

The Present Status of Economic Planning : The Problems Involved

In concluding an article with the above caption, P. W. Martin observes in the *International Labour Review* :

The fundamental issue on which a decision is at present being taken is not, as is sometimes still supposed, between economic planning and *laissez-faire*. That question was decided in the years following the collapse of 1929. For good or ill, Governments are already exercising and must continue to exercise an active influence in economic affairs. The question now is whether such action shall be co-ordinated or haphazard. If, taking the world as a whole, it continues to be haphazard, there is the possibility—not to put it higher than that—of planning in its most sinister form ultimately being forced upon practically all countries by the fear or fact of armed conflict.

The alternative to haphazard intervention consists in positive, co-ordinated, purposeful action on the part of the various countries, with the prevention of war and the advancement of social well-being as the principal aims in view.

From the standpoint of economic planning under the "mixed system" two main conditions repeatedly appear as essential to the attainment of this aim. These conditions are : adequate and sustained buying of goods in general, so as to keep production and employment at a high level; freer world trade (and the freer circulation of capital that goes with it) so as to extend to all countries the higher standards made possible by modern industrial technique. These conditions in turn call for four main lines of action : specific measures in all of the major countries to sustain effective demand and thereby maintain internal prosperity; agreement on the general principles to be followed in maintaining internal prosperity, so as to obviate international disequilibrium arising from the application of incompatible principles in the different countries; on the basis of this maintenance of internal prosperity, freer buying abroad on the part of the great creditor, and gold-holding countries, leading the way to a general increase of world trade and a reduction of trade barriers; the setting up of national planning organizations

by which the necessary co-ordination, national and international, may be secured.

There are, of course, many other measures required, certain of them of the very greatest importance; but these four would appear to be fundamental. Without monetary action designed to sustain effective demand, production and employment are subject to disastrous fluctuations. Without international co-ordination of monetary policy, world economy is in constant danger of disruption. Unless measures to sustain effective demand are being applied in all of the principal countries, and at the same time co-ordinated internationally, nations cannot and will not trade freely with one another. On the contrary, in their attempts to meet the difficulties arising from inadequate demand, they will endeavour to export to the utmost and shut out all goods that can possibly be produced at home—a course detrimental alike to world peace and to higher living standards. Finally, while it is true that the movement towards a co-ordinated monetary policy and towards freer trade may go some distance without specific organizations being set up, the permanent running of such a system cannot be satisfactorily assured on a makeshift basis. In all the major countries, at least, there must be the necessary machinery without which economic planning remains no more than an aspiration.

The Press : Sensation or Sense

The Inquirer, London, editorially comments on unhealthy publicity of unhappy and unwholesome incidents by certain sections of the Press :

To certain seekers after "features" and "scoops" nothing is sacred. Intimate family concerns are dissected and turned over and over under "splash" headings. Criminals relate and reconstruct their wrongdoings for a suitable fee. Reporters besiege and harass the bereaved and photographers commit the last indignity of poking cameras into scenes of bloodshed and death.

Fortunately only a few of our newspapers are intent on securing sensational and lurid reports. The rest are jealous of their standards and guard their reputations vigilantly against the intrusion of "tabloid" methods from across the Atlantic. The liberty of the press in this country is one of our proud boasts and most editors are careful to see that such liberty does not degenerate into licence. Only a small percentage of newspaper men are intent on increasing circulation at the expense of reputation. There appears to be some doubt, however, as to who, of this minority, is actually responsible for its unholy fruits. Who is at the bottom of this exploitation of human griefs and tragedies? Is it the demand of perverted readers, the shamelessness of "pushing" pressmen, or the insistence of newspaper proprietors? A vicious circle seems to prevail wherein the lives of certain undesirable papers depend upon the artificially created cravings of certain sections of the public. In the absence of press competition in invading criminal courts, coroners' inquests and homes stricken by misfortune, and with the timely disappearance of the journals which "feature" all their unhealthy details, we venture to think that their readers' leisure would be spent in other directions than in satisfying their cravings for the sensational and tragic minutiæ of family life.

Liberty is very precious to us and we closely guard it. Court hearings in camera or secret sessions of the judiciary or legislature are naturally regarded with suspicion by all who value democratic freedom. Yet, there is surely a time and place for everything and decency demands that restraint shall be shown.

Yugoslavia's Boy King

Roger Croquet contributes to *Vu*, Paris, an interesting sketch of Peter II, the Boy King of Yugoslavia. In making the following extracts from the article, we use the translation by *The Living Age*.

Although he has not yet assumed the full responsibilities of his royal power, he is in close touch with the life of the nation, over which he presides with all the grace, with all the eagerness of youth.

Peter's daily life is regulated by an exacting and inflexible schedule. He rises at seven, and begins his day with a prayer. After breakfast, which he has with his family, the King and his two younger brothers take a short walk. Then at nine King Peter goes to the schoolroom, where his instructors are waiting for him. He is given four lessons, each of which lasts forty minutes. Lunch at twelve-forty-five is followed by rest and reading until three o'clock. The remainder of the afternoon is devoted to physical exercise, horseback riding, and other forms of relaxation and amusement. At half-past four the King takes tea with his family; dinner is served at half-past seven. By this time the King has finished with his duties for the day, and spends the evening with his mother. He never goes to bed later than nine o'clock. As the King loves to work out-of-doors, his lessons are given in the schoolroom only in bad weather.

Last year King Peter was complaining to his playmates that his mother was not giving him enough pocket money. Queen Mary, who wished to teach her son thrift, was only giving him a few dinars a week.

One day Peter II said to his mother: 'Mother, things can't continue in this way. I don't have enough money. I'm going to learn a trade.'

'Very well, my son,' the Queen Mother replied.

A carpentry shop was installed in an annex of the palace, and a master carpenter was hired. As soon as the King saw this new instructor, he said to him: 'Sir, I am counting on you to teach me how to make beautiful things, which I shall be able to sell easily, in spite of the depression. I need some money.' Needless to say, all of the things made by the King, with the carpenter's aid, were sold at a high price.

Now Peter II is beginning his fourteenth year. A whole nation has its eyes upon him. With tenderness and love the people follow his slightest actions; they watch him grow and develop into maturity. Alexander fell like a soldier for his country, the country whose territorial integrity he had sworn to maintain. Peter II will take good care to maintain that integrity, for he regards it as a sacred heritage. He is of the Karageorgevitch race, that line of heroes who unified the kingdom of the Southern Slavs.

Social Reform in India

We make the following extract from *A Survey of the year 1936* published in *The International Review of Missions* :

The export of opium from India except for medical and scientific purposes ceased finally on January 1st, 1936. The decision to diminish export by degrees until it entirely ceased was taken some years ago, and the Indian government has forgone revenue which amounted in 1911 to more than £5,000,000. The consumption of

raw opium per head has shown a steady decrease during the last five years.

The movement for social reform in India has been during the recent years of intense political activity to some extent submerged by political concerns, though among women it has never lost ground. A new and interesting development is the beginning in Bombay of feminine counter-part of the Servants of India Society, to be known as the Indian Women's Fellowship of Service. The organizers in their public statement find a justification for the new society 'in the need for women to unite in creating a strong and disciplined service which shall be worthy of the high ideals and deep devotion of Indian womanhood.' 'It is expected that women who come forward for membership will carry out their purpose in a religious spirit.'

Beyond question the greatest social issue in India is that of the Untouchables and the main facts of the problem have become matters of world interest.

As examples of the work done by Mr. Gandhi's group, we may quote the *Harijan Sevak Sangha*, whose expenditure has risen from 2¼ to 4½ lakhs of rupees in three years, and whose district committees have increased from 39 to 372; scholarships are granted to give higher education to Untouchables while the society vigorously discourages the opening of special schools for children of these classes. His Holiness the Jagadguru Shankaracharya at Nasik formed a league for the abolition of untouchability, which has undertaken arbitration in cases where Untouchables claim to have been badly treated. Along the same lines we may quote the labours of the great orthodox leader, Pandit Malaviya, who has been unremitting in seeking to remove untouchability from Hinduism. Finally, in November, the Maharajah of Travancore proclaimed that henceforward no restriction should be placed on any Hindu on entering any temple controlled by his government—a proclamation of immense import.

THE GOVERNMENT SCHOOL OF ARTS AND CRAFTS, MADRAS

We took occasion more than once to refer in the pages of this journal to the splendid work done by the Government School of Arts and Crafts, Madras,—indeed, the progress in recent years of the schools of Art in different provinces under the guidance of the students of Abanindra nath Tagore has been remarkable—and we reproduce in this issue some specimens of work executed by the Principal of the Madras School and his students, and exhibited this year at the annual show of the school. As will be evident even to a casual observer of these photographs, the school maintains its progress under the able principalship of Mr. D. P. Roy Chowdhury. The reproductions include some of the portrait-busts done by Mr. Roy Chowdhury, who is one of our foremost sculptors and combines in his work artistic quality and imagination with technical skill.

The school is doing admirable work in the sphere of application of art to industry. As His Excellency Lord Erskine pointed out on the occasion of the opening of an exhibition in Madras, "the school has done much in recent years to foster an appreciation of beauty in articles of ordinary domestic use, and its designs are already being copied, to some extent, by bazar craftsmen in the city." The Madras Government has sanctioned a scheme for the provision of courses of training in small-scale industries, such as, leather work, casting and metal work, and pottery and it is proposed that designs for some of these articles should be supplied by the school. Mr. V. R. Chitra, the teacher in charge of the Crafts section, who had been to Japan some time ago to study art-crafts, and has now returned to his work, will, it is hoped, utilise his experience in expanding the scope of his department.



CINEMA IN EDUCATION

By AMALESH GHOSH, M.A., B.SC., B.T.

THE annual Reports of the Departments of Education of every province of India without exception, record a certain amount of progress in the expansion of Primary Education in the urban as well as the rural areas. But what does not fail to attract the attention of a searching reader of the reports, is the glaring *wastage* in the primary stage, more than in any other. This is particularly noticeable in the figures of admission and enrolment in the "first two forms," Standard I and II. The reports have repeatedly drawn attention to the consequent stagnation and have described the wastage of men, money and intellect as "staggering." Various reasons and diverse causes have been suggested or guessed to explain the state of things, which require close examination and thorough over-hauling.

The function of the school is not only to give the pupils a good grounding in the three R's. The school, with all its defects and short-comings, plays a much greater part. It prepares its scholars for life and lays the foundation for making the pupil a useful and active member of society. As is apparent from the existing state of things, the education given by our schools has been partially ineffective. The system shows signs of recovery in almost every province. The problem is being handled by educationists and workers in the field of Education in their own way. Let us hope all these efforts will bring out some tangible results.

An idea is gaining ground throughout the country to use the modern discoveries, the Radio and the Cinema, in propagating knowledge. These two methods have been found to be powerful instruments in the expansion of adult Education and consequently in the improvement in the condition of the masses in countries other than ours. Almost every province of India, from its provincial headquarters, is attempting to broadcast matters of interest to villagers—not only to amuse them but also to give them materials of educational interest. The scheme is being pushed forward with enthusiasm and in course of time we will have them working, let us hope, under expert supervisors with interest in Education and let us also hope that the Educational Institutions, will not lag behind the times in adopting this powerful weapon as a means of Education and teaching. The Radio has come to stay and has proved its worth beyond doubt. It is for us now to be up to the occasion.

The Cinema probably has not received as much attention in this direction as is due to it although stray attempts have been made here and there to produce films of Educational value and interest. But it is as powerful an instrument as the Radio, perhaps greater. What the Cinema does to the people besides amusing them is not a matter of speculation now. It brings about to an audience of average intelligence a polish in manners, customs and thought in so effective a way as can not be achieved in any other. Besides, the introduction of Talkies has greatly affected the silent pictures and has revolutionized the scope of amusements in everyday life. There are no good towns in India now which have not got a Talkie House. Almost all the district towns of India, possess at least one. The form of amusement is gaining good ground gradually in the minds of the masses not to speak of the "polished" urban population.

It is true that we cannot measure the amount of polish in manners, customs and thought conveyed through these shows, by any scientific instruments. But it does its work imperceptibly and it will continue to play its part even if we do not want to recognize its proper value and assign to it its proper place in the sphere of Education. In it we have the best weapon for educating the child. Young children have a plastic mind and devouring inquisitiveness and, we can mould it and give their minds the proper shape through this living and interesting instrument—the Cinema—the Talkies. If we do not recognize its value in the school, the pupils will be influenced by the talk of the day and the times outside—we cannot altogether do away with it. Ooutside, there are chances of these children seeing and listening to the modern and ultra-modern sex films of the day. The results may be harmful. Then why must we not agree to have films of some Educational value? The effectiveness of its work depends upon the nature of the Film exhibited. As an example of what the suggested films of Educational value can do,

the activities of the Public Health Department of the different provinces can be cited. The Film companies that produce and cater for the public, look more to the requirements of the adult and the younger sections of our population. People who have specially studied the subject and from the Educational point of view or are experts in this particular line, may be asked to take charge of the production of such films.

That we are far behind the other nations of the world in this very movement, can be gathered from a glance at the activities of other nations. In all the advanced States of the continent of Europe and in Japan, Films with an educational bias are produced and shown, not to supplement the day-to-day class-teaching of the different subjects but simply to broaden the outlook of the pupils and to present those incomprehensible points of Education in a diluted form, suitable to the needs of the younger generation.

Germany takes the lead in this respect. In about 20,000 of her schools of all stages and denominations some sort of "film-instruction" is given to the pupils. There are arrangements for monthly shows of Educational films to about 500 of her schools in Japan. Groups of schools have combined together in Austria for hiring the Educational films for their schools in turn, by rotation. The question of the "projector," the cost of which seemed to be prohibitive for their limited funds stood in the way of the schools of Russia and the U. S. A. as a stumbling-block for getting Educational films introduced. But it was soon solved to the satisfaction of all by having one projector for a group of ten neighbouring schools—to be shared for their use in turn fixed by agreement amongst themselves. In those countries, mentioned above, the movement has spread not by the inspiration and enthusiasm of the authorities of the schools alone but also by the material, one night say, practical help received by them from their Governments. The Governments of those countries could not stand aloof to watch the trend of events. Rightly they gave a practical shape to the schemes put forward by educationists and the leaders of thought. There, the Governments have either taken the lead by instituting a department for producing the necessary films or have monopolised this branch of the new, prospering industry of Film production. This, in short, is the present position of the Educational films in the world outside.

But what can we do to help this very valuable teaching-aid and Educational instrument towards its universal adoption in our schools? There have been attempts here and there to produce Educational films by private companies. Even if the films—say suitable films—are produced, it will be, for a long time to come, it seems, confined to the urban areas with well-equipped Show Houses and a ready audience. The material is there, we cannot use it to our best advantage. There is something lacking—not the desire, not the enthusiasm—but the practical way in which it can be achieved. It will be a hard job to induce the groups of schools to combine together to get a good projector and the necessary equipment. At those places where there are Teacher's Associations—they will hardly be able to convince, rather induce, the management to get them. The university and the department of Education are there to enforce regulations and there is the Government to enact laws for this "pious hope." There is not enough money—it is scarce. There is financial stringency. What is to be done!

Almost all the provinces have their new Primary Education Acts. The main feature of almost all, is the creation of the district Educational Councils. These councils can come to the rescue by providing the necessary equipment for a group of schools according to, say, "a five year plan." The Board of High School or the Board of Secondary Education may be required, or where it is controlled by the university, may be asked to take up the matter and carry the scheme to success according to a certain laid-down policy. The private companies to work satisfactorily to this end should have on agreement with the Department of Education or in the alternative, with the controlling authority of this policy. If it is not deemed satisfactory they may be done away with and as a good method for ensuring better production of Films required, a Department of Film Production may be instituted and attached to the provincial Department of Education. There may be objections to the scheme, but after all, where is the draw-back? If the departments of Public Health and Publicity have attached "Cinema Offices," why can not the Department of Education have a similar department, with no less dignified task to perform? If the foreign countries have been able to hold their own and to manage such schemes successfully, there is no reason why our provincial departments of Education will fail to carry out the same purpose, if it is properly managed and directed. Then there was a talk of interchange of such Films amongst different countries of the world. That will mean that if we are to receive the co-operation of other countries we have to produce our

EXHIBITION OF THE GOVERNMENT SCHOOL OF ARTS AND CRAFTS, MADRAS



A Study



A Portrait in Oil-colours
By D. P. Roy Chaudhury



Prayer
By Said Ahmed



Age
By D. P. Roy Chaudhury



Sir C. P. Ramaswami Ayar
Portrait-bust By D. P. Roy Chaudhury

·wn to give them in exchange of what we receive from them.

That will mean that we should have a properly managed and directed Department of (Educational) Film production in the provincial centres. It should be controlled by men of Education and experience in this special line—and there should be a panel of educationists to advise on and control the kind of films required. It is unnecessary to go into further details.

INDIAN WOMANHOOD

A feature of the new legislatures of India will be the presence therein of a number of women members, and we publish in this issue photographs of some of our women legislators.



Miss C. Ammanaraju
Member, Madras Legislative Assembly



Mrs. Vijaylakshmi Pandit
Member, U. P. Legislative Assembly. Her husband, Mr. R. S. Pandit, whose photograph appears elsewhere in this issue is also a member of the same legislative body



Mrs. Rukmini Laxmipathi
Member, Madras Legislative Assembly



Mrs. Yakub Hasan
Member, Madras Legislative Assembly. It may be noted that Mr. Hasan is also a Member of the Madras Legislative Assembly



Srimati Uma Nehru
Member, U. P. Legislative Assembly



Dr. N. Laxmidevi Amma
Member, Madras Legislative Assembly

MISS G. A. MUTHUVALOE of Ceylon, a student of the Kalabhavan at Santiniketan, executed a bust from life when she was a pupil



Miss G. A. Muthuvalse and the Bust Executed by her

of Mr. D. P. Roy Chowdhury, Principal of the School of Arts at Madras. In the photograph she is seen standing by it.

MISS NALINI CHAKRAVARTI, who took the B.A. degree last year, standing First in the First class in Philosophy, was the recipient of a large number of prizes, and gold and silver medals.



Miss Nalini Chakravarti



Salutation : By Prabhat Neogy



Dance : By Prabhat Neogy

POOR STUDENTS' SELF-HELP CIRCLE, BENARES HINDU UNIVERSITY

[*See pp. 434-36*]



Three students pushing a trolley loaded with bricks



A member of the Self-Help circle doing fret-work



A member of the Self-Help circle painting a door

TURKEY CONSCRIPTS WOMEN



Turkish girls drilling with the young men at a training center near Istanbu

Darkness and Light

An aerial view of Madrid, which has been heavily shelled and bombed by the insurgents



Moorish troops bivouacking *en route* to Almirez, S. Spain



Mr. R. S. Pandit
Both Mr. & Mrs. Pandit are members of the U. P. Legislative Assembly. A portrait of Mrs. Pandit appears elsewhere in this issue



Dr. Ba Maw, the Prime Minister of Burma under the new reforms



Col. Lindbergh at the Juhu Aerodrome, Bombay *Photo* : C. H. V. Pathy



Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and Rafi Kidwai after the meeting of the National Convention at Delhi



Vallabhbhai Patel and Mrs. Sarojini Naidu on their way to the A. I. C. C. meeting held in the Harijan Colony, Delhi

Notes

Unconditional Release of Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose

We are happy that Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose has been released unconditionally, and shall be happier when he is restored to his normal health. We wish him a speedy recovery.

He was deprived of his liberty without any trial on any charge. This ought not to have been done. If Government had any proof of any unlawful activity on his part, he ought to have been brought to trial. This was not done. Hence we have all along held that he had not offended against even any British-made law of India. Loss of liberty and confinement seriously affected his health. He ought to have been released as soon as this became evident. This too was not done. Nevertheless, as even very late release is better than no-release, we are glad that he is again in our midst as a free man—free in the sense in which and to the extent that Indians can be free in the present political condition of India.

Success of the Congress in the Elections

Love of freedom is ingrained in human nature. As the people of India are not fundamentally different from other peoples of the world, they, too, love freedom.

The Indian National Congress has promised to make them free. It has not been a mere promise. Members of the Congress, both men and women, have earnestly striven to make India independent. In the struggle for freedom, they have made great sacrifices and undergone sufferings unprecedented in India or elsewhere in the course of any such non-violent movement. True, the struggle has not yet succeeded. But is there any country where a similar struggle has succeeded in a shorter period of time? And the movement has not been entirely infructuous. It has given the people confidence. More than any other political organization the Congress has also kept alive the desire and hope of freedom and roused them among those people in whose minds these lay dormant.

These are some of the reasons why more electors have given their votes to Congress candidates than to candidates of any other political party.

There are other reasons, too. India is phenomenally poor. In addition there have been economic depression and unemployment for a long time. Government in this country have not adopted remedial or ameliorative measures like those adopted in independent countries with national governments. Agriculture and manufacturing industries are in a backward condition. Adequate endeavours for their advancement are wanting. Various kinds of disease are rampant and the death-rate is high. There is generally very little sanitation in the villages and most towns are only slightly better situated in this respect. The expectation of life is lower than in any other country for which statistics are available. Among civilized countries India holds the record for illiteracy. British imperialists and others who either seek the favour or friendship of Britishers may try to discover various causes, unconnected with British rule, for the miserable condition and gloomy outlook of India, and they may not be entirely wrong; but the people of India, including the intelligentsia, hold the Government mainly responsible for what India is today.

Repression, with police rule, which has been the order of the day for years, has further embittered the minds of the people and increased their dislike for the Government.

No political organization in India has criticised the Government more severely than the Congress, and this has been done at the cost of great suffering and sacrifice. This has endeared the Congress to the people very much. In fact, if Sir Henry Craik's information is correct, it has endeared the Congress even to the servants

of the Government. For he said in the Assembly that most of them who had votes cast them for Congress candidates.

No wonder then that the Congress has been so successful in the elections. Its success would have been far more striking if the new Government of India Act had not divided the people into a dozen and a half groups for electoral purposes and thus vivisected them. But though in this way numerous voters were induced and even indirectly compelled to vote for non-political reasons, the Congress has scored a victory which the Government did not expect.

Bill for Preventing Unfair Competition in Indian Coastal Traffic

The Hon. Mr. P. N. Sapru has tabled a fresh Bill to control the Coastal Traffic of India for introduction in the Council of State. In the course of the statement of objects and reasons the author of the Bill explains:

This Bill was originally introduced by me in the last Council and was circulated for eliciting opinions thereon. It however fell through with the dissolution of the Council.

It has since been redrafted with a view to meet certain criticisms to which the Bill as originally drafted had been subjected both as regards certain of its provisions as well as matters of which no cognizance had been taken.

The object of this Bill continues the same as before. It is intended to remove a possible impediment to the growth and development, of the Indian mercantile marine. There is no question of any discrimination between British and Indian shipping. Past experience, however, shows that a well established powerful company engaged in coastal traffic can easily put a new venture out of action by unfair competition, *e.g.*, rate-cutting, grant of rebates, etc. The fear of unfair competition deters Indian capital being invested in coastal shipping. If the Governor-General in Council be given power to prevent such competition, the fear will be largely allayed and a new line of commercial activity may be opened out to Indians.

By this bill it is provided that only persons holding licences from the Governor-General in Council will be entitled to carry on business, in coastal traffic in India. Power is also given to the Governor-General in Council to fix the maximum and the minimum rates of freight and fares and also to prevent the grant of rebates or other concessions which are calculated to reduce such minimum rates. The carrying on of business in coastal traffic without a licence is made penal as also the contravention of any rule prescribed by the Governor-General in Council with regard to the grant of rebates or other concessions.

It will be remembered that, simultaneously with Mr. P. N. Sapru in the Council of State, Sir Abdul Halim Ghaznavi introduced a Coastal Traffic Reservation Bill in the Legislative Assembly.

Burma Governor Uses Special Powers

RANGOON, March, 22.

When the House of Representatives met this morning the Speaker read a message from the Governor in which His Excellency said that the Burma Frontier Force Bill having been rejected by the House of Representatives and it being necessary to make provision for the matters contained therein he has enacted forthwith, under the provisions of section 93(1) (A) of the Government of Burma Act, 1935, the Burma Frontier Force Act, being the Bill as originally introduced in the Legislature with certain amendments.—*A. P. I.*

The action of the Governor of Burma gives a foretaste of what the Governors of provinces in India will do when some official Bills are rejected by the legislatures of those provinces in which Congress members are in an absolute majority.

A Sinister Educational Move

The Tribune of Lahore writes:

We have no hesitation in saying that the bill which has been drafted by Dr. W. Jenkins for transferring the control of secondary education in Bengal from the Calcutta University to a board of secondary education constituted on a communal basis is a thoroughly mischievous measure which all that is good and true in the province and the country will strongly condemn. There may be something to be said for divesting the University of responsibility for secondary education and placing that responsibility in the hands of a separate and independent body. But the constitution of such a body should be similar to that of the University and on no account should its members be selected on a communal basis. Education is the very last sphere to which the pernicious principle of communal representation should be extended.

We are in entire agreement with the general principles laid down by our Panjab contemporary.

We have not seen the Bill, nor has any discussion of it in any Bengal paper come to our notice.

A Bengali M. L. A. in Pathan Country

Some British imperialists have invented the myth that the Pathans, being a martial race, despise the Bengalis because of their timidity.

That myth is our excuse for recording that Dr. Charu Chandra Ghosh of Peshawar has been elected to the N.-W. F. P. Assembly on the Congress ticket by an overwhelming majority. He inaugurated the Congress movement in the North-West Frontier Province. He was the president of the Frontier Provincial Congress Committee in 1929-30, and was thrice elected a member of the All-India Congress Committee. He had once the distinction of being deported to Burma under Regulation III of 1818, and he was again imprisoned in 1931 after the Frontier Congress Committee had been declared unlawful. This year he was chosen a vice-president of the Congress Parliamentary Board, and he alone was elected a delegate from the



Dr. Charu Chandra Ghosh

Frontier Province to the Faizpur session of the Congress.

Brahmacharya Vidyalaya at Ranchi

In 1916 Swami Yogananda and his co-workers established a small *ashram* with a school in a suburb of Calcutta. Subsequently he appealed for help to the late Maharaja Sir Manindra Chandra Nundi of Kasimbazar for the establishment of a model school. On receiving this appeal the Maharaja saw the aforesaid small school and was pleased with it. On his agreeing to be the patron and supporter of a Brahmacharya Vidyalaya, the school was established in 1917 on the banks of the Damodar near Damodar station. In 1918 it was removed to Ranchi. Up to the time of his death the Maharaja was its sole patron but he could not make any arrangement before his death for its permanent support. So owing to his death and to the absence of Swami Yogananda the other workers could conduct the school with difficulty, but maintained all its activities. Swami Yogananda returned to India in 1935 and with a view to making the institution permanent purchased its present site, a garden covering 70 bighas, with the help of his American disciples and friends and some well-wishers in Bengal. At his request Maharaja Srish Chandra Nundi, the owner of the garden, parted with it at a reduced price. The school is conducted by the trustees of the "Yogoda Satsang Society," which has been registered according to Act XXI of 1860. It is not the property of any individual. In the Ashram attached to the school any person following any faith can stay for a time for devotional purposes.



American Red Indian mummy head

The Society conducts some schools for the aborigines and depressed classes. The Brahmacharya Vidyalaya itself imparts secular and religious instruction to its boys in an efficient manner. It has a library, a gymnasium, playing fields and a museum. The museum contains some rare objects. One is an American Red Indian mummy head. It was purchased by Swami Yogananda at the Chicago World's Fair in 1931. It exemplifies the dreadful 'head-arrowing' system formerly prevalent amongst the South American Red Indians dwelling near the Andes. After the severance of the head of the victim from the body, the entire bony portion of the head used to be taken out by its back and the remaining portion treated with sand according to some process known only to the



Brahmacharya Vidyalaya at Ranchi

early Red Indians. The mummified and shrunken head was then preserved as a trophy.

A World Cycling Record

An Allahabad message, dated the 9th March, states :

> Rabindra Chatterjee broke this morning, through by three minutes only, the existing world record of 74 hours in endurance cycling. The famous swimmer thus comes into prominence for a performance on land as well.
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> Of the three, who had undertaken the task of beating the record, Rabindra alone could succeed. Sheo Prasad dropped out last night at 8-30 P.M. and N. C. Bhadar at about 5 A.M., this morning. Rabindra equalled the 74 hours record at 10-15 A.M. today, having started on March 6 at 8-15 A.M. He came down at 10-18 A.M. after cycling on the Kayastha Pathshala School playground for 74 hours 3 minutes.



Rabindra Chatterjee

The event was organized under the auspices of the District Olympic Association. The entire arrangements for the performance were made mainly by the inmates of the Kayastha Pathshala Hostel. Prominent among the judges were teachers of the Kayastha Pathshala, including both the principals, Dr. Tara Chand and Mr. Gokal Chand, and Dr. Beni Prasad, Prof. Amarnatha Jha, Mr. P. N. Mathur, Mr. S. K. Dutta, Mr. B. Simlai and Mr. Rudra Narain and others.

Rev. B. A. Nag

The Rev. B. A. Nag, an Indian Christian leader, passed away peacefully on the 16th of March at 10-30 in the morning. He represented the Indian Christian community on the Bengal Legislative Council and was a Councillor of the Calcutta Corporation for a good many years. He was an official of the London Baptist Missionary Society, which he served for 37 years. The Students' Hall, which is situated on the eastern side of College Square, Calcutta, is a standing monument to his work amongst the students of Calcutta. He was the first Indian Chairman of the London Baptist Missionary Society; he represented India at the World Baptist Alliance in Berlin in 1934. His deputation work in England and Scotland was much appreciated by the leading people there. In politics he belonged to the moderate school



Rev. B. A. Nag

of thought and was a prominent member of the Liberal party. He was Vice-President of the Indian Association, the oldest Liberal political body in Bengal. He had the honour of being the first Secretary of the National Liberal League in Bengal when Sir Surendranath Banerjea was the President. He was long connected with the Congress; before the non-co-operation regime he was a member of the working committee of that body and was appointed Secretary of the Besant Congress in Calcutta. He was also a member of the Bengal Board of Censors, Bengal Civil Service

Commission, Bengal Burial Board, and many other public institutions. He was also Pesident of the Indian Christian Association of Bengal, President of All-Indian Christian Conference, President of the Bengal Christian Conference, etc. He was an able speaker and debater.

Lord Zetland's Misleading Article in "Christian Science Monitor"

Reuter has telegraphed from London that

The Secretary of State for India, Lord Zetland, in an article contributed to the *Christian Science Monitor*, refers to the first great instalment of the change in the constitution of India which comes into effect in a fortnight's time.

This is a reference to the provincial part of the Government of India Act which comes into effect on All Fools' Day this year. The "change" spoken of above is not preceded by any adjective or followed by any qualifying words. If the adjective "retrograde" or "reactionary" preceded the word "change," or the qualifying words "for the worse" followed it, there would be no reason to question the accuracy of *Reuter's* introductory sentence.

According to *Reuter*, Lord Zetland says:

"In the British Empire there has been no example of more rapid political progress and I doubt whether any country can show a record of vaster changes except by way of revolution."

We wonder whether in the last five words of the sentence there is a suggestion that if India wants "vaster changes" she must have them "by way of revolution"!

Lord Zetland says that "in the British Empire there has been no example of more rapid political progress." Before commenting on what he says we must be quite sure of what he means by the British Empire. In speaking of the self-governing parts of the totality of British territories, even British imperialists use the words British Commonwealth of Nations—in order, of course, not to wound the *amour-propre* of the Dominions. It is more usual to use the word Empire in connection with India. But perhaps by the British Empire Lord Zetland means the whole aggregate of British territories.

Well, he says that nowhere else in the British Empire has there been more rapid political progress. But in a later part of the article he says of India's new constitution that "admittedly it is an experiment." Perhaps Lord Zetland will admit that the grant of self-government outright marks greater and more rapid political progress than a mere experiment. Now, no British statesman has ever spoken of the constitutions of Canada, Australia, South Africa or the Irish Free State as experiments. What these countries have got they have got for good. And the Westminster Statute has given them more. Therefore, *pace* his lordship, there has been more rapid political progress in those countries than in India.

In our remarks above it has been assumed that there has been "political progress" so far as India's British-made constitution is concerned and what has been shown is that this progress has not been more rapid than in some other parts of the British Empire. But the fact is, India's coming constitution does not mark an advance upon the previous one. It makes the Secretary of State, the Governor-General, and the provincial Governors greater autocrats than they were ever before. All this has been repeatedly shown in this *Review* and many other Indian journals. In America, this has been shown by Mr. Ramananda Chatterjee in the *Asia* magazine in more than one article. In the January number of that magazine the utter hollowness of Lord Linlithgow's address to the Indian Legislature on September 21, 1936, was thoroughly exposed. But British 'authorities' on India never attempt a reply to such articles. They merely go on repeating their unfounded assertions that India has been given self-rule by a democratic constitution. All the means of propaganda are available to them and the columns of American newspapers are open to them. But whatever they may say, they should remind themselves of the dictum of Junius to the effect that the worst of all despotisms is that which works with the machinery of freedom.

Speaking of India's new constitution, Lord Zetland observes:

"It is a greater advance than the most ardent Indian reformer of the last generation would have looked upon as a practical possibility."

This is not at all true.

Leaving aside the Congress, let us take the Indian National Liberal Federation. Many, perhaps all, of its leaders are men of the last generation, and they are certainly ardent reformers. And that organization has severely criticized and condemned the new constitution in successive All-India and provincial sessions, never saying that it is an advance, whether great or small.

But his lordship may say that none of these men is a "most ardent Indian reformer." Well then, let us take "*the* most ardent Indian

reformer of the last generation"—we mean Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya. He has long been a connecting link between the Liberals and the Congressites. It is very well known that he has condemned the new constitution in unmeasured terms and is as strongly opposed to accepting ministerships under it as anybody else, saying, "It is sin to accept office."

Therefore, we challenge anybody to *prove* in detail, not merely to assert airily *ex cathedra*, that India's new constitution "is a greater advance than the most ardent reformer of the last generation would have looked upon as a practical possibility."

Lord Zetland continues :

"The great extension of self-government on democratic lines in British India is a fact of first-rate importance and interest to the world at large. Admittedly, it is an experiment, but it is an experiment which has been prepared with the utmost care and in a spirit of the most sober realism."

The reference to "the world at large" shows that Lord Zetland's article is meant for foreign consumption, particularly for American consumption. It is a pity that foreigners are thus misled with regard to India's new constitution and the political situation in India in general. This would not have been the case if foreign editors had been half as anxious to ascertain and publish the considered opinions of India's leaders as they appear to be to publish the parrot cries of British bureaucrats.

The real character of India's "Made in Britain" constitution has been so often exposed in magazine and newspaper articles in India, that our intelligentsia need not be told that there has not been any extension of self-government on democratic lines, that the self-government or autonomy is not the people's self-rule or autonomy but only executive rule and gubernatorial autonomy, and that the semblance of democracy is only autocracy camouflaged to look like rule by and for the people.

The word experiment has been repeatedly used in connection with the so-called Indianization of the army in India. We do not know whether Britishers understand how insulting that word sounds to Indian ears. That same hated word experiment has been used with reference to self-government in India also.

India will not have experiments. India wants the real thing and will have it.

The spirit of most sober realism which Lord Zetland speaks of is a spirit of most cynical and calculated contempt for India's sober confidence in her power to manage her own affairs.

Speculating on the chances of the success of the 'experiment,' Lord Zetland next indulges in a bit of imaginative pomposity. Says he :

"Its success, for which there is every reason to be hopeful, will come at a time when the cause of democracy is in sore need of encouragement, and it will make a notable breach in the barrier which has hitherto been supposed to exist between the ways and ideas of the Eastern and Western hemispheres."

It will be observed that he keeps up the illusion and delusion that the new Indian constitution has really something to do with democracy, which it has not.

The cause of democracy is undoubtedly in sore need of encouragement in these days of dictatorships. But autocracy camouflaged as democracy can by no means encourage democracy—unless, of course, it be contended that camouflage is the homage which autocracy pays to democracy and therefore democracy ought to feel flattered and encouraged by such homage.

Let us now consider the

"Notable Breach in the Barrier Between Eastern and Western Ways and Ideas"

Lord Zetland professes to think that the "experiment" which will be made in India under the new constitution will make a notable breach in the barrier which has hitherto been supposed to exist between the ways and ideas of the Eastern and Western hemispheres. Obviously he refers to the assumption that democracy is of the West and autocracy of the East. He does not say whether he himself considers this assumption to be correct. But Westerners generally do suppose that the Eastern hemisphere was unacquainted with the theory and practice of democracy and learnt it from the West. This, however, is an entirely wrong supposition. Not to speak of the many historical and other works which have shown that democracy was known and practised in India in ancient times, we have for years repeatedly given proofs of that fact in this *Review*.

But assuming the supposition to be true, how ridiculous it is for anybody to talk of the new Indian constitution being the first modern experiment in democracy in the East! Even if it be an experiment in genuine democracy, which it is not, it has already been preceded by really democratic institutions in Japan, the Philippines, Turkey, China, Afghanistan, Iran (Persia), and Iraq, not to speak of several Soviet republics in Central Asia.

India "in the Process of Attaining Unity"?

Reuter's summary of Lord Zetland's article in the American paper concludes thus:

> "A country which, with the single exception of China, contains the largest aggregation of human beings in the world, is now in the process of attaining unity such as she has never yet possessed in the whole course of her history."

Let us suppose that India had never yet hitherto had unity of any kind. How is the new constitution going to give her unity?

When, as Governor-General of India, Lord Linlithgow first addressed the Indian Legislature on September 21, 1937, he also spoke of the growing realization of the unity of India. Commenting on his lordship's words, the editor of this *Review* wrote in *Asia* for January last:

> ....instead of taking steps to conserve and promote it (unity), they (the authors of India's new constitution) have on the contrary disrupted the unity of India by their scheme of so-called provincial autonomy, by cutting up the people of India into many political groups based on sex, religious profession, caste, and the like, and by introducing the Princes into the body politic in the name of an All-India Federation to serve as a drag and a curb. Had they come into the Federation as heads of democratically governed States, that would have furthered the cause of Indian unity. But what unity can there be in a Federation in which the Princes will stand for autocracy and the elected Nationalist representatives of British India will stand for democracy?

The article contributed by the editor of this *Review* to the American magazine proceeds:

> There is clear proof that the authors of the Constitution Act have disrupted the unity of India knowingly. For in the Report of the Joint Parliamentary Committee, on which the Act is based, the following words occur: "We have spoken of unity as perhaps the greatest gift which British rule has conferred on India; but in transferring so many of the powers of government to the provinces, and in encouraging them to develop a vigorous and independent political life of their own, we have been running the inevitable risk of weakening or even destroying that unity."
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> In other words, the British have adopted a policy of strengthening provincial separatism and "independence" at the expense of national unity, solidarity and interdependence of the parts. They, no doubt, proceed to speak in the Report of "such an adaptation of the structure of the Central Legislature as will bind these autonomous parts together." But in that Legislature they have introduced so many non-adhesive, if not disruptive, elements by means of keeping the Princes autocratic and ignoring their subjects altogether, by the Communal Decision, and by transferring most of the most important legislative and administrative functions to the Provinces, that the binding force of the Central Legislature will not avail to counteract effectively the separatist tendencies of the so-called provincial autonomy.

The Provinces have been treated as regards the allotment of seats, finance, franchise, etc., according to such varying standards, that existing provincial envy and jealousies will persist and new causes of such feelings will spring up. Thus, it will not be easy for India to remain or become one country in essence. Geographically it has been, is and will remain one country. But the new constitution will tend to destroy its unity in spirit.

There is another reason why, in spite of a single Government of India, India will not really become one country. For becoming truly one country, the Provinces and States should have one great common purpose or a few great common purposes. In spite of the new constitution, the people of India will, no doubt, continue to act under the great common urge of winning self-rule. But as Lord Zetland refers to the new Act in particular as a unifying factor, he or his subordinates should point out the *great* common urge, purpose, or object which can be discovered in it. We find none.

A common grievance may be, as it has often been, a unifying factor. And all Indians will continue to labour under the common grievance of not having freedom. But the new Act has divided the people into so many conflicting groups and has set British India and Indian India, as also the Provinces among themselves and the States among themselves, by the ears so cleverly, and each will have so many grievances of their own to ventilate, that the great common grievance of lack of freedom may fail to receive adequate common and joint attention.

We assumed for the sake of argument that India had never had unity of any sort before British rule. But that assumption is wrong. Geographically India is clearly marked out as one country. Its fundamental unity in spirit has been admitted even by many Englishmen of note. It is a historical fact that under Asoka and Samudra-gupta almost the whole of India became politically one. There is no doubt that Asoka's empire, which included Nepal and parts of Afghanistan, was at least as extensive as the British Empire in India.

"Unity" in Subjection Worse than Separateness in Independence

Taking it for granted, though not admitting, that the whole or the greater part of India was never one political unit, one may consider the value of the whole of India forming one political unit under the subjection of Britain.

Our opinion may be briefly stated. What is wanted is one undivided free India. Freedom is of primary importance. Hence, if one free

India were not a possibility, which is not admitted, a number of independent Indian regions or states would be preferable to one big India subject to foreign rule. Nepal is an Indian region. But for the sake of having one undivided political state called India it cannot be desired that Nepal should come under British subjection.

We know that the previous existence of India as an aggregate of several independent states repeatedly led to her subjection. We are also conscious that the existence of one large undivided independent country is preferable to the existence of a number of warring independent smaller political units. But this state of belligerency is never permanent or inevitable. The small independent units may confederate or become allies. In any case, the independence of the smaller units is, in spite of all disadvantages, preferable to the subjection of the bigger whole.

India has often been spoken of as comparable in size and diversity to the whole of Europe minus Russia. Would it have been better for this Europe minus Russia to have been one undivided subject part of some Foreign Power's Empire instead of being the aggregate of a number of smaller independent and often warring states which she has been down the ages? There have been more wars in Europe than in India. During the British period of the history of India there have been some devastating wars in Europe while there was comparative peace in this country. But in spite of these states of war, the most backward country of Europe is more prosperous and educated than any province of India. One of the causes of this difference is the freedom of the European countries and the subject condition of India.

We want improvement in the constitutional position of the people of the Indian States—we want that they should have the political and civic rights which the people of free and independent countries enjoy. The mechanical union of the Indian States with the British-ruled provinces to form a big Federated India will not lead to this improvement. Nor will Federation raise the political status of the rulers of the Indian States. Some of them were once independent and equal allies of the British power. In theory they still perhaps retain that status. The accession of these States into the Federation of India and the acknowledgment by Federated India of the sovereignty of the British Crown would ring the death-knell of all such theories.

Governor-General Restores Cuts in Budget

In the article in an American paper by Lord Zetland on which we have commented in the preceding notes his lordship dwells on the grant of a democratic constitution to India. Lord Linlithgow also has said similar things. But how are the representatives of the people in the Indian legislature treated by the Governor-General? Before that question is answered, it has to be pointed out that Lord Linlithgow will continue to be the Governor-General for some years after the new constitution comes into force and many of the Indian representatives in the legislatures will also be the people's representatives under the new constitution. So the way in which Lord Linlithgow treats the present Indian legislature is a correct index to the way in which its successor will be treated. If Lord Linlithgow is an autocrat now, he will be an autocrat during the remaining years of his rule. And if the political judgment and capacity and the financial knowledge of the present group of elected Indian legislators be worthy only of contempt, the knowledge, judgment and capacity of the same men or their like will be not less worthy of contempt.

In the Assembly defeat after defeat was inflicted on the Government, and many motions of "cuts" in the Railway Budget and the General Budget were carried. The Assembly declared itself against the enhanced sugar excise duty and in favour of a two-pice post card instead of the present three-pice one. But the Government remain unmoved, determined not to make any alteration in the Budget presented by Sir James Grigg. Does this indicate any democratic mentality in the Executive Government, any inclination to pay any heed to the opinion of the elected representatives of the people?

The Price of the Post Card

Let us take only one item. It was said on behalf of the Government that if the price of the post card was reduced to two pice, there would be a loss of Rs. 50 lakhs.

The expenditure for 1937-38 has been estimated to be 8,341 lakhs of Rupees. If on account of the reduction of the price of post cards from three pice to two, which was demanded, the receipts had been less by 50 lakhs, would it have been impossible to reduce the expenditure by that amount? The reduction in expenditure would have meant a reduction by only .6 ($\frac{6}{10}$) per cent. It is quite possible

for the estimated receipts to show an increase of Rs. 50 lakhs. In that case no reduction of expenditure would be necessary. On the other hand, some "punitive expedition" on the North-West Frontier may send up the expenditure by several crores. Money would be found somehow for such laudable enterprises, by borrowing, though according to Lord Linlithgow and his financial mentor Sir James Grigg a possible (though by no means certain) reduction of income to the extent of Rs. 50 lakhs only cannot be risked for the purpose of helping the poor man to communicate with his kith and kin by means of a cheaper post card!

Not that there has not been reduction, or at least readjustment, of postage in any direction. Book packet rate has been reduced from ¾ anna for the first five tollahs and ½ anna for every additional 5 tollahs to ½ anna for the first 2½ tollahs and ¼ anna for every additional 2½ tollahs. As packets containing printed matter are regarded as book packets, the reduced rate of book packet postage means that any one can send in an open envelope a number of printed or type-written slips even of larger size than post cards, not weighing more than 2½ tollahs, for half anna. But that will not benefit the villager or the poor city coolie or the factory worker, who want a cheap post card. It will benefit the urban mercantile or business community, who are richer than the class whom a cheap post card would have benefited. It is true a cheap post card would be of some advantage to the comparatively well-to-do also. But that is no reason why the poor man's convenience should not be consulted. There is no better means of inducing him to make increasing use of the post office than a cheap post card.

If the accounts of the postal and telegraph departments were kept separately, it would be found that the postal department could pay its way in spite of a cheap post card.

Imperialist Sense of Superiority, and Contempt For Others

When 'cuts' in the Budget are restored by the Governor-General, that implies that that foreign functionary understands the requirements of India and is more anxious for her good than the majority of the elected representatives of the people of India. Among these representatives there are men who are at least equal in intellectual attainments and statesmanship to any of the foreign functionaries in India. As regards the desire to do good to India and a knowledge of how it can be done, it is no patriotic bias which leads us to assert that no foreigner can possibly surpass the sincere and well-informed patriots of India in this respect.

Yet such is the unwarranted sense of superiority of British imperialists and such is their conscious or unconscious contempt for the opinion of even the best of those whom they govern that even in minor matters the latter are overruled by the former. This pose of superiority is insufferable, though ridiculous, this contempt is intolerable and provokes resentment, and the whole situation is extremely hard to bear.

Massacre of Abyssinians by Italians

There was an unsuccessful attempt to assassinate the Italian general Marshal Graziani at Addis Ababa. This was followed by indiscriminate massacre of Abyssinians by the Italians. Neither the League of Nations nor any single power or group of powers enjoying its membership has yet taken any action in the matter. There was a debate on the subject in the British House of Commons on the 25th March.

> Mr. Arthur Henderson opened the discussion by declaring that the American representative in Addis Ababa reported that he had given refuge in the American compound to 700 Abyssinians, where they had remained for three days.
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> After the American representative had received an assurance from the Italians that the lives of these Abyssinians would be spared, they left the compound, upon which every single one was butchered like cattle.
>
> Mr. Lloyd George, in a withering speech, asked what action the Government were taking about the Abyssinian massacres. He recalled the emphatic protest made on the occasion of the Armenian massacres and suggested a great international protest through the League against the most horrible massacres of the last 50 years.
>
> He expressed satisfaction that Marshal Graziani had escaped as a gallant and fine soldier. The protest was too late to save the lives of the thousands brutally butchered but it was not too late to save the lives, perhaps of hundreds of thousands, in the coming months.
>
> The massacre of Ras Desta was without comparison in modern history. "He fights for his country and is shot like a dog for doing so without a word of protest from the leading countries or the League of Nations. (Shame.)"
>
> Continuing, Mr. Lloyd George mentioned the shooting of General Scheepers, a citizen of the Cape Colony, for treason, which created such a strong feeling that Lord Kitchener was compelled to override the decision of the Court Martial to shoot another General. The Italians were most angry with the British, but he would rather have Italian anger than Italian contempt and he hoped the time would come when they would reply to the Italians in a straight-forward and fearless manner.
>
> Lord Cranborne, replying to the Opposition attacks, said that the anxieties of large sections of the British nation as regards the very tragic events in Addis Ababa had been abundantly expressed by Mr. Henderson, Mr.

Lloyd George and the Archbishop of Canterbury, by numerous public speeches and in other ways.

The Government spokesmen had already made statements. Mr. Henderson and Mr. Lloyd George had pressed him to state what action the Government were taking. The Abyssinian dispute was never a question for individual action but for collective action with the other members of the League. The whole subject must be discussed and documents examined under the auspices of the League and in the light of that examination action must be taken.

He appealed to members to exercise restraint in view of the delicacy of the situation.

Lord Cranborne hoped that however deeply members might be stirred by recent events, they would, in future, put a curb on themselves.

The debate was adjourned till April 6.—*Reuter.*

The debate shows that, whatever sections of the British people may feel, their government, representing the majority, prefers Italian contempt to Italian anger, at any rate for the present. The reason perhaps is that British preparations for war are not yet complete. But is it certain if Britain took the lead in an effective protest, Italy would fight?

Madrid Press Attack Scheme of So-called Non-Intervention

MADRID, March 26.

The international situation is providing the chief source of comment for the Madrid press at the moment. Lord Plymouth, Chairman of the Non-intervention Committee, is the general target for most press, which allude bitterly to "his phlegmatic, slow-motion attitude."

"La Moz," the organ of the independent left, says: "Democratic Europe is about to convert us into a second edition of Abyssinia. This we can only avoid by breaking the chains in which Lord Plymouth is binding us and obtaining our men and munitions from wherever we can get them, even though Mr. Delbos has hermetically sealed our Frontier."—*Reuter.*

Study at School of Great Religious Teachers' Lives and Teachings

Some weeks ago a paper was read at the Bengal Women's Education Conference in Calcutta. It was written by Miss Margaret Barr, M.A., who had made some experiments in the Gokhale Memorial School for girls in Calcutta in acquainting the pupils with the lives and teachings of the world's great religious teachers. She appealed to children's tendency to hero-worship and asked:

"Why should we not utilize that valuable trait by giving it a more worthy object than the latest aviator, cricketer and film-star? A course in the life-stories of some of the greatest men of the world of every age and race would reveal the fact that, rightly understood, religion is the greatest force for good in the world. Religious teaching can never be anything more than a sign-post showing the way that the pilgrim must tread. The teacher by her own knowledge of and love for the world's greatest souls can stimulate the children's interest and desire to know more; and by her 'radiance rare and fathomless' can prove that the quest is no idle dream but the most splendid and magnificently worthwhile of the activities possible to the mind and soul of man."

Bihar Governor's Tribute to Rahula Sankrityayana

Through articles contributed to this Review by Dr. K. P. Jayaswal our readers know what valuable work the Bhikkhu Rahula Sankrityayana has done in Tibet. Presiding over a meeting of the B. & O. Research Society at Patna at which the Rev. Anagarika Brahmachari Govinda delivered a very interesting and instructive lecture on the development of Stupa architecture and rising to thank him, the Governor of Bihar paid a fitting tribute to the Bhikkhu, in the course of which he said:

My attention has also been drawn by the Secretary of our Society to the epoch-making discovery of Sanskrit manuscripts in Tibet which has been recently made by an Honorary Member of this Society, the Rev. Sankrityayana. I have read with great interest the article on this great discovery which Dr. Jayaswal has published in *The Modern Review.* I have not the knowledge myself to be able to appreciate the value of this discovery, but its value was brought home to me by Mr. Hill, who explained that it was as though the works of Aristotle had been only available in Latin translations and the original Greek text had been discovered. I can well appreciate from this parallel of what inestimable value these manuscripts which the Rev. Sankrityayana has discovered and has photographed with such skill or copied with such care will be to all students of philosophy and religion. Dr. Jayaswal's article, apart from describing some of the more important manuscripts, contains a most fascinatingly interesting account of the life of this great son of India. He describes how when he first met him, he found in him a combination of spiritual ambition to raise his fellow men and a desire for right thinking and deep learning. In another passage which I cannot refrain from quoting he describes him as man resembling the Buddha, a man absolutely free from hostility to any living man, universal in his outlook and absolutely calm. I should like to quote more from this article; I hope, however, most of you have read it; if you have not, I have no doubt that you will do so without delay.

Anti-Indian Bills in South Africa

Early in March last Mr. Bhulabhai Desai, leader of the Congress party in the Assembly, received the following telegram from Mr. Kazee, president of the Transvaal Indian Association, Johannesberg, regarding the Anti-Asiatic bills:

"Our executive will be grateful for the action taken by you and the Congress party, the Prime Minister, General Hertzog, has refused an appeal, through the Agent General, to receive a Congress deputation. The subject-matter of the bills has been referred to a select committee with a personnel of eleven, of whom, excepting the chairman, Mr. Hofmeyr and Mr. Berbyshire, the balance hold the definite and pronounced views in favour of principles contained in the bills. We are constrained to feel that the composition of the committee is a

surrender to the reactionary element in the Union cabinet and is deliberately backed to achieve the object of the bills."

The nature of the Bills will be understood from the following A. P. I. message :

BOMBAY, March 8.

Sir Purshottamdas Thakurdas, Chairman of the Imperial Indian Citizenship Association, has sent a telegram to the Secretary of the Department of Education Health and Lands, Government of India conveying the resolution passed by the Council Association which strongly protests against the bills now before the Parliament Union, South Africa, prohibiting marriages between Europeans and Asiatics, employment of Europeans by non-Europeans, acquisition of fixed property in the Transvaal by European coloured or Malay women married to Asiatics and by children of such marriages. The resolution calls these Bills a wanton affront to Indian national self-respect, which coming on top of other anti-Indian measures are resented strongly in this country, particularly in view of the expectations that there will be a more equitable treatment of Indians as a result of the visit of the Goodwill Delegation. It urges on the Government of India the desirability of bringing to the notice of His Majesty's Government through India Office the fact that such deliberate measures to humiliate and harass, Indians in South Africa cannot but produce bad political effect.

The Council further urges the Government to use its influence to the utmost to prevent these Bills from being passed into law. The Council feels that if the Government would take up a strong attitude the Bills would be dropped and in this it is encouraged by the opposition offered by Mr. Hofmeyr whose views are doubtlessly shared by many fair-minded and justice-loving men and women of South Africa.

We learn from a copyright telegram in *The Statesman* of the 29th March that it is feared that, if the Select Committee reports in favour of the two Anti-Indian Bills, Mr. Hofmeyr may resign, and this, according to the correspondent of *The Times* of London, would greatly weaken the South African Government, of which he is the most brilliant member.

Political Prisoners' Relief Conference

The Political Prisoners' Relief Conference met at New Delhi on the 20th March under the presidentship of Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose. Babu Rajendraprasad, President of the All-India Political Prisoners' Relief Committee had issued the following statement :

At the time of the Lucknow Congress a Conference was held with a view to creating public opinion in favour of the demand for improvement in the conditions of political prisoners. The necessity for such an organization arose out of the demand put forward by Mr. Jogesh Chandra Chatterjee and expressed by his prolonged hunger-strike in the jail. The main points were concentrating political prisoners of all classes and creeds in one jail, abolition of classification of all political prisoners, facilities to them to meet and associate with one another, abolition of a cellular jail at Port Blair in the Andamans for political prisoners, facilities to the educated political prisoners to read and write and supply of books and newspapers and general improvement in their treatment, such as permission for more frequent letters and interviews, better medical treatment, permission to supplement food supplied by jail.

These demands have not received the attention they deserved at the hands of the authorities and it is necessary to reiterate and reinforce them.

Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose made a feeling and effective speech. The conference demanded (1) the release of political prisoners of all classes, (2) the removal of obstacles in the way of the return of political exiles from abroad, (3) the repeal of all repressive laws, (4) the keeping of all political prisoners in the same jail, (5) and including them in one class, (6) giving them facilities for reading and writing, (7) giving them facilities for physical exercise, (8) making proper arrangements for their medical treatment, (9) giving lights for reading at night, and (10) bringing all political prisoners from the Andamans to India.

All-India National Convention

The All-India National Convention, first of its kind to be held, opened in a beautifully decorated pandal at Delhi on the 19th March, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru presiding. About 900 delegates, including all Congress members of Legislatures, members of A. I. C. C. and members of the Working Committee, were present. The pandal was packed to its fullest capacity by visitors.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru delivered his address extempore.

The convention proved to be a much bigger and more impressive show than the A. I. C. C. meeting.

Mr. Nehru warned the convention that they would be kicked out as traitors at the next election if they adopted any other policy except that of burying or burning the Act. He made it clear that the mentality recently shown by some Congressmen made it necessary for the Working Committee to keep a tight control on all Provincial Parties.

We remember to have read somewhere that some nationalists other than Congressmen would be asked to attend this All-India convention. Perhaps the idea was subsequently given up. So, though the convention was undoubtedly guided by nationalist principles, it did not include representatives of all nationalist groups. If only those whose goal is independence for India be considered nationalists, even then the Congress roll of members does not contain the names of all such men.

Oath-taking at the All-India Convention

The most spectacular thing at the first sitting of the National Convention was the administration of the oath of allegiance by the Congress President to Congress members in the Legislatures as well as to the members of the All-India Congress Committee. It was a moving sight to see over 1,000 representatives of the Indian masses stand up and repeat word for word the pledge to serve India, to work inside the Legislatures and outside for the Independence of India and to end the exploitation and poverty of her people.

It is to be hoped that none of those who took the oath are themselves exploiters.

The Congress President at first read out an English rendering of the oath, but the whole Assembly was requested to repeat the Hindustani version which was separately read out by the President.

Mahamahopadhyaya Kamakshyanath Tarkavagish

Mahamahopadhyaya Kamakshyanath Tarkavagish died last month at Nabadwip at the age of 93. He was the leading authority in Navya Nyaya or the New System of Nyaya Philosophy. In addition to being an eminent scholar he was also a creative interpreter, as is evidenced by his "Kusumanjali" and "Tattva-chintamani," published by the Asiatic Society. He was, sometime or other, professor, Sanskrit College, Calcutta, examiner to the Calcutta University, Honorary Fellow of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, president of the Calcutta Pandit Sabha, member of the Board of Bengal Sanskrit Association and vice-president of the Nabadwip Bibudha-janani Sabha. At the time of his death he held the office of the first professor of Nyaya in Nabadwip. He had an engaging personality. We saw him only once, and that was at the Albert Hall, Calcutta, when he presided over a meeting held to listen to an address delivered in Hindi by Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya in support of his movement for giving initiation to members of the so-called untouchable classes. The Mahamahopadhyaya was then past eighty. But his presidential pronouncement in favour of Pandit Malaviya's contention showed the vigour of his intellect and the clarity of his judgment.

The Question of Acceptance of Office by Congress

The All-India Congress Committee decided at its last meeting that in the six provinces in which Congress members were in a majority in the Assembly the Congress party would form ministries if the Governors thereof gave a certain assurance. We will have our say in relation to the assurance later.

The Congress has all along unequivocally condemned the new constitution and declared its object to be to wreck it, not to work it. How Ministers can avoid working the constitution, at least to some extent, is a mystery. How acceptance of office can be an honest and straightforward means of wrecking the constitution, is also beyond our comprehension.

The policy of the Indian National Congress, as of all other Pan-Indian organizations, should be the same in all the Provinces. If the Congress formed ministries in six provinces, that would mean that the Congress would be the Government in six provinces and the Opposition in the remaining ones; or, in other words, it would follow two diametrically opposite policies in two sets of provinces.

It is only fair and proper to assume that whatever policy Congress follows is for some advantage to the nation. That advantage may consist in wrecking the constitution or in extracting whatever good can be extracted from it. Now, if the acceptance of office in some provinces be meant for securing some such advantage, why are the provinces where the Congress party is in a minority and cannot form ministries to be deprived of that advantage? "Practical" men of an opportunist turn of mind may think, "Let us make hay *where* the sun shines, we cannot afford to lose an advantage simply because others cannot secure it." This is in a way a sort of paraphrase of the English sayings, "Every one for himself" and "The Devil take the hindmost." Though we are not members of the Congress, we have sufficient understanding of its idealism to think that its policy ought not to be that which underlies those sayings.

The only possible uniform policy, free from provincial selfishness, is non-acceptance of office everywhere. Any other policy, external appearances notwithstanding, cannot but be destructive of that inter-provincial united front which Congress should present throughout India. Any other policy cannot but give rise to inter-provincial suspicion and sap confidence in one another.

Perhaps these considerations were not present in the minds of those who voted in favour of office acceptance.

It is true that the Congress Election Manifesto adopted by the All-India Congress Committee at Bombay on August 22, 1936, reaffirmed that "the most important and urgent problem

of the country is the appalling poverty, unemployment and indebtedness of the peasantry, fundamentally due to antiquated and repressive land tenure and revenue systems, and intensified in recent years by the great slump in prices of agricultural produce." It is also true that the Manifesto reiterated the Congress declaration in favour of reform in these directions and held out hopes of prison reform and protection against the economic consequences of old age, sickness and unemployment, and of maternity benefits, etc. It is easy to understand that these express or implied promises can be fulfilled only by legislation. Therein lies the case for entering the legislative bodies and of acceptance of office. But the Congress Election Manifesto itself had also declared that the new legislatures "are totally incapable of solving the vital problems of poverty and unemployment." Therefore the Manifesto may appear to be a self-contradictory document. But it need not be regarded as such. It placed the Congress programme before the country, and in declaring that the new legislatures were incapable of being utilized to carry out that programme it may be understood to have suggested that Congress wanted to wreck the new constitution and legislatures in order to be able to substitute for them a constitution and legislatures better suited for the carrying out of the Congress programme.

So, in our opinion, for the sake of consistency and also to be true to its repeated resolve to wreck the constitution, Congress should have decided not to try to form ministries even in those provinces in whose legislatures the Congress party was in a majority.

We shall now say something about the assurance from the Governors which the All-India Congress Committee wanted the leaders of the Congress groups in the provincial legislatures to have before trying to form ministries

Governors' Assurances Required by Congress

The following is the relevant part of the A. I. C. C. resolution authorizing the acceptance of ministerships :

"**And on the pending question of office acceptance and in pursuance of the policy summed up in the foregoing paragraphs the All-India Congress Committee authorises and permits the acceptance of office in provinces where Congress commands majority in the legislatures, provided Ministership shall not be accepted unless the leader of the Congress party in the legislature is satisfied and is in a position to state publicly that the Governor will not use his special powers of interference or set aside the advice of the Ministers in regard to their constitutional activities.**"

We need not discuss whether the Congress *de facto* dictator Mahatma Gandhi and the Congress High Command (minus its President Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru) who were in favour of office acceptance required the gubernatorial assurance in a straightforward frame of mind or with some mental reservation in order to lay the responsibility for Congress refusal of ministry on the shoulders of the Governors. Nor need we discuss in detail whether the Governors are in a position to give the assurance asked for. Our opinion is that considering the British imperialist policy and the special powers, particularly of a discretionary character, with which the new Constitution and the Instruments of Instructions have armed the Governors, they were not in a position to give the assurance asked for. The A. I. C. C. resolution wants gubernatorial non-interference with the Congressite Ministers' "constitutional activities." But the new constitution is itself unconstitutional or in any case quite unlike the constitution of any self-governing country. It gives the Governors powers which no constitutional monarch or other constitutional head of a government possesses anywhere. The position, therefore, of the Governors is not at all that of constitutional heads of governments. By implication they are expected, whenever imperial policy requires it, to act unconstitutionally, as it were, even to the extent of suspending the constitution. How then can they be expected to promise to limit their own powers by an assurance that they will not interfere with the "constitutional activities" of the Ministers? The Government of India Act of 1935 has made them autocrats who can act at their discretion. How can they cease to be autocrats at any time in any matter by promising non-interference with the "constitutional activities" of the Ministers?

That expression "constitutional activities" reminds us that by using it the A. I. C. C wishes Congress Ministries to work the constitution, at least partly, like very good boys, in lieu of the Governors also promising to behave like very good boys! This seems to be an amusing development of Congress mentality.

Already as we write (March 29) the Governors of four provinces have not been able to give the assurance required and the leaders of the Congress parties there have refused to form ministries. It is said to be certain that the same would be the case in the U. P. The situation may be the same in Bihar, too.

We need not quote the statements and communiques of the Congress leaders and the Governors of all the provinces where Congress

ministries have become definitely impracticable. Let us take the case of Bombay.

The following communique has been issued by the Government of Bombay :

The Governor of Bombay invited Mr. B. G. Kher to meet him on March 25 to discuss the formation of a Ministry. At that interview Mr. Kher intimated that he could only accept an invitation to form a Ministry if His Excellency could give him a definite assurance in the following terms: "that His Excellency would not use in regard to the constitutional activities of the Cabinet his special powers of interference or set aside the advice of his Ministers."

His Excellency pointed out to Mr. Kher that under the Government of India Act of 1935 it is impossible for Governors to give any assurance as regards the use of powers vested in them under the Act. The terms of the Act are mandatory and obligations imposed on the Governors by the Act and by the Instrument of Instructions in respect of use of special powers and safeguarding of interests at minorities are of such nature that even if the Governor wished to relieve himself of them it was not in his power so to do. His Excellency having fully explained the legal position to Mr. Kher went on to assure him that although it was not possible for His Excellency to give an assurance which Mr. Kher asked for, Mr. Kher could rely on receiving all possible help, sympathy and co-operation within the four corners of the Act in the event of his undertaking to form the Ministry.

His Excellency requested Mr. Kher to meet him again this morning and at the outset of the interview His Excellency formally invited Mr. Kher to assist him in forming the Ministry. Mr. Kher again intimated that he could only accept the office on the basis of the demand set out above. His Excellency once more pointed out the impossibility of giving any such assurance whereupon Mr. Kher informed His Excellency that he would, therefore, be unable to accept the invitation to assist in forming the Ministry.

Turning to Madras we find the private secretary to the Governor of Madras has issued the following statement :

On March 25, the Governor invited Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar, leader of the Congress Party in the Madras Legislature to assist him in forming the Ministry.

Mr. Rajagopalachariar at his first interview intimated that he should not accept the invitation unless an assurance was given by the Governor that he would not use his special powers or exercise the functions which are by Law left to his discretion or individual judgment.

His Excellency replied that it was impracticable for constitutional reasons for him to divest himself of the responsibilities and duties which have been placed upon his shoulders by Parliament, and that it was therefore not within his power to give any such guarantee. At the same time His Excellency intimated Mr. Rajagopalachariar that he could rely upon receiving all possible help, sympathy and co-operation in the event of his forming the Ministry.

After a series of very amicable conversations Mr. Rajagopalachariar has, while expressing appreciation of His Excellency's assurance finally intimated today that he is unable to accept the invitation to assist in forming the Ministry.

His Excellency, while greatly regretting this outcome of the discussions, wishes to make it plain to the public that the decision is that of the Congress Party themselves that the terms of the statute are mandatory and that the obligations imposed by the act and by the Instrument of Instructions on Governors in respect of the use of special powers are of such a nature that even if he wished to relieve himself of them, it would not be in his power to do so. On the other hand His Excellency wishes to state as representative of the King-Emperor in this presidency that he is above party politics altogether and that within the four corners of the Government of India Act he will always be willing and indeed anxious to extend utmost help, sympathy and support to any Ministry from whatever section of political opinion it may be drawn.

At the present juncture His Excellency believes that time should be given for reconsideration of the position. An interim Ministry will therefore be formed at once in order that the King-Emperor's Government may be carried on and His Excellency hopes that by thus providing a period for such reconsideration, it will eventually be found possible to form a Ministry which will command the confidence of the present legislature.

On comparing the statements of the Bombay and Madras Governments the reader will find in both certain identical groups of words and arguments used. For example, in both it is said that the terms of the statute or the Act are mandatory and the obligations imposed on the Governor are of such a nature that even if he wished to relieve himself of them, it would not be in his power to do so; in both the promise of all possible sympathy, help and co-operation is held out, "within the four corners of the Act." Evidently the Governors are everywhere acting under instructions from headquarters.

The statement of Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar, the Madras leader, is rather long; but as it puts the Congress case very ably, we print it below in extenso.

"Having been called by the Governor I intimated the condition on which I could take up responsibility and discussed the matter with him on March 25, 26 and 27. I explained that I and my Cabinet should be given the fullest freedom of action inside the scope of Provincial Autonomy said to be given under the Government of India Act and that while we remained in office and undertake responsibility of Government of the province, His Excellency should assure us that he would not use his special powers of interference or set aside the advice of his Ministers."

I regret to say that beyond a general offer of good will and co-operation His Excellency has refused to assist me with any assurance of non-interference formal or informal. I had therefore no option but to express my inability to take up office under these conditions and respectfully to decline the invitation to form a Ministry.

In the course of my conversations with His Excellency I explained the position as clearly as I could. I pointed out that what we wanted as a condition precedent to the undertaking of responsibility was not amendment of the statute now and here or any extension o the very limited scope of Provincial Autonomy but that even while safeguards remained intact as regards possible interferences from the Secretary of State and the Viceroy we should have a gentleman's agreement between His Excellency and me, whom he has called, that his own discretionary powers of interference as a Provincial

Governor should not be put in motion. I explained that when a Provincial Governor invites me on the basis of the verdict of the electorate to form the Government and undertake responsibility, he has the right under the Act to give me an assurance of non-interference. That we felt as necessary for the efficient discharge of that responsibility. If it be true that real discretion is given to the Governor of a province it must be within his power to use it or not to use it, and if he is convinced that we can get an atmosphere and the psychology necessary for the efficient discharge of Cabinet responsibility only by assuring non-interference he could use his discretion best only by such non-use. To deny that right to the Governor of a province is denial of Provincial Autonomy. It amounts to seeking to govern India from Downing Street through the old bureaucracy.

If it is remembered that our party has been returned to this province by an overwhelming majority of 159 in a House of 215 in spite of communal and special reservations of all kinds imposed on us and that our party has been returned in a majority even to the Upper House. Refusal of a gentleman's agreement that we have demanded within the framework of the Act is denial of the claim solemnly made that Governors of the provinces will be constituted on the basis of full responsibility and that we could achieve progress and full freedom through the exercise of Provincial Autonomy. It will be impossible for us to undertake the governance of a province after the history of antagonism through which we have passed unless at the outset we were expressly assured of such treatment as Ministers were entitled under the Parliamentary system of the popular Government and of unqualified loyalty of permanent service which is impossible if the officials of a department should be looking to the Governor for the exercise of his special powers of interference at any and every stage under various formulae. Only express assurance could have dispelled natural fears and apprehensions arising out of the history of a case to undertake responsibility without such previous assurance and to depend on our breaking off as and when occasion arose would not have been either wise or proper. It would place us in an impossible position. Experiment was worth trying only if there was a clear indication on the other side of readiness to part with power at least in the sphere of a province and refusal of this at the threshold is better for the nation than breakdown after passing through humiliating conditions suffered in silence.

The six million voters of the province returned us by majority. That left not a shadow of doubt as to the mind of the people seeking to utilize the victory, not for getting our own party into places of power and position which we could easily have done, but for improving the status of the nation. Office was for us to pick up if we just chose, but we preferred rather to use that power for permanent benefit of the nation by using it as a lever to improve the constitution from within. Civil services must have resisted this and brought about a uniform policy, in all provinces, of refusing to give any assurance behind repeating the old platitudes.

Our path is clear—the path of self-reliance. The naked power of force is there for the British Government to carry on without any constitution. Section 93 of the Government of India Act "provides" for this termination of constitutional pretence and dictatorship of the Governor, that is of bureaucracy.

I owe it to His Excellency to say that our conversations were throughout marked by utmost courtesy and friendliness on his part and the break off is due not to any lack of patience or of personal goodwill, and I believe that we both greatly regret that we could not arrive at a different and more happy conclusion. I appeal to the people of the province to realize that no power on earth can much longer stand between us and our birthright of freedom. We have had clear demonstration of the unshakable strength of the Congress. Disinterestedness of its leadership has been proved by this episode, so as not even its worst detractors can question it. May God give us yet greater strength of resolve and lead us to our goal.

I have no doubt that attempts will be made to demonstrate that the people can be ruled just as firmly as ever before as an offset against the breakdown of the constitution. Surpluses will be utilized, I have no doubt, to give some relief to the peasants. Whatever the motive we shall be glad if substantial measures of relief be undertaken during the dictatorship of the bureaucracy. We do not mind if we are not in office if our being out of office spurs the bureaucracy and its allies to greater efforts for juster utilization of the revenue of the province and reduction of the burden of debts and taxation. We do not believe that the electorate can be deceived as to wherefrom really these springs of relief issue. Not the hand that distributes, but the strength of the Congress is what they should yet further strengthen, not only for immediate small relief but for the final goal of national honour and independence."

The last paragraph of Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar's statement is very important.

We have all along believed that the little that can be done for the people under the Act with due regard primarily for British interests will be done by the bureaucracy and their favour-seekers simply to produce the impression in the mind of the people that they are their well-wishers, just as, after the inauguration of Mahatma Gandhi's All-India Village Industries Association, Government came out with their grant for village improvement—of which, by the by, the fate is well known now.

We have said above that Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar's statement is a very able presentation of the Congress case. But in spite of it we continue to hold that the decision of the A.-I. C. C. that Congress members should form ministries was not in consonance with Congress principles and the many declarations previously made by Congress.

Pandit Nehru on the Unlikelihood of Congress Ministries

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Congress President, issued the following statement to the press on the 28th March :

"The recent development make it clear that Congress Ministries are unlikely. Even the modest assurance that was asked for on behalf of the Congress has been denied and we shall soon see minority ministries backed by the special powers of the Governor. That is as it should be, for, it reveals the nature of the new Constitution so that even the blind can see that it is a Constitution with a democratic veil in the provinces, but essentially of a fascist type concentrating power in the Governors and the Governor-General.

It is the culmination of the growth of the fascist spirit in the British Government in India and with the introduction of the federal scheme the structure will be complete. The veil is torn and the reality stands forth in all its ugliness. We are content that our policy has been laid down in the clearest terms and to that all of us must adhere. We fight the Act and the Constitution and we shall put an end to it. Let all pull together to that end. The first answer must come on April 1. So remember the 1st of April."

The Bengal Ministry

The largest number of ministers which any province other than Bengal is going to have is six. But Bengal is going to have eleven—almost double that number. And Bengal, it must be remembered, will continue to have the smallest amount of revenue among the major provinces at the disposal of its government. Hitherto Bengal has had four executive councillors and three ministers—altogether seven men. Even seven were not really required.

To entertain the services of eleven men when a much smaller number would have quite served the purpose would be sheer waste of money.

It is said that in order to have a stable ministry Mr. Fazlul Huq had to conciliate various parties and groups and find room in the cabinet for men representing diverse interests. Let us take interests first. There are in the ministry some half a dozen landholders or zamindars, as they are called in Bengal, some Hindu and some Muhammadan. Among the Muhammadan representatives of the landed interest, again, two belong to the Dacca Nawab family. If eleven men represented eleven different interests, it could be said that the personnel of the cabinet represented various interests. But that is not the fact. So the real reason for the inclusion in the cabinet of so many men appears to be that unless this or that man was not given a job, his small knot of followers in the Assembly would have voted against Mr. Fazlul Huq very frequently. That would have made the ministry unstable.

So the people of Bengal exist to gratify the vanity and the longing for lucre of some men and their followers.

The Bengal cabinet is remarkable for the almost entire absence in it of men of outstanding ability. Lack of the ability to manage one's own property seems to be some qualification for the ministry.

The Indian Association wanted a cabinet of men, all of recognized ability, public spirit and good repute, irrespective of communal and party considerations. It was foredoomed to disappointment.

Mr. Fazlul Huq got elected as the leader of the Praja Party. But in his cabinet the advocates of the ryots, if any, will be clearly outvoted by those of the landlords. How will the chief minister fulfil his election-promises to the tenants?

Another reason why he succeeded was that he got the help of those who wanted the release of the detenus and other political prisoners on his promising to act according to their desire. Who will be in charge of Law and Order? We do not find in the cabinet a majority definitely in favour of an anti-repression policy and strong enough to try firmly to give effect to it in the face of almost certain gubernatorial opposition.

Everywhere the education portfolio is a very important one, and it is not less important here than in any other province. It was rumoured some time ago that Mr. Syamaprasad Mukherji would be placed in charge of it. That would have been a good choice. But he has not been given a ministership—because of the opposition of some Muhammadan communalists, it is said. There is no one in the cabinet who approaches him in intellectual equipment and in knowledge of educational subjects and matters.

Mr. Huq is reported to have said recently that if any minister betrayed a communalist mentality, he would replace him by some one else. But in his cabinet one finds some prominent communalists. Perhaps he could not help taking them in. That being so, why did he indulge in a heroic non-communal pose?

The Bengal Praja Party

It was in 1921 that the late Keshab Chandra Ghosh and his co-workers inaugurated the Praja or Tenant Movement in Bengal. Sir P. C. Ray, the late Dr. Pran Krishna Acharya, the late Mr. Krishna Kumar Mitra, Moulvi Abdul Karim, and Moulvi A. K. Fazlul Huq joined it. Subsequently Sir Abdur Rahim also joined it. At that time both Hindus and Mussalmans joined the movement and worked for the cause of the tenants. But recently Mr. Huq has formed a party by the name of Praja Party of which the number of Hindu members is gradually dwindling. It has been recently hinted in a daily that the Praja Party is a Muhammadan party. Are there no Hindu prajas or tenants?

Ancient Foundry Discovered at Nalanda

What is described as the only ancient foundry in India has been discovered at Nalanda, the site of the ancient University, where the Archaeological Department have been carrying on excavation work.

A four-chambered square furnace has been dug up, which has 16 passages, eight of which are 'flues' or

passages for smoke and heated air, and eight for feeding fuels.

'Slugs,' or lumps of metal which had flowed out of crucibles, broken earthen moulds, ribs and covers of furnaces, purpose-made clay moulds, cowdung and husks have also been discovered, as also pieces of gratings, having conical holes in them, said to have served as base of the furnace. It is stated that all the images recovered from the site since 1915 were cast in this foundry. There are 400 such images, indicating that metal images were cast in ancient Nalanda, which formed a branch of the education imparted to monks.

Light is thrown on the ancient method of constructing block foundation by the deep trial pits dug round the foundation of one of the temples at Nalanda, measuring 100 feet.

The small archaeological museum started on the site has been highly appreciated and is growing day by day. It is going to be extended shortly to exhibit all the latest finds.—*A. P. I.*

King Dibya Commemoration Festival, 1937

Last month the third annual Dibya Commemoration Festival was celebrated at the ancient site of Mahasthan Garh in the district of Bogra. On the two previous occasions the presidents were Rai Bahadur Ramaprasad Chanda and Sir Jadunath Sarkar respectively. This year some 6000 men and women came to the place from different parts of Bengal. They belonged to both the Muhammadan and Hindu communities. The president this year was Professor Dr. Upendranath Ghoshal, M.A., Ph.D. As his scholarly address is, quite appropriately, in Bengali and has been received by us rather late, we are unable to give even a brief summary of it.

The proceedings were opened by Nawabzada Khan Bahadur Mohammed Ali, K. B., M. L. A., with a brief and telling speech. We quote almost the whole of it below:

The facts of Dibya's life have been covered and distorted beyond recognition by the accumulation of legend and romance. Even today village folk sing of his prowess in ballads which have become part of the rural life of North Bengal. Even today people point admiringly to the remains of the stupendous achievements with which he adorned this land of ours. It is not without significance that we have met here today at the dismantled fort of Mahasthan Garh, which even today stands as a monumental reminder of the engineering skill of our forebears, circled by the waters of the Karotoa, whose mighty flow once not only enriched the land but also protected it from the depredations of enemies and invaders. No one can today come to Mahasthan Garh without a catch in his breath, a feeling of the desolation and ruin that has overtaken our mighty land.

Dibya also lived in such troublous and stormy times. The sun of the Pal Kings of Bengal had long passed its meridian, but the after-glow of its dying rays poured heavily and bitterly upon the unfortunate peoples subject to its sway. After the death of Bigraha Pal the sceptre passed to Mahi Pal II, whose tyranny and oppression bore heavily on the suffering population till it goaded to despair the masses to rise in a spontaneous revolution and hurled him from his throne. The mighty wave of popular national rising bore on its crest the heroic figure of Dibya, the champion and fighter of the cause of the oppressed millions of his fellow subjects.

On the achievements of Dibya as General and King, I shall not dilate; suffice it to say that even today his wondering countrymen point to the stupendous remains of the past and hail them as the legacy of Dibya. We shall remember him today for his courage and devotion and cherish his memory in our hearts as a great leader, a great fighter, a great nationalist who risked his all that others might be saved from the tyranny which was crushing the life out of them.

We have met today to honour a great man, but such occasions are not without their significance in our lives. We have assembled here from all parts of Bengal to pay our spontaneous homage to the memory of Dibya, the fighter and the champion of the poor. But the best homage that we can do him is to remember his courage and steadfast devotion to duty and invoke the same spirit of service and sacrifice in our hearts. Let us be proud of our great countryman, let our actions prove our traditions and our pride and let it not be said that we were unworthy of the heritage he has bequeathed to us.

No Congress Ministries in Bihar & U. P. Also

The Governors of Madras, Bombay, Orissa, and C. P. and Berar having declared their inability to give the assurance of non-interference with the constitutional activities of the ministers required in pursuance of the A.I.C.C. resolution, the leaders of the Assembly Congress Parties of those provinces had already declined to form ministries. Later, the Assembly Congress Party leaders of Bihar and U. P. have also declined to form ministries for the same reason.

In all these provinces the Governors have invited the leaders of some minority parties to form ministries. The results are expected to be known shortly.

The British Press on Congress Refusal to Form Ministries

The British Press generally have expressed disappointment at or disapproval of the refusal of the Congress leaders in six provinces to form ministries. But did these British patrons of the Congress expect Congress leaders to walk into the imperialist parlour without 'safeguards' of their own?

Sanguinary Communal Clashes

We grieve to find news in the papers of sanguinary clashes between Hindus and Moslems on the occasion of the Hindu Holi and Moslem Muharram festivals. The dates of the two were the same this year. We have no heart to discuss who were mainly, mostly or primarily to blame in what places. We can only hope and pray for the advent of a spirit of mutual accommodation.

President's Address at Bengal and Assam Lawyers' Conference

Mr. N. K. Basu, Advocate, Calcutta High Court, presided over the annual session of the Bengal and Assam Lawyers' Conference held at Dacca last month. He laid stress on the desirability of having one Bar in India and the removal of all monopolies and distinctions among various classes of lawyers. Said he :

It was one of the most extraordinary things that the legal practitioners in this country should be divided into so many compartments, all more or less water-tight. Whatever might have been the reason for these subdivisions in earlier days, there was no doubt that it was high time that these distinctions should now cease to exist.

The monopolies granted to barristers had no defensible right to continue, nor was there any excuse for the continued maintenance of an inferior grade of practitioners styled the mukhtears. The sooner all these classes were merged into one, the better for the country as well as for the administration of justice.

This question of one Bar had been before the public for a long time. The Indian Bar Committee more than 12 years ago suggested that it was an ideal to be kept prominently in view but, unfortunately, it had not only not been kept in view, but completely lost sight of.

Mr. Basu commented on the dual system in the original side of the High Court in Calcutta.

He asked whether there was any reason for the continuance of the dual system in the original side of the Calcutta High Court. That system, he said, might have its origin in England in hoary antiquity but there was no reason for its continuance in Calcutta except that of increasing litigation costs.

He also dealt with the subject of the overcrowding of the Bar.

Mr. Basu said that the Bar was overcrowded at this moment. The total number of pleaders in Bengal today was 9,817 not counting the High Court advocates practising in the district courts.

Mr. Basu was firmly of opinion that the question of the number of recruits and of their professional apprenticeship must be tackled. No longer must a mere university degree, backed by nominal attendance in court for a year, do. The entrance to the Bar must be in the hands of the profession itself and not left to any outside body, not even the High Court itself. There must be a Bar Council consisting not of High Court practitioners alone but of lawyers; and this body must be the one and only authority not only to regulate admission to the profession, but all questions of professional etiquette and decorum as well.

Chest of Subhas Chandra Bose Affected

Capt. P. B. Mukherjee, Radiologist of the Chittaranjan Sevasadan, has submitted his report on the X'ray examination of Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose's chest held on Thursday last.

In the course of his report Capt. Mukherjee says that there is very definite evidence of an active, living and growing invasion of the substance of the right lung : this invasion is presumably caused by the germ of tuberculosis, this germ being by far the commonest of all possible causes of such "invasion."

This report cannot but cause great anxiety to the Bose family, which will be shared by the public. Had Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose been released much earlier, the invasion of the disease could not have proceeded so far. But regretting the past is of no avail. Undoubtedly Mr. Bose will be given the best possible medical treatment.

About 'Hartal' on April 1

Congress has asked that there should be 'hartal' on the first of April as a protest against the introduction of the new constitution on that day. In consequence, the Commissioner of Police, Calcutta, issued a notification prohibiting all demonstrations in connection with it. In addition to the issue of this notification, notices have been served on a number of labour leaders and Congress workers ordering them to abstain from taking any part in any meeting and procession and displaying any flag, placard, poster or banner for a period of seven days from the 29th March to the 4th of April. A number of Congress men were also arrested by the police on March 28 as they were proceeding in a procession along Cornwallis Street, Calcutta.

This sort of interference with peaceful protests was quite unnecessary and will, needlessly, create bitterness.

Progressive Muslims Condemn Mr. Jinnah's Anti-hartal Attitude

LUCKNOW, March 29.

Mr. Hafiz Mohammed Ibrahim, member of the Working Committee of the U. P. Muslim League, has addressed a letter to Mr. M. A. Jinnah protesting against the latter's injunction to Muslims not to join the general hartal on the 1st of April. In course of the letter Mr. Ibrahim says that Mr. Jinnah's attitude towards the Congress is creating misgivings in the minds of those progressive Muslims who had joined the League trusting that the League will join hands with other progressive parties to fight for the deliverance of the country. He adds : "If you persist in your hostility to the Congress these progressive Muslims have to reconsider their position vis-a-vis their membership of the Muslim League.

—*United Press.*

Adjournment Motion Due to Constitutional Crisis

NEW DELHI, March 29.

Mr. Akhil Chandra Dutt, Deputy Leader of the Congress Nationalist Party, has given notice of an adjournment motion to discuss a matter of urgent public importance, namely, "the Constitutional crisis, that has arisen owing to refusal by the Governors in the provinces of Bombay, Madras, the Central Provinces, Berar, Bihar and Orissa to give the assurance required by the Leaders of the Congress Parties that they should not use their Special Powers of interference or set aside the advice of Ministers in regard to their Constitutional activities and consequent inability of Congress Parties which command an absolute majority of members elected to the legislatures

in these provinces to accept the invitation of the Governors to help them in the formation of Ministries in these provinces and also the failure of the Government of India to render proper advice to Governors to avert the crisis."—*United Press.*

All White People Must Have Raw Materials, And They Alone?

According to "Fortnightly News," published by the League of Nations, the meeting in Geneva on March 8th of the Committee on Raw Materials marks an important event in post-war economic effort.

A much more important event, if it ever happens, will be a meeting of a Committee of the Anti-Imperialist League to devise means for enabling the countries producing the raw materials to manufacture those materials into finished goods in the producing countries themselves by their own peoples with their own capital.

"Fortnightly News" adds that, for the first time, a conference of experts is discusing how to arrange for every country to have some share in the immense resources of raw materials which exist in the world.

What is the meaning of "every country?" Every white man's country?

Germany Wants Colonies For Raw Materials?

"With the entire world listening," says *World Events*, "Hitler commemorated the fourth anniversary of his rule by demanding the return of the colonies Germany lost in the World War. His speech met with a cold reception, but it focussed attention once more on the question : Why colonies?"

That journal answers :

Many things have been learned in recent years in regard to colonies. They have not been an outlet for surplus population, because, being largely in the tropics, they fail to attract white settlers. New York City had more Germans in 1913 than did all the German colonies.

With the exception of cotton (India), tin and rubber, colonies are, further, not major sources of raw materials. Germany's imports for 1934, for example, show a very small proportion of purchases of food and drink, raw materials and semi-manufactures from any colonial area. Most of these supplies were bought from other sovereign states.

Finally, it has been demonstrated that colonial markets have not lived up to their reputation. It is extremely difficult to fence off a colony, so that the mother country enjoys all of its trade. Great Britain tried it in India, but was able to garner only 40 per cent of the Indian imports.

But surely that 40 per cent of a large country like India is not negligible. It must be very tempting.

Nevertheless, the American journal admits the importance of the colonial market.

It must be admitted, however, that the colonial market has its importance in taking care of the highly important "marginal production." Foreign trade of the United States, for instance, is only 10 per cent of total production, yet that margin has repeatedly spelled prosperity or depression. Against that, however, must be placed the exceedingly high cost of colonial administration. But the taxpayers foot these bills and not the colonial traders.

So far as India is concerned, neither the British taxpayers nor the British merchants trading with India pay a farthing of the huge cost of the administration in India. On the contrary, India pays large sums to Britain as "home charges" every year, and British officials, professional men, and men of business reap an abundant harvest here.

The American paper asks :

Why then do Britain and France not return the German colonies, especially the ones that might be developed, such as Kenya and Tanganyika? Certainly, if England, France, Italy, Portugal, The Netherlands, the United States and others have a right to colonies, the Germans have also.

Its answer follows :

The answer to that question is extremely complicated and is not very flattering to the whole colonial system. There are in it national considerations, such as prestige; military reasons, such as furnishing man-power in war; economic elements, such as investment and the exploitation of cheap native labour; and, finally, colonies aid in preserving the *status quo* for privileged and entrenched interests.

These latter two deserve a further note. Enormous rewards are reaped by colonial investors, either as absentee landholders or as stockholders. Many colonies have huge plantations, owned by individuals or corporations in the mother country and worked by native labour whose status is not much better than that of slaves. The same holds true of mines and factories which return fabulous profits.

In the same way, colonies—or the demand for colonies—have diverted attention from an unhealthy economic system. How easy it would be for the United States with its millions of unemployed to demand colonies, instead of adjusting its economic arrangements. In Germany, to cite but one example, 17,000 Junkers east of the Elbe own 4,000,000 hectares of arable land and 9,000,000 hectares of forests, while 1,600,000 peasants grub along on 3,500,000 hectares of land. The demand for colonies hushes the cry for reform of this inequity.

"A Pre-requisite of World Peace"

The late Rev. J. T. Sunderland, the greatest foreign friend of India, repeatedly asserted and proved in *The Modern Review* that the most effective means of promoting world peace would be the liberation of India. That statement of his finds support in the following paragraph from "World Events" :

Jeremy Bentham, in the 18th century, declared that the abolition of the colonial system was a prerequisite of

world peace. Rather than extend and sanction the colonial system, it is time to work out a method for the gradual emancipation of all colonies. Increasing autonomy might serve as a practice period for complete independence. Such a course will probably prove advantageous even for the colonial Powers, as the British discovered with their Dominions after granting them autonomy.

But they have not given India the benefit of this discovery.

Garrisoning India with Dominion White Troops

Competitive examination for the Indian Medical Service was given up because British medical students, in numbers sufficient in the opinion of British imperialists to fill most of the higher medical posts in India, could not compete with Indian medical students. Similarly, competitive examination for the Indian Civil Service has been partly given up in favour of nomination because British young men had been increasingly losing ground in competition with Indian young men.

A similar situation has arisen with respect to the white army of occupation in India. There are in India enough fit men and to spare to take the place of every white soldier in India for the purpose of defending India against foreign attack. But British imperialists keep the white army in India not merely or mainly for the defence of India but as an army of occupation. Therefore the entire replacing of white soldiers by Indian ones is against British policy.

But how to obtain a constant supply of white British troops for India? British and Anglo-Indian newspapers have published the fact that recruiting for Britain's own home army has been inadequate and unsatisfactory for some time past. This betokens some reluctance on the part of Britishers to man their own home army for the purpose of defending their own homeland. Hence it is easy to understand that a similar reluctance to join the white army in India may have become perceptible.

In the circumstances a very brilliant idea has struck British imperialists and militarists. Why not garrison India partly with white troops from the Dominions—from South Africa, Australia, Canada,. . . . ? That Indians will intensely dislike the idea is, of course, no consideration. Do Indians like British soldiers? They don't. So, if inspite of their dislike, there can be British white troops in India, why should not there be white Dominion troops here even though they may be more disliked than British troops? We say 'more,' because the colour bar is more glaringly in evidence in Dominions like South Africa than in Great Britain.

But there are other difficulties in the way of placing white Dominion troops in India. The ordinary Dominion white makes more money in his own country than what a white soldier gets in India, though he gets very much more than the Indian Sepoy. So there would not be sufficient pecuniary inducement for Dominion whites in the prime of manhood to come asoldiering to India. Moreover, Australia, Canada, etc., are themselves insufficiently populated for the purpose of exploiting their own natural resources. Can they be expected to spare men in adequate numbers to serve Britain's imperialist purposes?

We have a very brilliant idea of our own of which we make a present to British imperialists free of charge. Now that there is a friendly understanding between Great Britain and U. S. S. R., why not import white soldiers from U. S. S. R. for service in India? Next to China and India, Soviet Russia is the most populous country in the world and can spare some soldiers.

Pacifist Inspiration from Indus Valley Civilization

When the late Mr. R. D. Banerji recognized evidences of the earliest civilization in India and one of the earliest in the world in the archæological discoveries he made at Mohenjo-Daro, he could not anticipate all the epoch-making conclusions which would later be based on the finds. Far less could he foresee that pacifists would be able to support their movement with facts relating to the Indus Valley civilization.

It is not very generally known that Aldous Huxley, the celebrated British novelist, who is one of the world's outstanding literary figures, has become a strong and impressive champion of the uncompromising war resistance movement. In a widely circulated pamphlet, "What Are You Going To Do About It? The Case for Constructive Peace," published by Chatto and Windus, Huxley strikes out at all the objections made to pacifism and asserts that constructive peace is possible.

To those who say that there can be no civilization without war or that history teaches that war will always continue, Huxley replies :

Recent archaeological research has shown that this correlation between war and civilization has not been invariable. The civilization of the Indus Valley was as rich and elaborate as those of Sumer and Egypt. But it was a civilization that knew nothing of war. No weapons have been found in its buried cities, nor any

trace of fortifications. This fact is of the highest significance. It proves that it is possible for men to enjoy the advantages of a complex urban civilization without having to pay for them by periodical mass-murders.

Huxley Meets other Pro-war Arguments

There are those who consider war as a means to peace. To these Huxley answers:

> In point of fact, have peace and justice ever been secured by war? In so far as we are scientists, technicians, or artists, we all admit that the means employed determine the ends achieved. For example, a village blacksmith may be earnestly and sincerely desirous of making a Rolls-Royce engine. But the means at his disposal fatally determine his end and the thing which finally emerges from the smithy will be very different from the instrument of precision that he intended to make.
>
> What is so obviously true of technology and science is no less true of all human activities. The man who uses violence as a means for securing the love of his family will certainly achieve quite another end. The state which makes war on a neighbor will create, not peace, but the makings of a war of revenge.

To those who object that pacifism has its risks, Huxley points out that militarism does not provide security either. He continues:

> The risks of militarism are far greater than those of pacifism. Militarism cannot fail to lead us into war, whereas pacifism has a very good chance of preventing war from breaking out.

Finally, this great British writer expresses his abiding faith in pacifism as a practical programme:

> Pacifism does work. True, there is no pacifist technique for arresting shells in mid-trajectory or even for persuading the airmen circling above a city to refrain from dropping their bombs . . . But if the principles of Pacifism are consistently put into practice the big guns will never be let off and the airmen will never be ordered to drop their bombs.
>
> The best way of dealing with typhoid is not to cure it, but to prevent its breaking out. Pacifism is to war what clean water and clean milk are to typhoid; it makes the outbreak of war impossible.

Bengali Literary Conference

This year the Bengali Literary Conference met at Chandernagore in French territory. The credit for holding it there belongs to Mr. Hari Hor Sett and his co-workers. The conference had the distinction of being opened by Rabindranath Tagore. He referred in the course of his short extempore speech to his stay at Chandernagore in his early youth and the dawn of his poetic life there He stressed the importance of keeping the stream of literature undefiled. That was also one of the things on which the president of the conference, Mr. Hirendranath Dutta, laid stress. He gave in his address authentic information relating to the movement for making Bengali the medium of instruction and examination in the Calcutta University. Among the earliest promoters and adherents of that movement were himself and Rabindranath Tagore. The conference passed a resolution asking for making Bengali the medium of instruction and examination for even the higher and highest degrees of the university and even in the faculties of science, medicine and engineering.

The conference was divided into sections with sectional presidents. It is noteworthy that two of the sections, namely, Fiction and Poetry, were presided over by two authoresses, Srijukta Anurupa Devi and Srijukta Mankumari Basu.

There was an exhibition in connection with the conference in which exhibits connected with the history of Chandernagore were shown along with the literary, artistic and industrial achievements of that town.

All-India Hindi Sahitya Sammelan at Madras

In the course of his lucid and practical presidential address at the All-India Hindi Sahitya Sammelan at Madras Seth Jaunalal Bajaj paid the following compliment to the people of the Madras Presidency:

> To have imparted a working knowledge of Hindi to six to seven lakhs of men and women at a cost of four and a half lakhs of rupees is no mean achievement. There is hardly a city in South India where nowadays we do not come across a Hindi-speaking man or woman. You of the South have a genius for languages—especially the sisters and I warmly congratulate them for their great contribution to this work. Now I wish we had from the very beginning some sisters also engaged as *pracharikas.* We should then have made even greater progress. In the Mahila Vidyalaya at Wardha we have decided to have two sisters from every province in order that we may be able to train them as *pracharikas.*

The Sammelan passed a resolution condemning the Panjab (?) Government's ban on Hindi and Devnagari script and their order to adopt Urdu as the medium of instruction through the Persian script. Another resolution requested the Nizam of Hyderabad to introduce Hindi into his State. Babu Purshotamdas Tandon's resolution regarding alterations in the rules governing gender in the Hindi grammar provoked a heated discussion. Mr. Rajagopalachariar spoke against the motion, which was, however, carried. Some alterations in the rules are desirable.

Mr. Gandhi Explains Why Governors' Assurance of Non-interference was Wanted

Mahatma Gandhi has issued a statement explaining why Congress wanted assurance from

the provincial governors that the constitutional activities of the Congress ministries, if formed, would not be interfered with. His whole statement, which is printed below, should be carefully considered.

"Having brooded over the refusal of the Governors to give assurances asked by the invited Congress leaders in majority provinces I feel I must give my opinion on the situation that has arisen in the country. I have had three cables from London shown to me asking for my opinion. Friends in Madras too have pressed for its publication. Though it is a departure from my self-imposed rule. I can no longer withstand the pressure, especially as I am the sole author of the office-acceptance clause of the Congress resolution and originator of the idea of attaching the condition to office-acceptance.

My desire was not to lay down any impossible condition. On the contrary, I wanted to devise a condition that could be easily accepted by the Governors. There was no intention whatsoever to lay down condition whose acceptance would mean any slightest abrogation of the constitution. Congressmen were well aware that they could not and would not ask for any such amendment. The Congress policy was and is not to secure an amendment but the absolute ending of the constitution which nobody likes. Congressmen were and are also aware that they could not end it by mere acceptance of office, even conditional:

"The object of that section of the Congress which believed in office-acceptance was, pending the creation by means consistent with the Congress creed of non-violence, of a situation that would transfer all power to the people to work offices so as to strengthen the Congress which has been shown predominantly to represent mass opinion.

"I felt that this object could not be secured unless there was a gentlemanly understanding between the Governors and their Congress Ministers that they would not exercise their special powers of interference so long as the Ministers acted within the constitution. Not to do so would be to court an almost immediate deadlock after entering upon office. I felt that honesty demanded that understanding. It is a common cause that the Governors have discretionary powers. Surely, there was nothing extra-constitutional in their saying that they would not exercise their discretion against Ministers carrying on constitutional activities! It may be remembered that the understanding was not to touch numerous other safeguards over which the Governors had no power. A strong party with the decisive backing of the electorate could not be expected to put itself in the precarious position of bing in dread of interference at the will of the Governors.

"The question may be put in another way. Should the Governors be courteous to the ministers or discourteous? I hold that it would be distinctly discourteous if they interfered with their ministers in matters over which the law gave the latter full control and with which the Governors were under no legal obligation to interfere.

"A self-respecting minister conscious of an absolute majority at his back could not but demand assurance of non-interference. Have I not heard Sir Samuel Hoare and other ministers saying in so many words that ordinarily Governors would not use their admittedly large powers of interference? I claim that the Congress formula has asked for nothing more. It has been claimed on behalf of the British Government that the Act gives autonomy to the provinces. If that is so, it is not the Governors but the ministers who are, during their period of office, responsible for wise administration of their provinces. Responsible ministers sensible of their duty could not submit to interference in pursuance of their daily duty.

"It does, therefore, appear to me that once more the British Government have broken to the heart what they have promised to the ear. I doubt not that they can and will impose their will on the people till the latter develop enough strength from within to resist it, but that cannot be called working provincial autonomy.

"By flouting a majority obtained through the machinery of their creation they have, in plain language, ended autonomy, which they claim the constitution has given to the provinces. The rule, therefore, will now be a rule of the sword, not of the pen nor of the indisputable majority. Any way, that is the only interpretation which, with all good will in the world, I can put upon the Government's action, for I believe in the cent per cent honesty of my formula whose acceptance might have prevented the crisis and resulted in a natural, orderly and peaceful transference of power from the Bureaucracy to the largest and fullest Democracy known to the world."—*A. P.*

Mahatma Gandhi appears to think that the new constitution is such that the offices of ministers can be so worked as to strengthen the Congress. But Congress had never expressed such an opinion before. On the contrary the Congress election manifesto had declared that the new legislatures "are totally incapable of solving the vital problems of poverty and unemployment." Our opinion on office acceptance by Congress remains unchanged.

Finance Bill Passed by Council of State

By 27 votes to 15 the Council of State has passed the motion for the consideration of the Finance Bill as recommended by the Viceroy. This means that the autocratic Government of India have restored all the 'cuts' made in the Legislature by the representatives of the people. This is the meaning of British-made democracy in India.

Years ago Sir J. C. Bose wrote a book on Response in the Living and the Non-living. The Council of State is popularly thought to be a museum for fossils or the Non-living. Perhaps that popular notion is partly wrong. For in the House of the Non-living at least 15 have responded to the voice of the nation.

Sri Ramakrishna Centenary "Parliament of Religions"

The Sri Ramakrishna Centenary celebrations, which had been going on for a year came to a close last month in Calcutta with a "Parliament of Religions." This assembly held some eight sessions. Several important addresses were delivered and some erudite papers were read. The meetings were held in the Calcutta

Town Hall, which was over-crowded every day with unprecedentedly large gatherings. Only on one day, when the poet-sage Rabindranath Tagore delivered his presidential address, the meeting was held in the Calcutta University Institute Hall, which was full to overflowing. Rising to thank the speaker at the end of the address Sir Francis Younghusband said that if Tagore's address had been the only one delivered at that parliament of religions, it would have been worth all the trouble taken to convene it.

The assembly was attended by many men and women from distant lands. Such gatherings were never before seen in Calcutta.

The followers of Sri Ramakrishna have given evidence in the centenary celebrations of great powers of organization and of giving publicity to what they wanted the public to know.

A great task awaits the countrymen of the Paramahansa. It is to study and examine all that has been presented to the public as his sayings and teachings and to separate what is not authentic, if any, from what is. We do not know whether this task will be undertaken, and if it be, by whom.

The desirability of such a thing being done may be considered in view of the fact that the Paramahansa, as far as we are aware, has not himself left any version of his teachings written in his own hand. The Buddha did not leave anything written. Hence Councils had to be held to settle what he actually said. Jesus Christ also left nothing written. Hence, textual criticism has been still going on to determine what he actually said. If what we have suggested be not done now with regard to the Paramahansa's teachings and sayings, the time is sure to come when it will have to be done, as has been the case with the teachings of the Buddha and Jesus Christ. There are still some persons living who actually saw and heard the Paramahansa, both among his followers and among others. Some others besides his followers have left on record what they heard from his lips and what they saw him doing.

The Question of the Equality and the Truth of All Religions

We have read in the papers that along with the message sent by Mahatma Gandhi to the Sri Ramakrishna Centenary Parliament of Religions there was the following question :

"Are all the religions equal, as we hold, or is there any one particular religion which is in the sole possession of truth, the rest being either untrue or a mixture of truth and errors, as many believe ?"

It is not with a view to giving an answer to this question, or, rather, these two questions, that we have quoted the above sentence. We have no power to do so. It is believed that some persons perceive truth intuitively—they receive inspiration as it were. But generally ordinary men like ourselves can proceed only by argument or reasoning, and there must be data for such reasoning.

If any one asked us, are all religions equal, we would ask him in return to give exhaustive descriptions and definitions of these religions. It is only after receiving his answer that we can proceed to prepare ours, if that be at all possible.

Again, if the question were, are all religions true, we would require the same kind of exhaustive descriptions and definitions. What we can easily and honestly say is that all the religions of which we have any knowledge contain truths of the highest value and that what we consider to be the essence of these religions can raise men to a high spiritual plane. Our saying this should not be considered to imply any criticism of those saints, seers and sages who may have said something different. We are unworthy to unloose the latchets of their shoes. What we in all humility say is that we cannot cry ditto to what we do not understand and cannot realize.

When questions like those put by Mahatma Gandhi have to be answered, it should be considered whether by a particular religion all its scriptures, rites, ceremonies, observances, customs and practices are to be understood. If so what are these? If not, what are and what are not included among them? If some are to be rejected, who is to do it? If some are to be rejected, in what exact sense is it to be understood that this religion is true, seeing that certain things considered to be its parts have to be rejected as not true or beneficial.

Mahatma Gandhi has written the following in *Harijan* (March 13, 1937):

I have nowhere said that I believe literally in every word of the Koran, or for the matter of that of any scripture in the world. But it is no business of mine to criticize the scriptures of other faiths, or to point out their defects. It is and should be, however, my privilege to proclaim and practise the truths that there may be in them. I may not, therefore, criticize or condemn things in the Koran or the life of the Prophet that I cannot understand. But I welcome every opportunity to express my admiration for such aspects of his life as I have been able to appreciate and understand. As for things that present difficulties, I am content to see them through the eyes of devout Mussalman friends, while I

try to understand them with the help of the writings of eminent Muslim expounders of Islam. It is only through such a reverential approach to faiths other than mine that I can realize the principle of equality of all religions. But it is both my right and duty to point out the defects in Hinduism in order to purify it and to keep it pure. But when non-Hindu critics set about criticizing Hinduism and cataloguing its faults they only blazon their own ignorance of Hinduism and their incapacity to regard it from the Hindu view-point. It distorts their vision and vitiates their judgment. Thus my own experience of the non-Hindu critics of Hinduism brings home to me my limitations and teaches me to be wary of launching on a criticism of Islam or Christianity and their founders.

Here Mahatmaji admits by implication that certain things which are popularly believed to be parts of certain religions have defects, or impurities.

It seems to us that if we are to declare that all religions are true we should be able to determine their essential portions as distinguished from non-essentials and accretions.

Jainas consider the killing of animals for any purpose whatsoever sinful. Hindus consider the killing of cows a heinous sin and the protection of cows very meritorious. Muhammadans consider the killing of cows no sin, and their sacrifice a part of their religion. If any one says that all religions as popularly understood are true and equal, he should explain clearly how the above views of the followers of different religions are all true and of equal spiritual value.

Jubilee of Only Independent Hindu King

The silver jubilee of His Majesty the King of Nepal, the only independent Hindu King left, was recently celebrated in his kingdom with great magnificence and enthusiasm. Addressing His Majesty King Tribhuban Vir Vikram Shah Dev of Nepal, H. H. Maharaja Joodha Shum Shere Bahadur Rana, the Prime Minister and supreme Commander-in-Chief and the *de facto* ruler, made a speech in the Nepalese language. It is printed below in part in English translation.

Military hospitals for soldiers, soldiers' provident fund, and military provident fund have been set up and new and fresh lands have been thrown open to ryots for cultivation and settlement. To provide postal facilities, outside your kingdom, our own postage stamps are being used from March 1, for letters to be sent to India, and exchange offices have been set up. A development board has been started not only to promote the trade and commerce of the country, but also to explore and utilize our country's minerals and forest products. Our agricultural department looks after rural uplift and the municipality after sanitary and other social amenities of life. Arrangements have been made to simplify the ceremonials and this cannot but lighten the yoke of the householders. Capital punishment was abolished during the past five years by way of experiment, and the period has now been extended to another five years. Ever so many reforms like these have been undertaken.

The Tri-Chandra College, opened by your Majesty, the Tri-Bhim Dhara, the Swastha Niwas (a great sanatorium), the electric power house of Sundari Jal, the Raxaul-Amlaekeganj Railway, the ropeway telephone, the fine metalled roads are really great achievements. In addition to these, the Tri-Chandra Canal, the Jai-Nagar Janakpur Railway, the extension of telephone up to Sirha, the large number of schools, pathsalas, hospitals, bridges and rest houses in ever so many parts of the kingdom, and other organizations and improvements, too numerous to mention, are achievements which the several thousands of our Majesty's subjects are grateful to you for.

Your Majesty, when Nepal experienced a great earthquake some three years ago—an earthquake, unknown in the annals of Nepalese history—relief was given to the subjects, and the Government Treasury was unstintedly thrown open for the alleviation of the distressed and the poor. The question of food and shelter was attended to and the Government stores of rice, grain, etc., were thrown open to the people and Government tents were distributed without any discrimination. What is more remarkable is that efforts were made to restore the normal life of the people as soon as it was possible.

A total remission of revenue and arrears amounting to about Rs. 65,63,320, release of all prisoners, except those guilty of culpable homicide and theft, dacoity and bad characters, a four months' reduction in the period of imprisonment of every prisoner have been sanctioned in commemoration of the silver jubilee.

Woman Burnt Alive at Panipat

The Amrita Bazar Patrika writes:

In their effort to enable the Hindus to exercise their ci l liberty in the matter of taking out a religious procession in connection with the Holi festival the Police came to grief at Panipat. As many as 18 of them have been admitted to hospital, victims of non-violent brickbats and half-a-dozen more of them have suffered minor injuries. Then came the turn of Hindus away from the scene to be the victims of communal frenzy. Among them is a middle-aged Hindu woman who has been burnt alive in her house. Such incidents have happened in the past but the persons who through the Press and the platform supply fuel to the fire and who are really responsible for these beastly orgies go unpunished and do in some cases occupy positions of responsibility and power.

U. S. S. R. Claims Success for Second 5-year Plan

Moscow, March 30.

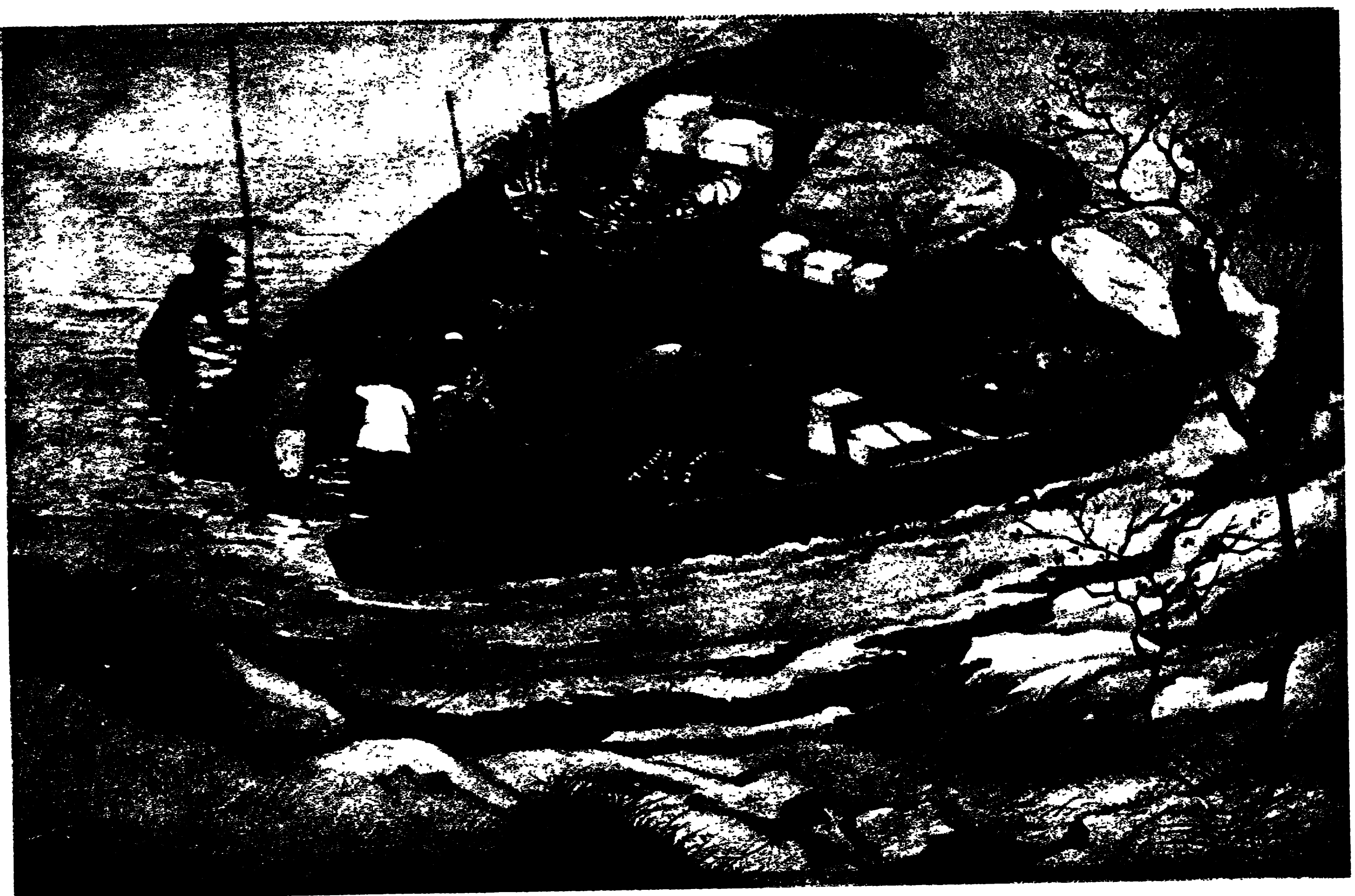
The successful completion this year of the Soviet's second five-year plan is forecast in the report of the Central Executive Committee.

The report states that in 1936 the industrial output increased by 28.4 per cent as compared with 1935, instead of 23.0 per cent as planned.

In spite of a serious drought in the south-west, agriculture attained considerable success, cotton specially exceeding the programme. The railway plan also exceeded the programme, but it is admitted that the plan has not been fulfilled in respect of coal, oil and certain industries.

The proposed industrial output in 1937 is valued at 103 milliard roubles, and it includes hundreds of miles of new railways, new power station, mines and oil wells.—*Reuter.*

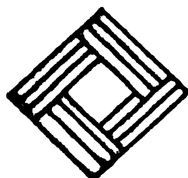
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BOATS
By Satyaranjan Mazumdar

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CHINA AND INDIA

By RABINDRANATH TAGORE

THE most memorable fact of human history is that of a path-opening, not for the clearing of a passage for machines or machine guns, but for helping the realisation by races of their affinity of minds, their mutual obligation of a common humanity. Such a rare event did happen and the path was built between our people and the Chinese in an age when physical obstruction needed heroic personality to overcome it and the mental barrier a moral power of uncommon magnitude. The two leading races of that age met, not as rivals on the battle-field each claiming the right to be the sole tyrant on earth, but as noble friends, glorying in their exchange of gifts. Then came a slow relapse into isolation, covering up the path with its accumulated dust of indifference. Today our old friends have beckoned to us again, generously helping us to retrace that ancient path obliterated by the inertia of forgetful centuries,—and we rejoice.

This is, indeed, a great day for me, a day long looked for, when I should be able to redeem, on behalf of our people, an ancient pledge implicit in our past, the pledge to maintain the intercourse of culture and friendship between our people and the people of China, an intercourse whose foundations were laid eighteen hundred years back by our ancestors with infinite patience and sacrifice. When I went to China several years ago I felt a touch of that great stream of life that sprang from the heart of India and overflowed across mountain and desert into that distant land, fertilising the heart of its people. I thought of that great pilgrimage, of those noble heroes, who, for the sake of their faith, their ideal of the liberation of self that leads to the perfect love which unites all beings, risked life and accepted banishment from home and all that was familiar to them. Many perished and left no trace behind. A few were spared to tell their story, a story not of adventurers and trespassers whose heroism has proved a mere romantic excuse for careers of unchecked brigandage, but a story of pilgrims who came to offer their gifts of love and wisdom, a story indelibly recorded in the cultural memory of their hosts. I read it when I was received there as a representative of a revered race and felt proud as I traced the deep marks our ancestors had left behind of their achievements. But I also felt the humiliation of our long lasting evil fate that has obscured for us in an atmosphere of inanity the great human value of a noble endeavour, one of the most precious in the history of man.

I told my Chinese hosts on that occasion: 'My friends, I have come to ask you to re-open the channel of communication which I hope is still there; for though overgrown with weeds of oblivion, its lines can still be traced. I have not the same voice that my ancestors had. I have not the wisdom they possessed. My life has not attained that consciousness of fulfilment needed to make this message fruitful. We in India are a defeated race; we have no power, political, military or commercial; we do not know how to help you or injure you materially. But fortunately we can still meet you as your guests, your hosts, your brothers and your friends. Let that happen. I invite you to us as you have invited me. I do not know whether you have heard of the institution I have established in my land. Its one object is to let India welcome the world to its heart. Let what seems a barrier

become a path, and let us unite, not in spite of our differences, but through them. For differences can never be wiped away, and life would be so much the poorer without them. Let all human races keep their own personalities, and yet come together, not in a uniformity that is dead, but in a unity that is living."

That has happened and friends are here from China with their gift of friendship, and co-operation. The Hall which is to be opened today will serve both as the nucleus and as a symbol of that larger understanding that is to grow with time. Here students and scholars will come from China and live as part of ourselves, sharing our life and letting us share theirs, and by offering their labours in a common cause, help in slowly rebuilding that great course of fruitful contact between our peoples, that has been interrupted for ten centuries. For this *Visva-Bharati* is, and will, I hope, remain a meeting place for individuals from all countries, East or West, who believe in the unity of mankind and are prepared to suffer for their faith. I believe in such individuals even though their efforts may appear to be too insignificant to be recorded in history.

It might be supposed that in a world so closely knit by railways, steamships and air lines, where almost every big city is cosmopolitan, such special invitations for contact are superfluous. But, unfortunately, the contacts that are being made today have done more to estrange and alienate peoples from one another than physical inaccessibility ever did. We are discovering for ourselves the painful truth that nothing divides so much as the wrong kind of nearness. People seem to be coming in each other's way, dodging and trapping one another, without ever coming together. We meet others, either as tourists when we merely slide against the surface of their life, entering hotels only to disappear from their land, or as exploiters in one disguise or another. We are living in a world where nations are divided into two main groups —those who trample on others' freedom, and those who are unable to guard their own; so that while we have too much of intrusion on others' rights, we have hardly any intercourse with their culture. It is a terrorised world, dark with fear and suspicion, where peaceful races in dread of predatory hordes are retreating into isolation for security.

I am reminded of my experience as we were travelling up from Shanghai to Nanking along the great river, Yang Tse. All through the night I kept on coming out of my cabin to watch the beautiful scene on the banks, the sleeping cottages with their solitary lamps, the silence spread over the hills, dim with mist. When morning broke and brought into view fleets of boats coming down the river, their sails stretching high into the air, a picture of life's activity with its perfect grace of freedom, I was deeply moved and felt that my own sail had caught the wind and was carrying me from captivity, from the sleeping past, out into the great world of man. It brought to my mind different stages in the history of man's progress.

In the night each village was self-centred, each cottage stood bound by the chain of unconsciousness. I knew, as I gazed on the scene, that vague dreams were floating about in this atmosphere of sleeping souls, but what struck my mind more forcibly was the fact that when men are asleep they are shut up within the very narrow limits of their own individual lives. The lamps exclusively belonged to the cottages, which in their darkness were in perfect isolation. Perhaps, though I could not see them, some prowling bands of thieves were the only persons awake, ready to exploit the weakness of those who were asleep.

When daylight breaks we are free from the enclosure and the exclusiveness of our individual life. It is then that we see the light which is for all men and for all times. It is then that we come to know each other and come to cooperate in the field of life. This was the message that was brought in the morning by the swiftly moving boats. It was the freedom of life in their outspread sails that spoke to me; and I felt glad. I hoped and prayed that morning had truly come in the human world and that the light had broken forth.

This age to which we belong, does it not still represent night in the human world, a world asleep, whilst individual races are shut up within their own limits, calling themselves nations, which barricade themselves, as these sleeping cottages were barricaded, with shut doors, with bolts and bars, with prohibitions of all kinds? Does not all this represent the dark age of civilization, and have we not begun to realize that it is the robbers who are out and awake?

But I do not despair. As the early bird, even while the dawn is yet dark, sings out and proclaims the rising of the sun, so my heart sings to proclaim the coming of a great future which is already close upon us. We must be ready to welcome this new age. There are some people, who are proud and wise and practical, who say that it is not in human nature to be generous, that men will always fight one another, that the strong will conquer the weak and that there can be no real moral foundation for man's civiliza-

tion. We cannot deny the facts of their assertion that the strong have their rule in the human world : but I refuse to accept this as a revelation of truth.

It is co-operation and love, mutual trust and mutual aid which make for strength and real merit of civilization. New spiritual and moral power must continually be developed to enable men to assimilate their scientific gains, to control their weapons and machines, or these will dominate and enslave them. I know that many will point to the weakness of China and India and tell us that thrown as we are among other ruthlessly strong and aggressive world peoples, it is necessary to emphasise power and progress in order to avoid destruction. It is indeed true that we are weak and disorganised, at the mercy of every barbaric force, but that is not because of our love of peace but because we no longer pay the price of our faith by dying for it. We must learn to defend our humanity against the insolence of the strong, only taking care that we do not imitate their ways and, by turning ourselves brutal, destroy those very values which alone make our humanity worth defending. For danger is not only of the enemy without but of the treason within us. We had, for over a century, been so successfully hypnotised and dragged by the prosperous West behind its chariot that, though choked by the dust, deafened by the noise, humbled by our helplessness, overwhelmed by speed, we yet agreed to acknowledge that this chariot-drive was progress, and that progress was civilization. If we ever ventured to ask, however humbly : "Progress towards what, and progress for whom?"—it was considered to be peculiarly and ridiculously oriental to entertain such doubts about the absoluteness of progress. It is only of late that a voice has been heeded by us, bidding us to take account not only of the scientific perfection of the chariot, but of the depth of ditches lying across its path. Today we are emboldened to ask : what is the value of progress if it make a desert of this beautiful world of man? And though we speak as members of a nation that is humiliated and oppressed and lies bleeding in the dust, we must never acknowledge the defeat, the last insult, the utter ruin of our spirit being conquered, of our faith being sold. We need to hear again and again, and never more than in this modern world of head-hunting and cannibalism in disguise that :—By the help of unrighteousness men do prosper, men do gain victories over their enemies, men do attain what they desire; but they perish at the root.

It is to this privilege of preserving, not the mere body of our customs and conventions, but the moral force which has given quality to our civilization and made it worthy of being honoured, that I invite the co-operation of the people of China, recalling the profound words of their sage, Lao-tze : Those who have virtue attend to their obligations; those who have no virtue attend to their claims. Progress which is not related to an inner ideal, but to an attraction which is external, seeks to satisfy endless claims. But civilization, which is an ideal, gives us power and joy to fulfil our obligations.

Let us therefore abide by our obligation to maintain and nourish the distinctive merit of our respective cultures and not be misled into believing that what is ancient is necessarily outworn and what is modern is indispensable. When we class things as modern or old we make a great mistake in following our calendar of dates. We know that the flowers of Spring are old, that they represent the dawn of life on earth,—but are they therefore symbols of the dead and discarded? Would we rather replace them with artificial flowers made of rags, because they were made "yesterday"? It is not what is old or what is modern that we should love and cherish but what has truly a permanent human value. And can anything be more worthy of being cherished than the beautiful spirit of the Chinese culture that has made the people love material things without the strain of greed, that has made them love the things of this earth, clothe them with tender grace without turning them materialistic? They have instinctively grasped the secret of the rhythm of things,—not the secret of power that is in science, but the secret of expression. This is a great gift, for God alone knows this secret. I envy them this gift and wish our people could share it with them.

I do not know what distinctive merit we have which our Chinese friends and others may wish to share. Once indeed our sages dedicated themselves to the ideal of perfect sympathy and intellect, in order to win absolute freedom through wisdom and absolute love through pity. Today we cannot boast of either such wisdom or such magnanimity of heart. But I hope we are not yet reduced to such absolute penury of both as not to be able to offer at least a genuine atmosphere of hospitality, of an earnestness to cross over our limitations and move nearer to the hearts of other peoples and understand somewhat of the significance of the endless variety of man's creative effort.

14th April, 1937.

Address delivered on the occasion of the opening of the Chinese Hall at Santiniketan.

MUDDLED EUROPE

By Major D. GRAHAM POLE

Signor Mussolini has got the jitters. His speeches grow wilder and wilder but more revealing still he is chopping and changing his alliances, reversing what seemed to be settled policies. Plainly he is frightened at the position in which he finds himself. He has got his Empire in Abyssinia now but he has obtained it at the price of losing the respect of any decent opinion there is in the world. Moreover in doing so he has made an enemy of Great Britain and Great Britain is going to raise up a great force to keep him in check in the Mediterranean.

The conquest of Abyssinia was altogether too easy and it went to his head like wine. But he is learning now that it is not the conquest of an empire but its consolidation which is the greater task. Abyssinia may drain Italy of men and money for years and years before it begins to pay any dividends. And if it is going to do this, how can Italy play a leading role in Europe? Especially when Great Britain has decided to sit on her tail in the Mediterranean. That is why Signor Mussolini is getting so shrill and is so nervously shuffling his alliances. His day in Europe is over—even though, in the true dying lion tradition, he attempt some last mad venture before he goes.

Italy's flash in the pan has been pretty characteristic. Signor Mussolini dreams of Imperial Rome but it is Renaissance Italy from which he derives. As in the age of the Italian Renaissance, poison has been the favourite weapon. Not force of arms but poison gas has defeated Abyssinia. Similarly the Catholic Church plays an inscrutable hand. When all the civilised world is aghast at the blood on Italy's hands, the Pope crowns the ocassion by offering to the Queen of Italy, to the new Empress of Abyssinia, the gift of the Golden Rose. Finally even the touch of the ludicrous is not lacking. The princes of the Renaissance were famed for their mistresses. Signor Mussolini's mistress, Mem. Magda Fontange, has got into the news at the psychological moment. In Paris she has shot at the Count de Chambrun, the former French Ambassador to Rome. In her flat were found a three foot square signed portrait of Signor Mussolini and her diary chock full of references to her exalted lover and of unmistakeable topographical descriptions of the rooms in which he lives.

But it is in Spain of course that Signor Mussolini, and the world, is discovering the hollowness of Italian pretensions. In the past ten days the Spanish Government forces have made a desperate effort to prevent the final encirclement of Madrid, to keep open the remaining road to Valencia, and the effort is so far succeeding. General Franco, the Spanish rebel leader, has seen this his fifth offensive on Madrid end in disaster—and his Italian allies flee so precipitately that their flight was plainly visible from the hills. "There were no two ways about it," writes a War Correspondent. "The Italians fled so precipitately that six field guns, three lorry loads of ammunition and sixty transport lorries were abandoned, as well as numbers of machine guns and machine-gun rifles."

Poor Italian soldiers! They are seeing more real fighting in Spain than ever they saw in Abyssinia, where poison gas and the native Askaris did all the major work. When they fight in Europe, thrown into a quarrel which is not in any reality their own, and against fellow Latins to whom the quarrel is honour and life itself, they soon lose heart. The *Daily Telegraph* has been banned in Rome for reporting that the fleeing Italians were being pursued at the bayonet point. The *News Chronicle* has been banned for a long time. If Rome could read it they might learn of things even more strange. Italian prisoners, brought before the Spanish Minister of Education and other officials for questioning, joined with the Spaniards in singing "The Red Flag." The Spanish guns too are firing strange "shells" into the Italian lines. These are leaflets setting forth the Spanish case and exposing the plot of the Fascists in Italy and the Fascists in Spain to destroy Spanish independence. *This is the first criticism of their regime that these Italians have read since it was set up in 1922, as Mr. Vernon Bartlett points out.*.

Perhaps it is worth pausing for a moment on this last point. It must never be forgotten that in Dictatorship countries there is no public opinion save that put out by the dictatorship. Italians and Germans simply do not know how



King George VI as Admiral of the Fleet



The King and Queen performing their last public duty as Duke and Duchess of York in Edinburgh



King George VI, the Queen and the Princesses

their action is regarded by the rest of the world or even what their action is unless it suits the Dictators to tell them. This is of overwhelming importance when it comes to questions of war. Not upon the rights and wrongs of a case, not upon its economic pros and cons, but at the behest of their Dictators will Italians and Germans go to war (I do not add Russians because Russia, like her democratic ally France, will not make an aggressive war). And so afraid is Signor Mussolini of what his Italians have discovered while fighting in the Spanish War that it is said that these unfortunate men may not be allowed to return to Italy again. They will leave Spain only to go to Abyssinia.

While his legionaries, as he loves to call them and did call them in a cable he sent to them on the Guadalajara front, were retreating in *Europe*, Signor Mussolini was having a high Roman time in *Africa*. This ranged from unveiling a statue of Julius Caesar to proclaiming himself Defender to the Islam Faith! On his way back he was to have made a grand review of the Italian Navy but this was cut short because of bad news coming into Rome. When troubles come they come not as single spies but in battalions—and all in one weakend he was to hear of defeat in Spain, of scandal in Paris, and of a most unpleasant incident in the one-time satellite Austria where a football match between Italians and Austrians had turned into a war in miniature. . . . .

But the Spaniards had better not be too confident and forget that a wounded lion is all the more dangerous. The first effect of these reverses has been an intimation from Italy, made to the Non-Intervention Committee in London, that she is not prepared to discuss the question of withdrawing "volunteers" from Spain. As up till then she had objected to doing so unless and until the Spanish gold reserve was also discussed—and the Soviet Government which had opposed this had now withdrawn their objection —this came as a bombshell. But worse was to follow: the Italian representative added that in his opinion not a single "volunteer" would be withdrawn until the end of the war.

This of course is nothing but defiance. Nothing but an intimation that Italy intends to go her own way as regards Spain and without regard to any general policy or consideration. At the moment of writing the French Foreign Minister, M. Yvon Delbos, is taking action in the matter. He has summoned the British and German Ambassadors in Paris and told them the view which France takes of the crisis. France first proposed the policy of Non-Intervention so that it is fitting that she should take the initiative when that policy seems finally to have been betrayed. But one cannot help regretting that she was not equally positive in her action two years ago, when Italy made war on Abyssinia, and when all the present troubles really began It was her procrastination, her unwillingness to bring the League machinery into action against Italy, which dealt a mortal blow to the budding idea of collective security. And the result was that Italy destroyed Abyssinia, grew puffed up to what she is now, and set us all racing to build up armaments. But above all and worst of all she encouraged Germany by her example to believe that it is possible to run a local, imperial war, without drawing on a World War. (And the Army in Germany clings to this and will not let Herr Hitler think of any general European settlement. Let him settle in the West and then turn to expansion in the East!)

France, says M. Delbos, has proof that Italy has sent regular troops to Spain. This is established by irrefutable documents such as photographs of battalion orders. These troops moreover have been sent to Spain since February 20th—that date on which the ban on volunteers came into force. (Note that!) Italy's action can only mean that she wishes to install herself in Spain. It is in fact, says M. Delbos echoing the words of the Soviet Ambassador in London, tantamount to an attitude of war without a declaration of war. Italy in Spain could constitute a menace to French communications with North Africa—and this France cannot permit. M. Delbos indicated therefore to the German Ambassador that France would be glad if Germany would use her good offices to persuade Italy to refrain from sending any more volunteers to Spain. But in certain eventualities, he told the two Ambassadors, France would "move through the Non-Intervention Committee for an appeal to the League of Nations for coercive measures, which would at first be naval."

It is a great temptation to digress and enlarge upon the coolness of this French démarche. The coercive measures are to be naval which is certainly an advance intimation that England will be given the baby to carry! But this occasion also demonstrates, what supporters of the League have said over and over again, the League will work whenever the Powers who make up the League decide that it *shall* work. If France and Germany and England now take the lead at Geneva in determining that intervention in Spain shall cease, who can doubt that the League will triumph?

All the same, and in his present temper,

Signor Mussolini is sure to attempt some way to revenge himself upon the Spaniards for putting his "legionaries" to flight. Poison gas defeated the Abyssinians and it may be used against them. Italian prisoners, in fact, report the presence of "chemical companies" with the Italian expedition. Apart from this, aeroplanes, as the *News Chronicle* points out, are not under international control. Madrid has been bombed so often that nothing evidently can break its morale. But perhaps it can anticipate an intensification of aerial bombardment. ("People don't run into cellars in Madrid when the bombers pay their daily visit. You may walk, but every civilian in Madrid would consider it a disgrace to run.") In any event the "volunteers" in Spain will take a lot of shifting. There are now 80,000 Italian soldiers fighting in this undeclared war. And this figure does not include the shiploads which Italy describes as "doctors and helpers" merely.

It is significant that the French Foreign Minister should appeal to Germany to intercede with Italy. One sign that Italy's luck is changing, that Signor Mussolini is getting jittery, is that her friends are forsaking her. They were only fair weather friends. The friendship between Germany and Italy was always an unnatural one anyway. And Germany's intervention in the Spanish War seemed hardly worth her while except as a try-out (and the German Higher Command, it is said, have discovered various weaknesses which make it inadvisable for Germany to engage in a big war yet on her own account). Ten thousand Germans took part in the capture of Malaga, as compared with fifteen thousand Italians, while at Guadalajara the Germans had only three air squadrons to four of the Italians. Since the beginning of January, morevoer, it is stated that the German Government has practically stopped sending "volunteers" and materials to Spain. Germany in short has no wish to become a Mediterranean Power; geography is against it. Nor does she see the necessity for clinging to Italy. Like all the rest of the world she is beginning to realise that when Italy went into Abyssinia, she went out of effective control in European politics.

Far from Germany seeking Italy's friendship, the boot is now on the other foot. Italy will go a long way to placate Germany, even to the length of abandoning Austria. A few years ago Dr. Dollfuss, the Austrian Chancellor, put his country under Italian protection. From time to time Italy has encouraged Austria in the idea of a Hapsburg restoration : there have been rumours of a marriage between the Pretender to the Austrian Throne and a daughter of the King of Italy. Germany has fiercely opposed the idea of a Hapsburg Restoration because she knows that that would put an end to the idea of the union of Germany and Austria. Now in her anxiety to keep Germany at her side Italy is opposing the Hapsburgs also. So it was not surprising that the Austrian worm turned a week ago—and when an Italian football team came to play against them last week the Austrians fell on the visiting team!

Another friend Italy has abandoned is Hungary. For years Italy has encouraged Hungary in her revisionist hopes. If these hopes are to be fulfilled, if the Treaty of Trianon is to be modified, then Jugo-Slavia must give up part of her territory. Hungary has hated Jugo-Slavia and harboured terrorists who plotted against her. Italy has hated Jugo-Slavia because by the Peace Treaties she was given territories on the Adriatic which Italy had been promised by the Secret Treaty which brought her into the Great War. But now Italy is burying the hatchet. Count Ciano, the Italian Foreign Minister, has gone to Belgrade to negotiate a commercial and a political accord. It is said in Vienna that Signor Mussolini has offered to guarantee the present Jugo-Slav frontiers for 50 years, besides pledging himself to support the Jugo-Slavs in preventing the restoration of the Hapsburgs.

All this is playing Germany's game. For years Italy has tried to make politics in Central and Eastern Europe revolve round Rome. Now it looks as if she is trying to make things as pleasant as possible with Germany, because she knows she must leave to Germany. All her energies and resources now are bound up with her Empire in Africa. It would suit her position and prestige to be paramount in the Mediterranean. And she may try at last to bring off the much discussed "mad dog" act there. But on the European mainland she no longer counts.

The abandoned countries, it should be added, may not after all follow the German star. It so happens that at the moment when Italy has deserted Hungary, Hungary has discovered good reason for drawing away from Germany. She has discovered within her borders the existence of an extensive Nazi plot. And Dr. Schusnigg, the Austrian Chancellor, who must have had a surfeit of German and Italian interference, is also taking advantage of the times. He has dismissed from his Cabinet the most outstandingly pro-Nazi Minister and he is trying to draw

Austria, Hungary and Czecho-Slovakia into a new understanding.

Czecho-Slovakia, of course, will be the first victim should Germany at last decide on an adventure in Eastern Europe. This small democracy, stranded in the midst of dictatorships, was for years an example to her neighbours for the liberal way in which she treated her minorities. But the rise of the Nazis in Germany infected the German minority in Czecho-Slovakia with the same Pan-German spirit and the attitude of the Government not unnaturally hardened. Recent German intervention in Spain, into the bargain, cannot have done much to decrease their fears of German intervention in Czecho-Slovakia. Yet in spite of all this Czecho-Slovakia is now making a new effort to placate her German minority—a minority of 3,300,000 compared with 9,500,000 Czechs and Slovaks.

If this attempt on the part of the Central European countries to stand on their own feet is a move towards peace, as it surely is, is it too much to ask that Great Britain should give them some encouragement ? Visitors to Czecho-Slovakia report that she is delighted that Great Britain is re-arming, that she believes that Britain no less than France and Russia, would come to her aid if she were the victim of unprovoked aggression. (It is our own fault if we raise these hopes abroad. Why are we re-arming if it is not because we fear German re-armament ? If we want to convince Czecho-Slovakia, or anyone else in Europe, that we believe in anything but armaments we had better start in straight away with a liberal foreign policy . . . . and seek co-operation with the United States and the Oslo group of countries who are anxious to reduce arms and to reduce tariffs simultaneously. But that is another story.)

Our immediate object and policy now must be to head Germany off from the idea that she can run a local, imperial war in East Europe. With that in mind we must refuse steadfastly to be drawn into any settlement that is not a general settlement. Whatever Herr Hitler offers in the West, and however tempting the prospect of a long-term peace (vain hope !) he may hold out for France and ourselves, the prospect must be resisted. To do otherwise is to walk into his trap—to give the German Army, in fact, their marching orders. They would make war in Eastern Europe tomorrow if they could be sure that France and Britain would keep out of it. They are not really afraid of Russia. History has shown over and over again that although Russia can prove the grave of an invading army, she rarely has any luck when she sends an army abroad.

If England really cares about peace, she must turn her attention to Germany. Germany is much the most fateful problem of the day. She is preparing for war, and for nothing else, and if she is to be diverted from that path, if she *can* be diverted now, overwhelming arguments must be put before her. She has always had a persecution complex—had it any way since before the Great War—so that arming against her is quite valueless. An attempt must be made to convince her that her co-operation is necessary and valued, to rescue her from the pariah state to which her morbid ideology has brought her. (It is outrageous that at the moment of writing there is talk of the Pope pronouncing ex-communication against Herr Hitler—outrageous because apparently the Pope has nothing to say to Signor Mussolini who let loose a three-day massacre in Addis Ababa following on the attempted assassination of the Italian Viceroy. Three days of massacre of "many thousands of Abyssinian men, women, and children.")

Yes, but how? Well a start at least could be made at Geneva by a determined effort on the part of Great Britain to make a success of the work of the Committee that is enquiring into the matter of access to raw materials. If we could show our goodwill, instead of our everlasting *non possumus*, it would be the thin end of a better wedge. Let us grasp at any opportunity that offers to bring Germany into the general scheme again. And away with the everlasting 1914 France, Britain, Russia allignment ! France made a good move when she asked Germany to intercede with Italy to bring to an end the intervention in Spain. Let us seek ways of acting with Germany—of modifying her view of Europe and the future.

EASTER, 1937.

PARAMAHANSA RAMAKRISHNA AS A MYSTIC

By Dr. Sir BRAJENDRA NATH SEAL

I have recently expounded, for the Parliament of Religions, the movement of religious thought and experience from Rammohun to Ramakrishna. Today I will dwell on the mystical aspect of religion, which Ramakrishna in modern times expressed more fully and more really than any other religious teacher I know of.

I will begin with a quotation from my recent utterance on the Paramahansa.

A. Ramakrishna's Mysticism Three Successive Phases

The ultimate entity is to be conceived either as formless (*nirupádhi*) or as all forms (*sopádhi*)

"(1). In contemplating truth from the Absolute (or *Nirupádhi*) point of view, he negatived all conditions and modes (*Upádhis*) but from the relative or conditional point of view (*Sopádhi*) he worshipped Kali the Divine Mother as well as other modes and adumbrations of the deity. He worshipped the One in All and the All in One, and he saw no contradiction but only a fuller reality in this. So also he reconciled the *Sākār and Nirākār Upāsanā* (iconic and aniconic worship). For him there was nothing in the material form of the deity but God manifesting Himself, and the antagonism between Matter and Spirit no longer existed for him.

"(2). What he refused to delude himself with was that he was above all conditions and all infirmities of the flesh. But in his trances (*Samádhi*), he developed Ecstasia in its purest form, such as has been rarely witnessed in the West in the religious world since the days of Eckhart and Tauler.

"(3). Like most Hindu saints he had an inexhaustible store of homely sayings, adages, metaphors, allegories and parables, which could bring spiritual truths home to the meanest understanding and even to the child."

I.—I will now develop what I have here indicated in brief. I will begin with a description of Mysticism.

1. Mysticism Characterised. Mysticism is indefinable but a mystic may be characterised as one who sees the normal in the abnormal and the abnormal in the normal, the natural in the unnatural and the unnatural in the natural, the common in the uncommon and the uncommon in the common.

The mystic thus resolves all contradictions in experience. Our judgments of little and great are reversed by him. He sees the little in the great and the great in the little, the unpractical in the practical and the practical in the unpractical, the extra-ordinary in the ordinary and the ordinary in the extra-ordinary.

The Mystic Contrasted with the Visionary

It is no mysticism when we see visions and dream dreams as we gaze into the sky or when we rear towers and castles in the cloud-land. Again the wonderful rhyme of Rabindranath.

মেঘেরা চলে চলে যায়,
চাঁদেরে বলে আয়, আয়।
ঘুম ঘোরে বলে চাদ কোথায় কোথায়।

"The clouds flit, flit, flit across the sky,
And call to the Moon, 'Come, O Come.'
Drowsily the Moon queries, 'Where, Oh where.'"

is the quintessence of poetry but this sounds no mystic note.

B. Mysticism Versus Symbolism

Mysticism is opposed to symbolism. The symbol as contrasted with *Svarupa* may be of two kinds.

1. *Pratika* or artificial symbol, which is such by convention. Here we say let A stand for B, *e.g.*, let the syllables *Hring Kring* signify God.

2. The symbol may be a natural one, what is called *Sampad, e.g.*, the rising sun may symbolise divine glory, mid-night may symbolise Nirvana, the cross may symbolise sacrifice or suffering. But in contrast with this, the mystic deals with the experience of Reality and by no means with mere symbols.

C. The Three Orders—The Saint, the Seer, and the Mystic

The saint is one who experiences a calm which is above and beyond all struggle and effort, though it is usually attained after long struggle.

The seer is the wise man who has an un-

ruffled vision of the Absolute and for whom all modalities and conventions have lost their force.

The mystic also, like the saint and the seer, has passed beyond all disturbances. He has transcended all passion and all struggle for life. But it is not with him a motionless quiescence or calm as in the seer. The mystic reaches unity in the act of cancelling contradictions and may be compared to the flash of light at the moment of its illumining the dark.

Bearing all this in mind, it will be seen that Ramakrishna was a saint and a seer but above all he was a mystic. He overcame contradictions by resolving the manifold into the One, and in pursuance of this, he sought to be a Hindu with the Hindu, a Moslem with the Moslem, a Christian with the Christian, and a Universalist with the Universalist, by reconciling contradictions in a unitary experience.

II. Inevitableness and Directions of Mysticism

The Mystic's experience is sun-clear, clear as the noon-day sun. It is inevitable and indubitable and even those who do not live in it, live by it and for it without their knowing it. There is no "as if" in mysticism but only "as." He is beyond the grip of the Kantian Categories, for he has dived into the "Ding-an-sich" (the thing in itself).

III. The Mystic's Experience—Ecstasia

But all this is only the outer paraphernalia

(এহ বাহ্য, আগে কহ আর).*

The essential experience of the mystic is a condition of ecstasy (ecstasia) variously termed *Laya, Samádhi, Kaivalya,* in Yogic Parlance. But what was a peculiar and personal feature in Paramahansa Ramakrishna was that he bridged the gulf between Rupa and Nirupa, Form and Formlessness and identified Kali with Brahma (the Absolute) in his meditations (*Dhyána*). But these trances appear to have weakened his physical system.

IV. The Mystic's Worldly Wisdom

It is a peculiarity of the great Indian Mystics that they have an inexhaustible store of worldly wisdom. Being above the world they see more deeply into the world and its play of motive and consequence more clearly than those who are tossed on the waves of worldly life and circumstance. Ramakrishna's homely sayings show that he was a master of this wisdom. But his especiality was that he made use of these adages and sayings for the purposes of spiritual enlightenment and freedom.

D. Ramakrishna's Reconciliation of Universalism and Particularism

Ramakrishna used to say '*jata mat, tata path*,' which being interpreted would run thus: "Each set of beliefs or dogmas has its corresponding set of practices or ways of life." This is the foundation of what is called in Indian parlance, '*sarvadharma-samanvaya*,' reconciliation of all religions and faiths. But this reconciliation can be effected in two ways.

(*a*) Brahamananda Keshub's Way:

The belief or dogma may be taken as primary and the practice will follow out this belief.

(*b*) Paramahansa Ramakrishna's Way:

The belief or dogma is only an appanage to the practice which is the primary element. The Paramahansa accordingly practised each cult and religion, being a Hindu with the Hindu, a Moslem with the Moslem, a Christian with the Christian and a Universalist with the Universalist.

This freedom became his heritage and portion in life. All this is in essential consonance with modernism in religion. But it is not in religion alone that this modern spirit should find its full scope and realisation. The various national cultures which now divide man from man should seek conciliation and harmony in all fields, social, economic as well as political. The Parliament of Religions is thus only a vestibule to a greater and wider Parliament, the Parliament of Man.

V. Religion As Mystical Realisation

To understand the Paramahansa in his essential reality, we must conceive religion as mystical realisation, in a transcendental experience, of the resolution or reconciliation of contradictory elements.

(*a*) The four stages of mystical illumination as described in Evelyn Underhill's Mysticism and William James's Varieties of Religious Experience afford a good introduction to the study of mystical experience.

•(*b*). Swedenborg's mystic correspondence between Nature and Spirit is an example of the modern type of mysticism. Others see the Oversoul in the Soul and the Soul in the Oversoul. Others again find the essence of reality in our experience of sorrow (*duhkhanubhuti*) and others again in Bliss (*ananda*).

Paramahansa's mysticism is of a type which

* "This is superficial, you must dive deeper." *Ed. M. R.*

is in consonance with the experience of Hindu Mystics in all Indian history.

The central experience for this order of Mystics is that of peace (*Santam*), and the individual soul experiences illumination in *Samádhi* (trance) which develops from the *sopádhic* to the *nirupádhic* stage, in other words, from the conditioned to the unconditioned experience.

VI. The Paramahansa an Illustrious Illiterate Mystic

The Paramahansa was barely able to read and write and was practically illiterate.

This type has been known in the East from time immemorial and may be elaborated thus:

The two orders of experience or practice are:

(*a*) Empirical practice which regulates the life and practice of the people (the vulgar)—*prákrita vyabahára* or *prákrita-jana-vyavahara*. This is opposed to the practice and usage of the cultured people or classes—*sishta vyavahára* and *vyutpanna vyavahára*.

In European culture, the contrast or antithesis is between Nature and Civil Society as in Burke's Vindication and in Rousseau's ideal of a return to Nature.

(*b*) The *Prákrita Jana*, 'the Vulgar,' revolt against the *Sisthas* (cultured people) in the following ways among others:

(1) In some cases, by giving up the use of clothes and practising nudity, *e.g.*, the Nagas (*Nagnas*). The nudists today are only a modern version of this sect. Teufelsdroeckh's sansculottism and philosophy of clothes is only a dilution.

(2) The saints, sages, mystics and wise men of the East have often been illiterate, and Ramakrishna belonged to this order. They have developed a language and technique of their own. These sages are revered all the more because of their illiteracy. The Gymnosophists belonged to this class.

(3) The *Maunis* ('*silent ones*') form another class of wise men. They practise silent meditation (*Dhyána*) in some fixed posture, often in caves and forests. Mahatma Gandhi's weekly silence is only a modern version of this practice.

VII. The Parliament of Religions

The Parliament of Religions has already had its session as part of these celebrations. What we have been seeking is not merely religions in the concrete or in their historic order, but religion as a central and unifying principle. But we must not forget that in the new order of Humanity which we seek to usher in, Science and Philosophy have been earlier in the field than Religion itself. The Science Congress and the Philosophy Congress have been precursors in this attempt at unification, and the Parliament of Religions follows suit. But as I have said, this is only a prelude to a larger and wider Parliament, the Parliament of Man and the Federation of World Cultures.

But a truce to all such speculations. The earth's age as compared to the life of the solar system as a whole is less than a second in a billion or trillion years. And the end is, as it were, non-existent for us. Here we are celebrating the Parliament of Religions and the Parliament of Man is yet afar.

Let us all bow to the presiding genius of history. Ever the old order changeth yielding place to the new. The religions are dead.—long live Religion!

Delivered at the Ramakrishna Centenary Students' Conference.

Correction. In the last number of *The Modern Review*, p. 400, column 2, line 12, insert a | before the word 'Finally,' in Sir Brajendra Nath Seal's article on "Paramahansa Ramakrishna, Saint, Mystic and Seer."



THE NEW SOVIET CONSTITUTION

By HIRENDRA NATH MUKHERJEE, M. A., B. LITT. (OXON),
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WHEN the history of these years comes to be written, November 25, 1936, is sure to be noted as a memorable date. On that day 2,016 delegates assembled at Moscow for the Eighth All-Union Congress of Soviets which had been called to discuss and adopt a new constitution for the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. The draft constitution placed before the delegates had been prepared in a manner which is unprecedented in history. No popular agitation had called for the striking innovations which were suggested by Molotov when at the Seventh All-Union Congress in 1935 he proposed on behalf of the chief governmental authority far-reaching changes in the constitution that took the delegates by surprise. A constitutional commission was appointed, consisting of 31 members, under Stalin as chairman, and including all the seven presidents of the Union Republics and a number of experts and other representative persons. The Commission appointed as many as twelve sub-committees and thus the draft was elaborated. The entire population of the U. S. S. R. then examined the proposals; 15 million copies of the draft were circulated, one to every three families from Leningrad to Vladivostock; it was published in all the hundreds of newspapers in the five score principal languages; all the radio stations in the Soviet Union broadcast it throughout its territory; the masses responded to the official request for criticisms and suggestions by discussing it at countless meetings and sending tens of thousands of communications to Moscow within two months of its publication. Committees of experts then classifield and systematised the multifarious suggestions and placed the corrected draft before the All-Union Congress of Soviets in November 1936. This elaborate procedure was intended to secure the widest possible participation by citizens in administration which has indeed been a most notable feature of Soviet democracy. Never since the days of the city-state has there been so much public criticism and discussion and conscious collaboration on the part of large numbers of citizens.

II

The first "Soviet" was formed in 1905 in the textile town of Ivanovo Vosnesensk. It was a council of delegates elected by the workers of that town and its job was to bargain with the employers. Similar councils were set up in various industrial towns and as the revolution spread in 1905 they took over municipal governments and passed decrees in the interests of the working class. They were, however, promptly suppressed and the idea of a national Congress of Soviets had to be given up.

But the "Soviets" had come to stay. In February 1917, when the Tsarist regime fell, the workers in the Petrograd factories at once spontaneously formed a Soviet which passed decrees and was able to compel the "Provisional Government" to support them. Soviets were also formed in the army and in the villages.

In November 1917, when power oscillated between the Soviets and the counter-revolution, the Bolshevik Party under the leadership of Lenin raised the slogan: 'All power to the Soviets, Land to the Peasants, Bread to the Starving, and Peace to all men;' the government quailed and vanished before the workers' offensive and, on November 7, the Congress of Soviets declared that its elective Executive Committee, along with the "People's Commissars," heads of the departments responsible to the Executive Committee, should be the Government of the country.

In January 1918 the third Congress of Soviets issued a Declaration of the Rights of the Labouring and Exploited Masses which described the fundamental aim of the Soviet State as "abolishing for ever the division of Society into classes, of ruthlessly suppressing all exploiters, of bringing about the Socialist organisation of Society." What was intended was a dictatorship of the working class against their exploiters which would at the same time be a democracy for the working class such as they had never before experienced. "Every cook must learn to rule the state," was Lenin's homely comment on the scheme.

The first Soviet Constitution, drawn up under the immediate leadership of Lenin, was accepted by the 5th All-Russian Congress of Soviets on July 10, 1918, and it reflected, very naturally, the characteristic features of the first period of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The formation of the Union of Soviet Socialist

Republics at the end of 1922 was an event of very great importance. Only the immense proletarian revolution and the decisive victories of Socialism over the tremendous coalition behind the Civil War and the intervention, made possible the unheard of developments in culture, national in form and socialist in content. The first All-Union Congress of Soviets in 1922 ratified the treaty of Union, and in 1924 the second All-Union Congress adopted the Constitution of the U. S. S. R.

III

When the initial prejudice against a careful study of any but parliamentary democracy is overcome—and to most of our Pundits, Parliamentary democracy is the alpha and omega of political wisdom—it is easy enough to have a clear view of the Soviet Constitution before its recent amendment. The U. S. S. R. is a close federation of Seven Soviet Republics—the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic, the Ukrainian S. S. R., the White Russian S. S. R., the Trans-Caucasian Federation of S. S. R.'s (including the three distinct republics of Armenia, Georgia and Azerbaijan), the Turkmenistan S. S. R., the Uzbekistan S. S. R., and the Tadjekistan S. S. R. Of these the first stretching from the Gulf of Finland to the Pacific Ocean and right down the Volga to the Caspian Sea, is much the largest and most important member. Next comes the Ukraine, which did not join the Union until 1920; its capital is the historic city of Kiev and it is in culture, traditions and productivity comparable to the R. S F. S. R. Some of the constituent republics of the Union themselves include autonomous republics and autonomous regions of which the Tartar republic and the Republic of the Volga Germans are examples.

What is called the residue of sovereignty vests in the Central Authority whose powers are very large indeed. Foreign relations and foreign trade, defence (including measures against "counter-revolution,") national economic policy, internal trade, taxation, labour legislation and the organisation of labour—all are within the purview of the federal government. It is subjects like education and public health in which the member republics have almost unqualified autonomy. Any of the constituent republics, however, have the right to secede from the Union. They have, moreover, full cultural autonomy of speech, writing and printing—a right whose importance can only be realised when one remembers how the Tsarist tyranny rigorously denied it to the many nationalities inhabiting the empire.

Within the Union any man or woman, who is not included in any of the legally disqualified categories, is entitled at the age of 18 to vote and to be elected to any office. The minimum age qualifying for the right to vote varies in different countries from 18 to 25. The only countries, besides the U. S. S. R., where people of 18 are allowed to vote are Turkey, Argentina and Mexico; none of these however permit women of 18 to vote and Mexico grants the right to males of 18 only if they are married. The minimum age for elegibility to office ranges from 18 (U. S. S. R. only) to as much as 30. Alone of all states the Soviet Union permits and even encourages foreign workers living within its borders to vote on exactly the same terms as native citizens. Only persons employing hired labour for profit or living on unearned increment, monks and priests, imbeciles and former agents of the Tsarist regime are excluded from the franchise. The Soviet marriage laws, the institution of equal pay for the sexes and of holidays with pay, before and after child-birth, and the remarkable provision of public clinics and nurseries, and similar measures have gone a long way to achieve real instead of only a nominal equality between the sexes. The right to vote, which by itself is rather illusory, as the experience of capitalist democracies shows, is supplemented in the Soviet Union by the right of all who work to share in the many social services which are provided by the state.

The political system of the U. S. S. R. is pyramidal in form, being based on the soviets of town and village and built up by progressive delegations from below. At the bottom are the small town and rural soviets as well as soviets for the large factories which send delegates to form district soviets, and at the top is the Central Congress of Soviets which meets, once a year as a rule and is the supreme authority for the whole of the Union. There is, on purpose, no rigidly territorial basis of the franchise as is the case in Great Britain and America. This is because most workers feel that the office or factory where they meet their fellows, discuss questions and form opinions are more important to them than a block of streets where they might happen to be living. Semi-occupational franchise is thus a better medium for the expression of the collective opinion of the working class as distinct from other classes of the community, than is the more familiar method of territorially delimited constituencies. Workers, besides, who have temporarily to cut themselves off from their

homes altogether—soldiers on service, sailors, airmen, merchant seamen and others— find it better to elect councils of their own rather than send their voting papers by post according to the cumbrous British method. At the same time, many workers and particularly married women do their work at home and for them the elections are held on a territorial basis.

The directly elected soviets have various functions. They deal with all matters which exclusively affect the particular units which they represent. In ships and offices and factories, they discuss questions of discipline, of leave, the quality of food served and so on—and these are matters which are intensely important to those who work. Again, they discuss and represent to higher authorities questions which they cannot decide themselves. Yet another function is that of electing delegates to what may be called secondary councils which federate a group of them and has a wider jurisdiction.

In their turn these regional secondary councils elect delegates to the central congress of soviets, which is analogous to the British Parliament. This Congress elects the Council of the Union, a large body which with the Council of Nationalities (representing the allied and autonomous republics) forms the Central Executive Committee of the Union which reviews legislative and administrative work in some detail. This body is, however, much too large to meet often and between its meetings the government is in the hands of its Praesidium consisting of 21 members; directly under the Praesidium and subject to its orders is the Council of People's Commissars which consists of the heads of chief departments and thus corresponds to the British Cabinet. This is followd by a tremendous variety of councils, commissions and committees necessitated by the vast and complex business a socialist state has to look after. There is no president of the Soviet Union, but the Central Executive Committee has several presidents and the Council of People's Commissars, of which Lenin was once president, has one.

The urban areas are throughout more heavily represented than rural areas in the Soviet Congresses; this article of the Constitution (now superseded) reads :

"The Congress of Soviets of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics is composed of town and township Soviets on the basis of one deputy for 25,000 electors and of representatives of provincial Congresses of Soviets on the basis of one deputy for each 125,000 of the population."

This precaution was adopted because class-conscious proletarians were to be found in larger numbers in the towns and their preponderance was essential if the revolution was to win.

The most notable feature of the soviet system is that workers decide questions relating to conditions of work—a miner for example has an effective say in the question whether available funds should be spent on new pithead baths or a new housing scheme—and are able to help choose the men who are to fill the highest posts in the government. The disfranchised persons are, again, but a minute proportion of the population; we learn from the monumental work of Mr. and Mrs. Webb that in 1934 not more than 2.5 per cent of the population were disfranchised. From the same source we learn that 85 per cent of the electorate—77 out of 91 million—voted at the 1934 elections. Apart from the soviets, moreover, the trade unions and co-operatives and collective farms furnish opportunities for that multiform mass organization which has so powerfully impressed all serious students of the U. S. S. R.

IV

Such in brief outline was the Constitution which the Eighth All-Union Congress of Soviets was called on to discuss and amend. The changes were adopted with acclamation on December 5, 1936—a truly historic date, for the changes are of a far-reaching character and mark a great step forward in the history of democracy. The new Soviet Constitution is not a departure from the old, it is a development of it. As Molotov said at the Congress,

"The new constitution dispenses with the remnants of restrictions contained in the Soviet Constitution of the first period when the influence of the exploiting classes over the toilers, especially in the countryside, was still widespread and the Soviets were not sufficiently strong."

This development was foreseen by Lenin in 1919 and is based on the victory of Socialism and elimination of the employing classes from Soviet life. The new Soviet constitution sums up the achievements of the last 19 years; yet it is not the last but the first word in Socialist constitutions.

The Soviet Union is now to have 11 instead of 7 member republics; Armenia, Georgia and Azerbaijan which formed together the Transcaucasian Federated Republic, are now placed on an equal footing with the R. S. F. S. R. the Ukraine, etc. The Kazakh and Kirghiz Republics have also been raised in status from being autonomous republics *within* the R. S. F.

S. R. to a position of *equality* with it. What is significant in this change is the great improvement in the status and culture of former colonies of the Tsarist Empire which were kept on purpose in a state of "planned backwardness."

One of the most striking changes is the substitution, in the formation of all governmental authorities above the village and city soviets, of direct election by secret ballot for indirect election by tier upon tier of councils (art. 134). According to the previous Constitutions deputies to the town and village Soviets were elected by show of hand at meetings and the urban areas had, as already noticed, larger representation in the All-Russian and All-Union Congress of Soviets. Now that Socialism is firmly entrenched in the affections of the masses, there is no longer any need for open voting and for the inequality between the town and country to be perpetuated. The new Constitution thus records the relaxation of the strictness, hitherto essential, of the proletarian dictatorship.

Equally significant is the elimination of all exclusions as well as inequalities from the electoral franchise. All citizens of the age of 18 or over, with the exception of those only who are mentally deficient or are deprived by the courts of their civil rights, are entitled to vote (Art. 135). As Mr. Sidney Webb writes:

"Neither ill-gotten wealth nor former anti-social occupation, not even family relationship to the late Tsar, nor membership of a religious order, will henceforth deprive a Soviet citizen of his vote. Without any change of official policy towards theology, at one stroke, nearly 50,000 practising priests of the Greek Orthodox Church, together with some hundreds of Roman Catholics, Evangelical, Mohammedan and Buddhist ministers, will receive votes. What are 50,000 in an electorate that has already reached a total of more than 90 millions? The vote of each of the 60 millions of the village electors will no longer count only one-half or one-third (usually misstated as one-fifth) as much as the vote of each of the 30 millions of city electors."

Mr. Webb exposes clearly the "quaint rush" of many English critics to acclaim this change as a reversion from Communism to Liberalism, by pointing out that the programme, published in 1903, of the Bolshevik Party, on which the revolution of October 1917 was actually made, expressly included a central supreme authority directly elected by universal suffrage with secret ballot. It was plainly impracticable to introduce the ballot box to so vast an area in 1919, when the central authority had to fight for its very existence, and its full adoption 18 years later "is a remarkable demonstration of trust in the people which no Liberal party has equalled, even programmatically."

Under the new Constitution, the existing bi-cameral Executive Committee remains, with an increase in membership, and the enormous hundred-million electorate replaces the multitudinous Congress of Soviets. The highest organ of State power is the Supreme Council of the U. S. S. R. with its two chambers, the Council of the Union and the Council of Nationalities. The former is directly elected by citizens, one deputy to represent 300,000 of the population; the latter is formed by deputies elected by the Supreme Council of the eleven Union Republics, by the autonomous republics and by the soviets of toilers' deputies in the autonomous provinces, on the basis of 10 deputies for each Union Republic, 5 from each autonomous Republic and 2 from each autonomous province (Arts. 30, 33-35). The Supreme Council, elected for 4 years, is to be convened twice a year; both chambers have equal rights, legislative initiative belongs equally to both, laws are to be adopted in both by a simple majority vote and their sittings are to be concurrent (Arts. 36-46). In case of disagreement, a conciliation commission on the basis of equal representation of both chambers is provided for; if no agreement results, the questions is to be referred a second time to the chambers, and in case of disagreement again, fresh elections are to be held (Art. 47). This bi-cameral system is to be contrasted with what prevails in bourgeois parliaments, where there is an upper and lower house and the upper house, which in some cases has special functions of its own, *e.g.*, advising the president as in France and the U. S. A., is invariably a bulwark of large-scale capital.

The new Constitution entrusts what is effectively a control of the executive to a standing committee of the legislature in the intervals between sessions of the latter—an experiment which Professor Laski rightly regards as most important. Equally important is the fact that the validity of executive action is to be tested, not as in the United States of America by judicial decision, which has so often proved a tool in the hands of capitalist magnates, but by legislative decision. The Soviet Union is proposing a technique which seeks to avoid the twin dangers of executive and judicial interference in the making of policy, and this is an innovation which has the highest interest for a student of politics. Considerable importance is also to be attached, as Mr. D. N.

Pritt points out, to the greater degree of independence of the judiciary which the new Constitution envisages.

The sections in the Constitution on the Basic Rights and Obligations of citizens are inspiring as a record of what the workers' state has achieved. The American Declaration of Independence and the French Declaration of Rights of Man were both founded on individual ownership of private property for the sake of profit. Bentham was not prepared to permit any other encroachment on private property save that of taxation. In 1936, the Soviet Constitution guarantees to every citizen, not only protection against aggression, but also the right to remunerative work, the right to specified hours of rest and to holidays with pay; the right to free and unlimited education of every kind and grade; and above all the right to full provision, according to need, in all the vicissitudes of life. What is enormously important is that these rights, which are but aspirations in capitalist society, have in the Soviet Union a *tangible* basis. "All these new and unprecedented rights of man," Mr. Sidney Webb writes, "are guaranteed by the proposed constitution, not merely to a ruling class, a dominant race, a favoured sex, or even a specially insured minority, but universally according to need, without individual insurance premium, and without exclusion of sex or colour or social past, to all citizens in city or village, including the backward peoples of nearly 200 tribes throughout the vast continent." What a contrast this offers to the state of things with which we, in common with the colonial peoples all over the world, are familiar!

Remarkable, also, is the inclusion in the constitution of provisions regarding the liberty of the person against arbitrary arrests and imprisonment. Article 127 provides that "the citizens of the U. S. S. R. are guaranteed inviolability of person. No person can be placed under arrest except by decision of the court or with the sanction of the state attorney" (which means the judicial department of the Procurator, which Mr. Webb points out, has been often absurdly mistranslated as prosecutor). Article 125 further provides that "the citizens of the U. S. S. R. are guaranteed freedom of speech, freedom of the press, freedom of assembly and the holding of mass meetings and freedom of street processions and demonstrations." The article proceeds to point out that these rights "are insured by placing at the disposal of the toilers and their organizations printing presses, supplies of paper, public buildings, the streets, means of communication and other material requisites for the exercise of these rights;" it does not need to be said that without these material requisites which the workers lack in capitalist countries, the rights would indeed be myth!

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The new Soviet Constitution, thus, is a remarkable advance towards a wider democracy of a nature that is unprecedented in history. But it should be remembered that the previous constitution which was the revolutionary creation of the working class when it seized power in Russia had, one may argue, more in it of democracy than all the parliamentarianism and universal suffrage of the capitalist states. Critics of the Soviet system, like the official leaders of the British Labour Party, those "labour lieutenants of the capitalist class," delight in pointing out an alleged dichotomy between democracy and dictatorship, which latter they think to be equally pernicious, be it of the Right or of the Left. They talk about "pure democracy," which, as Lenin pointed out, is a phrase which reveals ignorance of the class struggle and is perfectly empty of content; they proudly assert that liberty is safe only in their so-called democratic states, glibly forgetting what Stalin once said with truth:

> "Real liberty exists only where exploitation has been abolished, where no oppression of some people by others exists, where there is no unemployment and poverty, where a person does not tremble because tomorrow he may lose his job, his home, his food."

They choose to forget that the soviets seized power in a time of political confusion, economic breakdown and military defeat, that they built up their form of government under the pressure of internal civil war, foreign intervention and blockade. Any government in such conditions would have been compelled to ration liberty with a parsimonious hand.

Even so, Soviet power was from the very first day it came into existence, a democracy for nine-tenths of the population. It destroyed the century-old difference between formal freedom and its "earthly existence." It was not, of course, able to give political rights to about one-tenth of the population, namely, the exploiters and their lackeys. The limitations, previously indicated, on citizen rights were called into being by the conditions and tasks of destroying the division of society into antagonistic classes. Now that the exploiting

classes have been abolished in the U. S. S. R. the necessity for former limitations has disappeared. While in capitalist countries, developments tend, in Molotov's words, towards "negative democracy and the passage to fascism," the soviet country is heading towards the complete liberation of the human personality by the removal of the material hindrances to its real development.

A hurried glance at the history of democracy would, indeed, be most instructive. When the slave-owners of Athens established their state on a "democratic" basis, they openly declared that the slaves did not belong to the "people." The feudal state granted political power only to landed proprietors. The bourgeoisie which consisted only of merchants, owners of industrial undertakings and bankers fought not for any abstract freedom but for the freedom of capitalism, just emerging, to flourish. Capitalism needed the freedom of the merchant and the manufacturer from all the irksome mediaeval restrictions of the guild system. The capitalists needed the liberation of the workers, not only from the soil to which he was bound, so that he might be free to go from one capitalist to another; they also needed the "liberation" of the workers from the means of production which property wanted to own. They had need, moreover, of the liberation of the peasant from serfdom, from feudal exploitation, for only a peasant who is a "free" producer of wares could create a growing market for capitalist industry. Even the most democratic bourgeois constitution—that of the French Republic in 1793—had to guarantee the rights of property. The bourgeoisie have certainly made a great contribution to the advance of democracy, but that has been the case because they could only devote themselves to their historic mission of developing the community's productive resources with a view to profit-making if they were safeguarded "against being plundered by irresponsible monarchies for the benefit of clouds of courtiers, aristocrats and other drone-like parasites."

Not so very long ago, the capitalists discovered that they required the support of the mass of the population to win their own struggle for power. They secured this support and their struggle became thereby more comprehensive, for it inevitably became a struggle for the self-government of all. But with the rousing of the mass consciousness, democratic rights came to be won not by capitalists, but by the working class and lower middle class, sometimes especially in the later stages, against the capitalist class, as the Chartist, Trade Union and Co-operative movements in England so well illustrate.

No socialist will deny in a summary anti-historical manner the importance of bourgeois-democracy which indeed in its context was a mighty advance. But democracy, he would say, did not come to a full stop with the acquisition of universal suffrage, which, as Engels remarked is only a sign of the maturity of the working classes. There is no denying that democracies under capitalism tend to be more and more what Pareto called "demagogic plutocracies." To deny that, so long as a limited class owns society's very means of life, the most perfect democratic constitution can at best mask and mitigate the dictatorship of the rich, is to support that kind of democracy which, as a facetious Soviet critic once said, gives the toilers every possible right over the pudding except the right to eat it!

In capitalist democracy, workers are in reality called upon to express their preference for one of two different sets of nominees of the capitalist class as their governors; in Soviet democracy workers are asked and encouraged to rule themselves. It may be a paradox that socialist society readopts some of the democratic forms familiar to us under capitalism but it does so only when the economic and social basis of the system is so changed that the forms are invested with content. A growth in the quantity of democracy brings about a dialectic change in the quality of democracy.

To challenge the fundamentals, "the inarticulate major premiss" of capitalist society, is to forfeit democratic rights. So long as the workers vote for capitalism and the profit system, democracy is safe. If they persist in asking for measures incompatible with the proper functioning of capitalism, the capitalists make no bones about scrapping democracy. Profit requires a reserve of unemployed, an economy of scarcity instead of one of abundance and planned community-consumption, the hectic search and scramble for foreign markets with its enevitable concomitant of an imperialist policy supported by armaments and the subjection of productive potentialities to the demands of vested interests. To question effectively the rights of property and profit is treason in capitalist countries.

The rights conferred on the citizen by the new Soviet Constitution could not even be attempted in any fascist state. When it is

remembered that capitalist democracy emphasises only the forms of political freedom, that concessions are granted to the workers only so long as the interests of profit-making are not thereby jeopardised, that in the history of capitalist democracy, a stage arrives, in the words of Professor Laski, "when either democracy must overcome capitalism or capitalism will overcome democracy," it will be perceived what a great contribution is made by the new Soviet Constitution towards resisting the fascistic trend in so many countries.

"Will the new Soviet Constitution really be given effect to?"—is a question that may be asked. The answer is given by Stalin in a recent speech, in which he said that in regard to the Soviet Union the sceptics have always been wrong. The Bolsheviks were expected to fail in 1917, and they did not. During the civil war and intervention, it was confidently but wrongly anticipated that Denekin and Kolchak with their foreign supporters would overcome the revolution. The Five-Year Plan was hailed with ridicule and scepticism, but the last laugh is with the Soviet Union. History will, one may hope, repeat itself in the case of the new Constitution embodying an effective Socialism, which the future historian will regard even more momentous than the American Constitution of 1787 or that of the French Republic of 1793.*

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* In the preparation of this article, I have borrowed from two books in particular:

Sidney & Beatrice Webb, *Soviet Communism*, 2 vols. (1935);

Sidney Webb, Harold Laski, D. N. Pritt and others, *The Constitution of the U. S. S. R.* (1936).

THE DOON SCHOOL

By Dr. H. S. BHAI, M.A. (Edin.), M.ED., Ph.D. (Leeds),
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The idea of an All-India Public School was conceived by the late Mr. S. R. Das, whose untiring energy was responsible for the collection of funds for the foundation of the Doon School. The School was started at the premises formerly occupied by the Imperial Forest Research Institute, Dehra Dun. With further acquisitions of adjoining property the School estate now comprises 75 acres of beautiful gardens at the foot of hills in the Doon Valley. The School started in September, 1935, with 70 boys and 6 masters under the headmastership of Mr. A. E. Foot, formerly of Eton College. A month later His Excellency Lord Willingdon declared the School open amidst a distinguished gathering of parents and visitors. In February, 1936, the number of boys was increased to 188, and masters to 15—which is our present strength. In April next another batch of 60 boys and the necessary additional staff will join the School.

The School is a residential one. There are three houses each containing about 62 boys and forming a complete unit for residential purposes under the supervision of a housemaster, four assistant housemasters and a matron. Boys sleep in dormitories, each dormitory containing from 4 to 6 boys, and do their sparetime studies and homework in four study-rooms in the house. Each house has a dining hall, where boys, masters, and masters' wives dine together. The breakfast and lunch consist of English food and the dinner is of Indian food. There is a healthy spirit of competition in games and sport between the houses. The actual teaching is done in the class-rooms in the main School building, and the whole School is divided into classes which are formed according to the age and ability of the boys.

Something about the daily life of a boy in the Doon School may be mentioned here. He gets up from his bed at 6-30 in the morning, and after having a glass of milk, he goes for 40 minutes physical training from 7-0 under a qualified director. The next quarter of an hour is spent in getting washed and changing into the School uniform—of blue shirt, grey drill shorts, pullover, grey stockings, black shoes, and grey felt hat. By 8 o'clock punctual he is in his class-room and has a lesson for three quarters of an hour. At 8-50 he has breakfast in the house dining room and by 9-35 he is back in his class-room ready to go to the general Assembly Hall, where the whole school gather for prayers and announcements

and sometimes short addresses by the Headmaster. From 9-45 to 12-30 are periods reserved for class work with an interval of 20 minutes for recreation. From 12-30 to 2-15 in the afternoon the boy has his lunch followed by rest. From 2-15 to 3-45 again there are class work periods. From 3-45 to 5 o'clock the boy has tea and can amuse himself in any hobbies, which he has taken up in the School. From 5 to 6 o'clock there are organized games such as Football, Hockey and Cricket. After a change and a bath the boy has supper at 6-45 p.m. By 7-15 he is in the study room and does his home-work according to a timetable. The Junior boy finishes his home-work at 8 and goes to bed by 8-15, while the older boy continues work till 9 and retires for the night at 9-15. Thus ends a normal day of the Doon School boy.

On Wednesday and Saturday afternoons there are no regular lesson periods. The boy has a choice of numerous hobbies, such as gardening, scouting and cubbing, painting and modelling, leather-work, carpentry, debating, photography, running of the co-operative shop, the School Weekly Magazine and the Library and so on—and he goes to work for his own choice and interest. On Sundays some groups of boys go out on picnics, excursions and cycling-trips, and others play or watch School, house, or class matches. Thus, a Doon School boy leads an active and purposeful life. Education here is based not on fear or corporal punishment, but on creating a moral sense of loyalty to a group, house or school. That is, in failing to do his work, the boy has not been loyal to his own miniature community. A system of report cards, however, is used to check an individual's tendency to laziness or negligence in work, punctuality or discipline, and as a result the masters are aware of a boy's daily, weekly, monthly and terminal progress.

Four main criticisms are usually levelled against the idea of an Indian Public School. Firstly, that there is already too much snobbery in India, and that like all public schools, the Doon School will breed snobs. Secondly, that no attempt is being made to bring the boys into contact with the life outside the school, and that as a result on leaving the school the boys will not be able to fit in society. Thirdly, that the School will denationalise our boys. And fourthly, that in a public school, the boys only play games and pay little attention to studies.

These are serious cirticisms and need careful consideration. The first criticism about breeding snobs has been applied to most public schools in England. Unlike some public schools in England, we are a progressive lot, *e.g.*, we are not worshippers of the teaching of Classics, Science takes a very important place in our syllabus, and Civics forms a very definite part of our History Course. The difficulty lies in some people not distinguishing between culture and snobbery. The former is encouraged by the teaching of arts and crafts, history and literature and vernaculars, but the latter is discouraged.



Arts and Crafts Exhibition of the boys' works in the Doon School

Our constant topic of discussion and efforts have been directed towards the elimination of the evil of snobbery. This is done by encouraging the boys not to look down on manual labour and handwork. Some boys have been digging ground for the construction of a tennis court for themselves. Others work in the School carpentry shop producing tables, chairs, inkstands, pegs and other furniture. Some boys work as gardeners and others as artists, leather-workers and so on. Do not think this work is imposed upon the boys. It is voluntary work and the boys are very keen about it.

As regards the second criticism about the public schools not bringing their boys in contact

with life outside and thereby creating misfits in society, one should remember that this school has been in existence for less than a year and a half, and in spite of the heavy duties necessarily involved in laying down a system of administration worked out to smallest details, this responsibility of bringing boys into contact with life outside has not been neglected. For instance a few groups of our boys went on trips to places such as Delhi, Agra, Gwalior, Amritsar, Lahore and travelled in the Third Class. On Sundays some boys have been going on trips in the Doon Valley and meeting village boys. Occasionally matches have been played at football in neighbouring villages. The Scouts and Cubs have gone out and camped in the forest nearby and done all their own cooking, washing up and other work. One can foresee the foundation of a Social Service League System with the Doon School as its centre and our boys visiting various villages in the Doon Valley and helping the village boys to form similar leagues—the basic idea being to exchange views, know each other's mode of living, serve the community by acting as volunteers for social service and playing games with each other.

Not only are we trying to bring the boys into contact with the life outside the School by going out but are also attempting to reflect the progressive life of the large community inside the school. The boys are not only offered opportunities for varied human contacts but are also provided with practical outlets in the form of numerous hobbies to suit individual interests and aptitudes. These hobbies, as it has already been said, include modelling, painting, leather-work, carpentry, Indian and English music, management and running of a co-operative shop and the School Library. Scouting and Cubbing, membership of the Dramatic club, the Debating society, the Film society, and the Photographic society, and the production of a magazine and a weekly newspaper. Thus, in the school, by a full and free exercise of such practical and constructive activities in a wide range of occupations, it is attempted to bring the boy into direct contact with the practical purposes of life and to initiate him into occupation and purposes of social value. It is hoped that he will thereby come to a fuller appreciation of the value of things he uses in daily life in terms of the work, care, thought, and skill required to make them and to use them. Further, he will gain an ever-widening first-hand experience of materials and their nature, of their reactions under various conditions of the processes involved in transforming them from one form to another. He will develop an ever-widening and ready skill in adaptive intelligence and manipulative power, and in habits of care, persistence, and self-reliance. In other words, through practical occupations he will develop all those qualities of head, heart, and hand, intelligence, character, and skill required in practical life in a community.

In answer to the third criticism that such a school would denationalize our boys only a few things may be pointed out. Although we are prepared to accept scientific knowledge and other gifts from the West, it does not necessarily mean we are rejecting Eastern culture and commodities. The School lays stress on the learning of Indian arts and crafts, music, history and civics. Our great men of literature and heroes of Indian History are respected through the study of their lives and their achievements. In Geography the boys are taught the conditions of life in India, and after they have spent considerable time on studying the Geography of India, they are brought into contact with the Geography of the World—so that they may not lose sight of the fact that Indians are a part of one common humanity. The daily morning prayers are preceded by patriotic songs of Tagore sung in Indian language, and the prayer itself commends our boys to the service of India and humanity. We have practically eradicated the evils of communalism and provincialism from the School. The boys of all communities and provinces live together in the same rooms, eat together from the common kitchens and wear uniform clothes. Most of the school furniture is made by Indian carpenters working in the school. Crockery, clothes, and various other articles used in the School are mainly made by Indian artisans and craftsmen. You may now realise that our aim



Physical training in the Doon School



Arts classes in the Doon School

is not to mimic the West. We are aiming at bringing the spirit and not form of the English Public School system in India. That spirit is among other things, the building of character and service to the country—so our aim is to build character of *Indian* boys for service of *India*. How great or little our future achievements or failures are likely to be only time can tell—but the critics should not be too hasty in condemning us at the start. We are conscious of our great responsibilities and defects and our energies are directed towards fitting our boys for service and leadership of the country in all walks of life.

The fourth criticism about public school paying too much attention to games and sport and neglecting studies will hardly be borne out considering what has already been said about the numerous activities of our boys. We certainly do pay as much attention to the physical as to the mental side of an individual. Our experience for the last year has been that among boys illness has been very little, their heights have increased and waist line measurement have decreased—the boys are a healthy lot; and we are not sorry for our record of achievements in a comparatively short time of a year and a half.

WHAT YOU SEE IN SWEDEN

By Dr. B. BRILIOTH

Director to the Swedish International Press Bureau

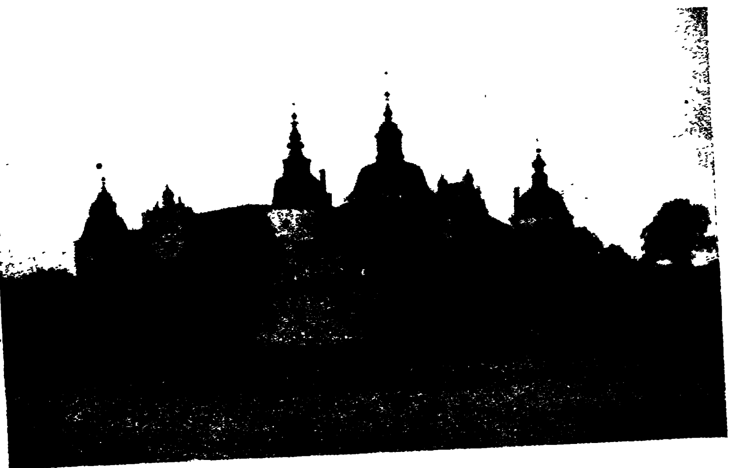
"And we kindly beseech you, most honored posterity, not to disturb our rest." This is the meek, yet forceful plea of a parish rector, whose epitaph on a large mossy gravestone I deciphered one day in a little country cemetery in Sweden, miles and miles away from the bustle of modern cities or the roar of railroad trains. This holy man's rest, which is not to be disturbed, began some three hundred years ago, and the beautiful old ruin, in the shadow of which I found the stone with the quaint legend, has been standing well over seven hundred years.

I could visualize the venerable old couple at the end of their journey, he a portly country pastor, and she his mild-mannered matronly helpmeet, lying down to rest in their black and white Sabbath robes, their hands folded upon the golden cross of the Sacred Book, their faces serene with the peace of a long day's work well and faithfully done, and perhaps the hint of a smile in anticipation of the long and sweet repose.

And what a spot for rest. The gentle summer breezes went whispering through the crumbling arches of the old church, while glints of sunshine came down through the leafy twigs of stately elms and lindens and danced silently, like spectral kittens, across the surface of the grey stone. Humming bees were busy among the flowers that grew upon the graves and in the fragrant hedges of hawthorn and briar. Westward the meadows sloped down to the lake, smiling in the sun, and on the opposite shore stood two manor houses white and sedate among green fields and groves of oaks.

This, I thought, is the soul of Sweden, dignified, serene, and smiling, undisturbed by the din of the restless twentieth century. But my train of thought was broken by the powerful blast of a steam whistle announcing the noon hour. Startled, I turned to the north, whence the sound had come. There, out of the wooded valley rose the tall chimneys of a factory, strangely out of place, as if they had lost their way on some quest through this peaceful

WHAT YOU SEE IN SWEDEN



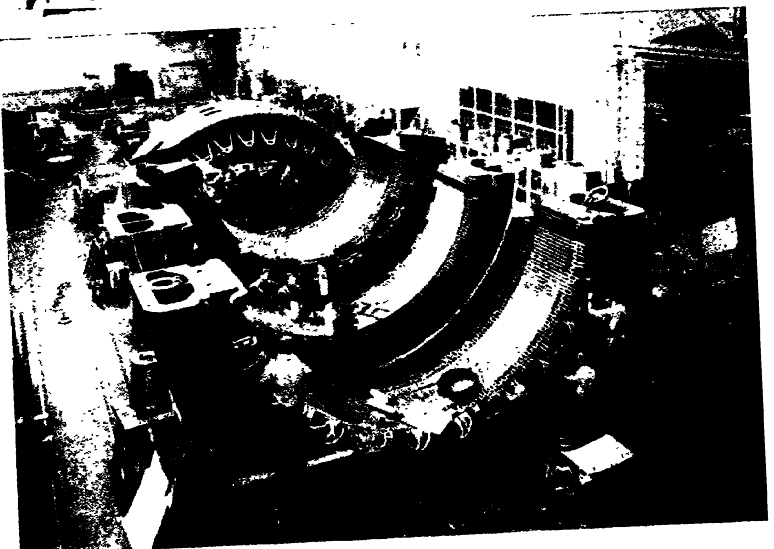
Kalmar Castle—Smaland



Reindeer herds in the high mountains—Lapland



View from the Katarina Lift—Stockholm



Interior of A. S. E. A. Works. Vasteras—Vastmanland



Going to the dance—Dalecarlia



Drottningholm Royal Palace—Stockholm



Midnight Sun at Lake Tornetrask—Lapland

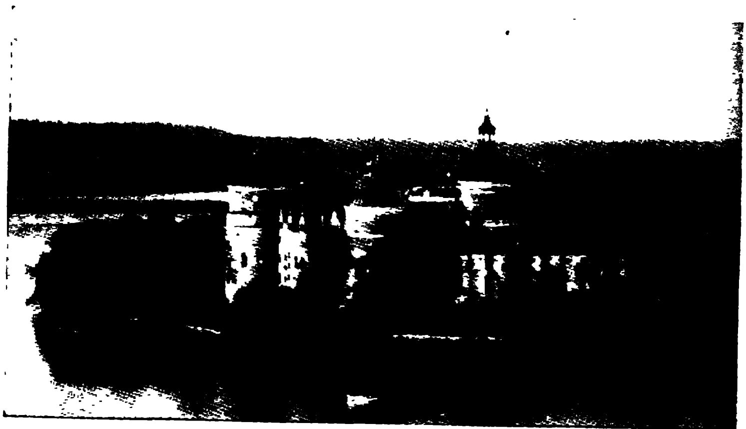


Halsinborg. Stenbock Statue and Karnan—Skane





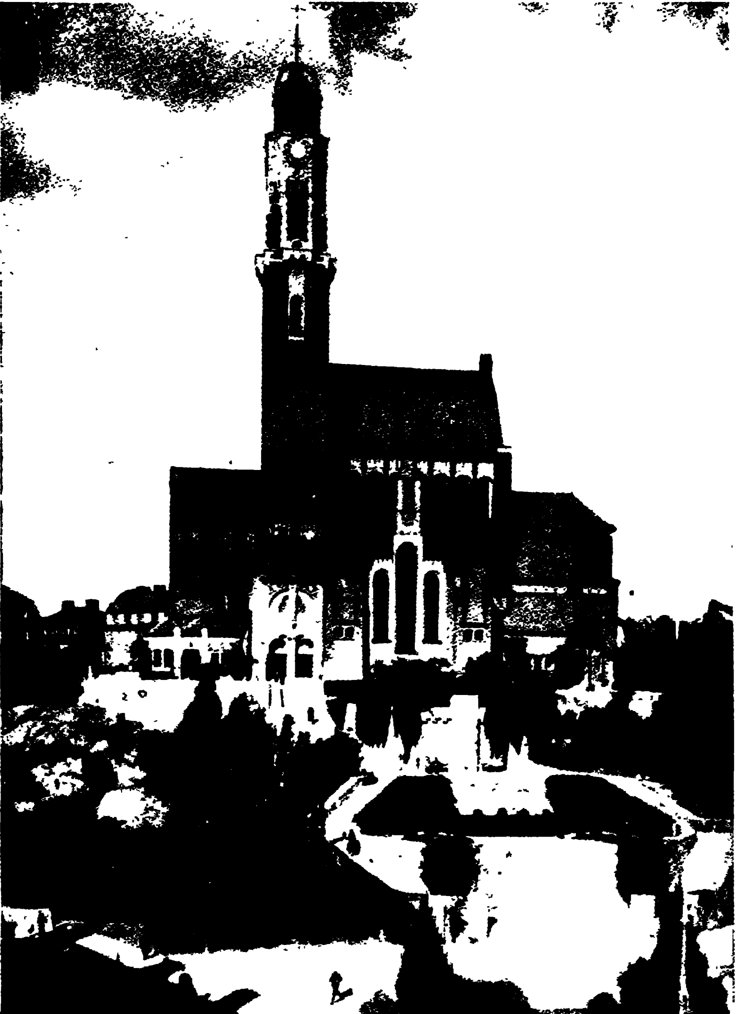
First Communion—Dalecarlia



Gripsholm Castle—Sodermanland



Homeward bound—Lapland



Engelbrekt Church—Stockholm



Summer Evening—Dalecarlia

country. But they were not lost; they were right at home, and asserted themselves vigorously by belching forth volumes of smoke that told of their useful activity. Useful indeed in the life of a modern world, for they are transforming into paper the white fragrant wood of the forest. Continually the product of that mill in the valley is sent to a vast country thousands of miles away, where they carry the news of the world into millions of homes . . . Flowers bloom on the graves and age-old traditions linger, but life must go on. The life of an industrial civilization throbs with ever youthful energy—and this, too, is of the soul of Sweden.

Such is Sweden, the land of today and yesterday, where the old and the new keep curious company. Quiet nooks, still surely haunted by the gnomes of ancient lore—busy bustling cities, seething with the life of modern industry and commerce; high-powered speed boats with lines made fast to the iron rings that were once used by the Vikings for their dragon-ships, peasants in their colourful costumes driving to the medieval country churches in up-to-date automobiles—these are striking contrasts. And yet the new does not disturb the peace of the old. In the little country cemetery the rector and his wife sleep on, and at times descendants of their parishioners, on their way home from the paper mill, stop reverently to read the inscription on the stone.

The blending of the old and the new meets you wherever you go in Sweden. As soon as your ship, coming from the Atlantic, approaches the granite cliffs of Sweden's West Coast, you will be reminded that these are the bays from which the Vikings set forth a thousand years ago. But the ancestors of the Vikings had lived and died on these same shores for at least four thousand years. You will find in the museums the skeletons of men that recently have been unearthed from geological strata 5,000 years old. On the face of some of the western cliffs are mysterious *hallristningar* (rock carvings), the oldest inscriptions of their kind in Europe, strange figures of ships and symbols not yet deciphered or understood by archaeologists.

From these waters the Vikings set sail on bold expeditions to the lands of the Angles and the Franks, untroubled by any scruples, we are told, regarding the sacredness of personal property, and the innumerable hoards of coins and ornaments found buried in Sweden testify to the success of their voyages. Those were pagan days in Sweden, yet they had their worship, too. If you happen to approach these shores on Mid-summer Night you will see all along the hills a chain of fires, ritual flames, lighted in accordance with the still lingering traditions of ancient sun-worship.

Relics and customs of ancient times may be found all over Sweden, whose soil is a veritable treasure trove for archaeologists. At Upsala are huge earthen mounds built for the pagan deities Odin, Freya and Thor. Scattered all over the southern part of the country are runestones, many with Christian inscriptions intertwined with heathen symbols, erected to the memory of Vikings fallen in battle. Thousands of grave-mounds have yielded coins, ornaments, and other relics, which prove that Sweden had intercourse with such distant lands as Greece, Arabia, and Persia two thousand years before the beginning of the Christian era.

The spirit of the Middle Ages will be recalled to you in Sweden by the baronial and royal castles and palaces, in picturesque setting of woods and waters, especially the beautiful structures in and about Stockholm, or those on the broad estates of Skane, the "granary of Sweden." Beautiful in a different mood are the ecclesiastical monuments, cathedrals and churches, some of them in ruins, built nearly a thousand years ago. But most beautiful of them all is that pearl of the Baltic, the Island of Gotland, with the old Hanseatic city of Visby, "the city of ruins and roses," once the richest and most powerful maritime stronghold in Northern Europe, today but a memory and shrine. The many-towered wall still encircles the city, with its glorious churches and the mansions of medieval merchant princes, a wealth of ruins, with here and there a surviving structure, intact and perfect.

You have heard of these great days of yore, but your meditations quickly cease as your ship enters the weave of traffic in the harbour of Gothenburg, second city of the realm, founded by Sweden's famous warrior king, Gustavus Adolphus, three hundred years ago.

Here again is modern, bustling Sweden at its best. The huge harbour is crowded with ships from the ports of all the Seven Seas. Gothenburg is a modern, clean, live and prosperous city, Sweden's western gateway, unsurpassed in importance as a centre of maritime commerce. This is the city that in 1923 had the courage to stage the costly exhibition

celebrating the three hundreth anniversary of its founding, thus giving the world a unique display of Sweden's achievements in practically all lines of human activity, the undertaking characterized at the time as a "heroic gesture in the face of the world depression and pessimism."

At Gothenburg begins the most unique waterway in the world, "the blue belt of Sweden." This is the Gota Sanal route by way of the great lakes of Vanern and Vattern, and a series of rivers and small lakes to Stockholm. Here and there your vessel is lifted by a succession of locks until at last a height of three hundred feet above the sea level is reached. For hours you glide along placidly through the most exquisite rural scenes, where the slender twigs of the birches sometimes almost sweep the rails of your ship. You behold an ever-changing panorama of woods and meadows fragrant with flowers, curving shores and vast lakes, and beautifully situated old towns, castles and churches. Especially imposing is the castle of Vadsten the city of St. Birgitta. Here is an expressive symbol of the old in Sweden, in contrast with a great industrial utility, which you had passed along the way, namely, the huge electric power station at Trollhattan Falls.

Your inland voyage ends at Stockholm, called "Queen of the Baltic" and just as appropriately "The Venice of the North." An American traveller who recently visited Sweden says, "Stockholm is clean, strong, and virile with the strength of youth. Beautifully situated, it has made the most of its site. It is an extremely modern city. It has no slums, no ugly buildings." Here, too, the city of today is full of memories of a long yesterday, witness, the beautiful city between the Bridges, dominated by the majestic Royal Palace, designed by Tessin, greatest of Swedish Architects, and hallowed be the lofty Riddarholm's Church, Sweden's Pantheon. The narrow winding streets are lined with the mansions of merchant princes and nobles of days gone by. Eastward from this old district of Stockholm, across the rushing outlet from Lake Malaren, towers the most magnificent example of modern Swedish architecture, the new Town Hall. After viewing this building William Butler Yeats, the famous Irish poet who has won the Nobel Prize for Literature, said, "It is the most important modern building in Europe . . . No other work comparable in method or achievement has been accomplished since the Italian cities felt the excitement of the Renaissance."

Elsewhere in the city the modern buildings show the clean, austere lines of Sweden's architecture of today, massive, restful, and dignified. And from almost every street one gets a glimpse of sparkling waters, for the city is built on many islands.

Stockholm is the capital, culturally as well as politically. Here the King signs decrees and the Riksdag legislates. Here are the Royal Opera and the Dramatic Theatre. Here is the scene of gay festivities and brilliant social functions throughout the year. Here are the great art galleries and fascinating museums of antiquities. Here is the open air museum, Skansen. Here is also the Olympic Stadium, with its eventful games. Stockholm is a city of many-facceted charm.

The third city of Sweden in size and commercial importance is Malmo, the southern gateway. Malmo, the main point of connection between Sweden and Continental Europe, is a hustling modern city in the best sense of the word. It has a large free port, prosperous industries, and fine buildings, and, as a city, is the pride of its hinterland, well-to-do, genial, agricultural Skane.

Selma Lagerlof, in her book *The Wonderful Adventures of Nils Holgersson,* mounts her youthful hero upon a wild goose in Skane, and sends him careering over the country back and forth, far and wide, all the way up to the mystic beauty of the Northland. No other single person, not even a far-flying Swedish aviator of today, has ever had so complete and unique view of Sweden. He flew across Smaland, with its rivers and smiling lakes, with its fertile farms lying between barren moors, up to Jonkoping, where they were making matches for all the world. Then he soared across long Lake Vattern, strangely beautiful, and out over the fields, heaths, and groves of Vastergotland, to Varmland, which has, perhaps, the most uniquely localized beauty among the Swedish provinces; Varmland, the scene of the famous tale of Gosta Berling and the cavaliers at Ekeby; Varmland, with its forest-clad hills, still haunted by mysterious beings of folklore and song.

Friend Nils was then carried across rich and fertile Ostergotland, where the estates and palaces still bear witness to the wealth of Sweden's feudal barons of old. Northward he flew to Upland where he looked down upon Upsala with its famous university, one of the oldest in the

world, perhaps also he caught a glimpse of orchards set out by a celebrated Upsala professor, Carl Linnaeus, the father of modern botany.

But the flight with Nils makes us dizzy. Let him go alone, while we climb aboard a comfortable, everyday railroad train, headed for Dalecarlia, the heart of Sweden, Falun, Lake Siljan, Leksand, Mora—the very sound of these names rings with peculiar beauty to Swedish ears. From this region, four hundred years ago, came the sturdy Dalesmen who followed Gustavus Vasa southward and vanquished a tyrannical invader. At Falun is the head office of the Great Copper Mountain Mining Company, established more than seven hundred years ago, the oldest existing industrial corporation in the world. The famous old mine, which once produced enough copper to supply the needs of the entire world, has contributed in a peculiar way to one of the most characteristic features of a Swedish landscape, namely, the warm red colour of the houses which is everywhere in beautiful contrast with the dark green of the spruce woods and the gleaming white of birches. The contribution came in the form of a mineral paint which was derived from the broken pyrites dug up from the mine. It started the fashion of painting the houses red which spread from this region throughout the country. The very spirit of pictorial beauty seems to dwell in Dalecarlia. Not only has nature outdone herself in Lake Siljan, with its limpid blue, and the variegated colour of its shores, but the people have preserved a love and understanding of colour that dates back to the time when the world was young. It is to be seen in their carved and painted wood work, their textiles, and especially in their far-famed provincial costumes, made after patterns that have survived for hundreds of years. These costumes, worn in the Dalecarlian inimitable way, bring into every scene a characteristic element of beauty that painters love. No wonder that Anders Zorn and Carl Larsson lived in Dalecarlia.

A dramatic contrast to the intimate warm beauty of this heart of Sweden is to be seen in Norrland, where nature expresses some of her grandest moods. There is a land of mighty roaring rivers, carrying millions of logs from the deep woods down to the saw mills near the sea of foaming waterfalls, being harnessed one by one to do their work of a nation, of rugged hills, some of them built entirely of iron, from which millions of tons of ore are carved away every year and shipped to the four corners of the earth. It is a land peopled in its most northerly reaches by the Lapps, mysterious nomads of the North, who follow their herds of reindeer up and down the valleys that lie between mountains hooded with eternal snow. It is a land where the sun shines weirdly both day and night, during the summer, and where in winter, the aurora borealis throws its gorgeous display across the firmament.



Spring in the high mountains—Jamtland

The striking contrast seen everywhere in Sweden, in the bright smile and the serious frown of the landscape, in the rich age and the fresh modernity of its monuments, institutions and activities, is also the keynote to the part which Sweden has played in the history of the world politically, economically and culturally.

"And from the fury of the Vikings good Lord deliver us." This was the fervent petition which the good priests of Europe added to their formal prayers after the blond men of the north had begun their depredations of Europe. These adventurers were teaching the world how to conquer both storm and sea, and one is almost tempted to say, they claimed some of the accumulated wealth of landsmen in payment for their performance. At any rate they came, saw, and loaded up their dragonships with gold

Instructions, and finally concludes that "a Governor is incompetent to form a Ministry in consultation with a person not so qualified." As has been shown above, this line of reasoning is based on a misapprehension of the true significance of the Instrument. Under the Statute, on Mr. Desai's own showing, the Governors *are* competent to form the 'Interim Ministries.'

The objection has further been raised on theoretical grounds that Cabinets cannot be constitutionally formed from the minority groups. That such a contention is not historically correct needs no detailed exposition. In England there have been minority Ministries in office on a number of occasions, and for considerable periods. When appointed by the Sovereign, a Ministry, even if it be taken from a minority party, is perfectly legal. It is true, however, that such Cabinets cannot from the very cricumstances be strong or stable.

Furthermore, it has been argued that on the refusal of the Congress leaders to accept office the Governors have no other recourse left in the Constitution but to assume by proclamation under Section 93 the entire responsibility of Government. This argument too is not constitutionally valid just now. The critics have ignored the exact wording of the Act which prescribes such an extreme step, only if the Governor is perfectly satisfied that the King's Government can not be carried on at all otherwise. It can be said that such an impossible situation has not yet arisen. It may, of course, arise when the Legislature is actually summoned. But, under Section 62 (Clause 3), the Governor is authorised to carry on the Government with his Ministers for six months without summoning the Legislature. Thus, constitutionally, the situation foreshadowed in Section 93 need not arise for six months, and during this period at least the 'Interim Ministries' can not be regarded from the point of view of the Statute as unconstitutional.

Whether, however, the appointment of such Ministries has been actually statesmanlike or expedienut is a different matter, and is a question for politicians to answer, and does not come within the province of a student of the Indian Constitution.**

Postscript

Prof. Berriedale Keith's views on the present constitutional impasse were reported in the newspapers after this article had been sent for publication. This postscript has been subsequently added with the kind permission of the Editor.

Prof. Keith is considered to be one of the greatest authorities on constitutional history and law, and as such his opinions are of the utmost interest. He refers to the institution of minority governments as a negation of responsible government, and objects to it as an attempt to conceal the breakdown. That this opinion is perfectly valid from the point of view of democratic theory will not be denied. But the learned writer ignores the central fact that *the Constitution of 1935 has not been framed on democratic principles at all.* It is too late in the day now to judge any part of it in terms of responsible government. For the matter of that the very foundation of the Constitution is a negation of responsible government. But, this also must be admitted that in the framework of the Statute *as it actually stands* the formation of minority governments is not illegal. This does not mean that such a step is not at the same time undemocratic. The fact that a sober constitutionalist like Prof. Keith has been constrained to raise his voice against a recourse to the letter of the law serves at least to prove what Indian publicists and nationalists have always urged that the executive safeguards are incompatible with the theory of democratic government. The Constitution Act legalises many things which did not attract the notice of the learned professor, but are no less indefensible from the point of view of responsible government. Viewed in that light, as Mr. Ramananda Chatterjee has correctly put it, the whole constitution is "unconstitutional." It is needless to add that the epithet "unconstitutional" has been used, not in its literal sense, but in its widest philosophic meaning.

April 11, 1937

** The Indian constitution can be called a constitution only in a Pickwickian sense! Ed., *M. R.*

THE INDIAN STATES AND THE FEDERATION

By DWIJES GUPTA

GEOGRAPHICALLY India is one and indivisible. Politically there are still two Indias: British India and the Indian States. In 1926, the Nehru Report proposed a federal constitution for India. But the British Government turned down the proposal on the ground that a Federation could not be contemplated unless the States agreed to join it. The States were at first really opposed to such a proposal. In 1928, the Indian States Enquiry Committee reported as follows:

> ". . . We feel bound however to draw attention to the really grave apprehension of the Princes on this score and to record their strong opinion that, in view of the historical nature of the relationship between the Paramount Power and the Princes, the latter should not be transferred, without their own agreement, to a relationship with a new Government in British India responsible to an Indian Legislature."

Later, however, to the surprise of the British Government the States agreed to join the Federation on certain conditions. Accordingly, both the White Paper and the Joint Parliamentary Committee agreed to the formation of a Federation. The Government of India Act, 1935, has not found favour with any shade of Indian public opinion. But all welcomed the proposal for the unification of India through the formation of a Federation. Those who participated in the Round Table discussions and those who have admired, abused or advised them in public since have given their unanimous blessings to the proposal for a unified India. But nobody could think that such a Federation would be formed as would 'outrage every canon of political science.'

The law governing the relationship between the Crown and the States is a unique body of law having no parallel in the constitutional history of any other country in the world. Though the Indian States are subject to the paramountcy of the Crown, they possess a measure of sovereignty and are bound to the Crown by various treaties, engagements and *sanads*. These treaties, etc., have been admitted by the British Government as binding upon the Crown—paramount though it is.

Since paramountcy is said to be based not on any written law or statute, the relationship between the States and the Crown is primarily consensual. Hence it is submitted that the accession of a State to the Federation cannot take place otherwise than by a voluntary Act of its Ruler. The Act of 1935 therefore does not make any State a member of the Federation. It only prescribes a procedure by which a State may join the Federation. It is within the discretion of the Rulers whether or not they enter the Federation.

Sec. 5 of the Government of India Act, 1935, provides that the Federation will be brought into existence by a proclamation by His Majesty. No such proclamation however is to be made unless

> (*i*) an address in that behalf has been presented to him by each House of Parliament; and
> (*ii*) Rulers of States representing not less than half the aggregate population of the States and entitled to not less than half the seats allotted to the States in the Federal Upper Chamber have signified their desire to enter the Federation.

It is provided that the Ruler of a State may, in accordance with a prescribed procedure, signify, to the Crown, his willingness to accede to the Federation. The Ruler of a State proposing to join the Federation shall signify his willingness to accede to the Federation by executing an 'Instrument of Accession.' This will allow the power and jurisdiction of the Ruler in respect of those matters which he agrees to recognise as Federal subjects, to be exercised by the Federal Authorities, brought into existence by the Act. A draft 'Instrument of Accession' has been prepared and it is provided that the 'Instrument of Accesison' should, as far as possible, follow this standard form, though it is recognized that the list of subjects accepted by a Ruler as federal may not be identical in the case of every State. Questions may hereafter arise whether the Federal Government were competent in relation to a particular State to do certain things or to make certain laws and the Federal Court may have to solve such problems. In the opinion of the Joint Select Committee it would be very unfortunate if the Court found itself compelled in any case to base its decisions upon some expression or phraseology peculiar to the Instru-

ment under review and not found in any other Instrument. In cases in which the exceptions and reservations sought to be made by a Ruler are such as to make the accession 'illusory' or merely 'colourable' there is no obligation on the part of the Crown to accept such an offer. It is interesting here to recall a debate in the House of Commons regarding this question:

"Sir Samuel Hoare: We contemplate that items 1 to 45 of (the Federal Legislative) List will be the normal field over which the States will surrender their powers . . . There will and must be some variation from State to State either in the number of subjects or in the qualifications which they may attach to their acceptance.

"Mr. Churchill: Within the 45?

"Sir Samuel Hoare: Within the 45—these variations arising from the different circumstances of the States and the different treaty rights which they may wish to preserve . . . It will however . . . rest with the Crown to accept or reject proposals for accession."

In reply to another question by Sir Arthur Seetl Maitland, Sir Samuel Hoare stated that withdrawal of powers once surrendered was not to be allowed. The rulers may only surrender other powers under Sec. 6 (2).

After the establishment of the Federation the request of a Ruler that his State may be admitted to the Federation shall be transmitted to His Majesty through the Governor-General. After the expiration of twenty years from the establishment of the Federation the Governor-General shall not transmit to His Majesty any such request until there has been presented to him, by each Chamber of the Federal Legislatures, for submission to His Majesty, an address praying that His Majesty may be pleased to admit the State into the Federation.

Outside the limits defined by the Instrument of Accession of each State, the autonomy of the States and their relations with the Crown will not be affected in any way by the Act. The folowing extract taken from the 'Draft Instrument of Accession' will make this point clear:

". . . And A. B. hereby declares that save as otherwise expressly provided in this Instrument, he reserves the sovereignty in and over X in him vested."

Sec. 3 of the Government of India Act, 1935, distinguishes between the functions of the Crown in relation to the States and functions in connection with the Federation. The latter are to be exercised by the Governor-General, the former by "His Majesty's Representative." Sec. 286 (1) however makes for correlation of functions and it is enacted that it shall be lawful for His Majesty to appoint one person to fill both the offices.

This is the summary of the Scheme outlined by the Government of India Act, 1935.

The most surprising thing in the scheme is that the question of accession has been left to the discretion of the States. The Joint Parliamentary Committee Report acknowledged that in the Scheme of Federation 'both the Provinces and the States must derive their powers and authority from a direct grant by the Crown.' Hence 'the legal basis of a reconstituted Government of India must be first, the resumption into the hands of the Crown, of all rights, authority and jurisdiction in and over the territories of British India and second, their redistribution, in such manner as the Act may prescribe, between the Central Government on the one hand and the Provinces on the other.' The Act of 1935 gave effect to this recommendation. But this provision applies only to British India. For the States, the entrance into the Federation is not compulsory. The Rulers can enter or stand aside from the Federation as they think fit. The British Government have tried to be generous with the States. But one may fairly ask where this generosity existed when they entered into the present relationship with the States. Was this relationship based on the consent of the States?

The States are part-sovereign no doubt. But they are always subject to the paramountcy of the Crown. In 1864, Sir Henry Maine, in his minute on Kathiawad, said:

". . . It may perhaps be worth observing that according to the more precise language of modern publicists sovereignty is divisible but independence is not. Although the expression 'partial independence' may be popularly used, it is technically incorrect. Accordingly, there may be found in India every shade and variety of sovereignty, but there is only one independent sovereign—the British Crown."

The paramountcy of the British Crown over the Indian States has been established also by judicial decision. According to the principle of Comity one Sovereign State cannot be sued before the Courts of another State. But this has been applied in the case of the Indian States. Thus the Indian States have hardly any international status. Not only that. It has been decided in 'Secretary of State for India in Council *v.* Kamachee Boyee Saheba' that acts done by the Paramount Power in the exercise of its authority in relation to the States are 'Acts of State' which are not cognizable by any Court in British India or in Great Britain. So the Paramount Power, *i.e.*, the Crown should not have felt any hesitation in bringing the States under the same administrative rule.

The British statesmen lay too much stress on the much-advertised 'treaties, engagements

and *sanads*.' But examples can be cited where the Paramount Power has had, of necessity, to make decisions and exercise functions beyond the terms of treaties in order to secure peace and good Government of India as a whole. In the case of Hyderabad the Government of India intervened in several matters of internal administration on the ground that they could not remain 'indifferent spectators of disorder and misrule.' In 1875, Mulhar Rao, Gaekwar, was deposed from the throne for maladministration and the proclamation of the 19th April, 1875 announced :

> "His Highness Mulhar Rao, Gaekwar, is deposed from the *Sovereignty* of Baroda State and the Sovereignty is conferred on his successor."

In recent years, every one knows that there have been many instances where the Government of India intervened in the internal affairs of the States. Even a decade back there might have been some controversy regarding this peculiar relationship between the Crown and the States. But Lord Reading's interpretation of the relationship in 1926 has set all controversies at rest. In a letter to His Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad, his Lordship wrote :

> "The Sovereignty of the British Crown is supreme in India, and therefore no Ruler of an Indian State can justifiably claim to negotiate with the British Government on an equal footing. Its supremacy is not based only upon treaties and engagements but exists independently of them and quite apart from its prerogative in matters relating to foreign powers and policies, it is the right and duty of the British Government, while scrupulously respecting all treaties and engagements with the Indian States, to preserve peace and good order throughout India."

It is clear from the declaration that the Crown's paramountcy has largely grown up independently of treaties, engagements and *sanads* and the rights and privileges conferred by these documents must be construed as subject to this paramountcy so that the emphasis on these documents has no legal or constitutional basis.

The British statesmen are adepts in the art of make-believe. But the world is growing cleverer day by day and John Bull's statements are now always taken with a grain of salt. The real reason for refusing to declare a compulsory federation is not far to seek. Firstly, our guardians do not want that India should be united upon a common political platform. Secondly, they know the value of the States' co-operation in case of emergencies. The mutiny of 1857 had "seen a few patches of Native Government prove breakwaters to the storm which would otherwise have swept over the Government in one great wave." The proclamation of 1858 accordingly assured the Princes of Her Majesty's desire to see their rule perpetuated. And though after that, the Crown occasionally pulled a string here and broke another elsewhere it was afraid to set the Indian States as a whole against itself. The States demanded that their entry to the Federation should be voluntary and the British Government could not refuse.

A Federation cannot be successful among units which are unequal in status and different in form. By recognising the princes' legal right to join the Federation, serious injury has been done to the cause of a "Unified India." The provinces cannot but feel that they have wrongly been made inferior partners in the Federation.

The States have been shown undue favour in many other ways. Of a maximum number of 260 seats allocated to the Council of States, 104 seats have been given to the States. In the Federal Assembly the States are to have 125 seats out of a total number of 375 seats. Broadly speaking therefore, the States have been granted two-fifths and one-third shares in the Upper and Lower Houses respectively of the Federal Legislature though their total population is no more than a quarter of the total population of India. In determining the seats to be allocated among the States in the case of the Council of State, the Joint Parliamentary Committee remarked that emphasis should be laid upon "the relative rank and importance of the States as indicated by the *dynastic salute and other factors*."—Dynastic salute, and other factors —what marvellous scientific principles of allocation!

Sense of inequality and injustice has been thrust upon the people of British India and they cannot but look upon the whole scheme with distrust and suspicion. Such an atmosphere is anything but favourable to the growth of a successful Federation.

The method of filling up the seats in the Federal Assemblies is also novel. While in the case of British India the seats will be filled up by election on a popular basis, in the case of the States the representatives will be the nominees of the Rulers. The method of nomination has various advantages with the British Government. Firstly, it will give the princes additional personal power in choosing the representatives, and secondly, the States being under the paramountcy of the Crown outside the sphere of the Federal Legislature, the Government of India would be able to exert undue influence on the representatives through their respective princes. Government will thus be sure of a solid following in

both the Houses of the Federal Legislature. This has certainly been done to curb the forces of Indian nationalism.

It is indeed a spectacle for constitutional purists to see various conflicting principles at work in a single form of Government!

The sense of inequality lurks also in the scheme for Federal Finance. Sir Samuel Hoare 'contemplated' that 'items 1 to 45 of the Federal Legislative List would be the normal field over which the States would surrender their power.' These items do not include 'Income Tax.' The States have taken a stern attitude in matters of direct taxation and the British Government did not dare to force them to accept Income Tax as a federal subject for the States. So the provinces will have to pay Income Tax for the benefit of the Federation (including the Indian States) while the States would go unscathed. Any serious student of 'Public Finance' will laugh at such a proposal but the veteran British politicians are quite unmoved. According to Sir Samuel Hoare's 'contemplation,' Corporation Tax, Succession Duty, Salt Tax, Taxes on the Capital value of the assets, Terminal Taxes, etc., are some of the federal subjects which will not apply to the Indian States. What a jumbled conception of Federal Finance!

But the most difficult problem is that regarding the maritime States. Custom duty is a federal subject and is within the 45 items enumerated by Sir Samuel Hoare. But variation may occur from State to State within these 45 items—because of the various treaty rights which the States may wish to preserve. Because of this insistence upon treaty rights customs duty may be excluded from the list of subjects surrendered by a State in their Instrument of Accession. On principle maritime States should not be allowed to retain more than that portion of the yield which is attributable to dutiable goods consumed in their own State. "But if the insistence upon treaty rights in any particular case," said the Joint Select Committee, "makes such an arrangement impossible . . . . then the question will have to be seriously considered whether the State could properly be admitted to the Federal system."

But then the question of accession of the States is not to be determined by us, it is to be determined by the British Government. And judging from the chain of constant favours shown towards the States, we feel inclined to think that the British Government will accept any and every proposal for accesion—however 'colourable' or 'illusory' those accessions may be.

In short, the proposed Federation of India favours the Indian States at the cost of British Indian provinces at every step. And from a perusal of the Constitution it is evident that it will be far more complex than the Canadian Constitution, the working complexities of which turned Lord de Villiers into a vehement opponent of federation and induced him to throw all his influence as President of the South African Conference into the fight for the unification of South Africa. To say this is not to turn our back against federalism and in favour of a unitory Government. However much may some people argue in favour of a unitory Government there is no doubt that the possible unification of India lies only in the method of a Federation. But the constitution outlined by the Government of India Act, 1935 can hardly be called a federation, because it outrages some of the most important conditions of a Federation. A true Federation should recognize the States and the provinces as so many equal partners. The principle of representation should be based on population and the method of filling up the legislative seats should be by election. The States must, surrender all the subjects recognized as Federal. In the matter of finance also they should not resist any sort of direct taxation. Thus and thus only the sense of inequality can be remedied; the clouds of distrust and suspicion can be dispelled from the political horizon, and India may attain her long cherished ideal of unification.

THE SEPARATION OF BURMA AND INCREASED POSTAL RATES

By J. M. GANGULI

THE enhancement of the postal and telegraphic rates between India and Burma from 1st April, 1937 ought to provoke very serious thinking in the minds of the national leaders of India and Burma. The systematic and thorough manner in which Burma is being separated from India is indeed a matter of very vital importance both to Burma and India; but yet it has not received adequate attention from the people of either country. There has no doubt been some public opposition to this imperial policy of separation, but the opposition has lacked vigour and persistency.

Burma is an inseparable unit of India as a whole from the geographical, historical, cultural, religious, industrial and commercial points of view, and therefore it is vitally crippling the national growth of either country to politically separate one from the other. Hindu culture had not merely pervaded Burma in the past but had also spread through it to the far eastern and south-eastern countries like Siam, Cambodia, Indo-China, Malay Archipelago, etc. Trade and commerce between those countries and India had also led to the prosperity of all, for there used to be nothing like unscrupulous industrial exploitation of the present-day kind in those days. The severance of such cultural and commercial relationship between India and those countries for the last few centuries has been detrimental to their interests as also to India's. And, in fact, the national deterioration which set in in India and in those countries in the course of time can be directly traced to the period when inter-communication between these countries became slack. It was thereafter also that each country one after the other came under the subjection of the Europeon Powers, which by thorough exploitation reduced them to their present poor and helpless condition. For such exploitation the more the countries are dismembered and isolated, the better. This is the main reason why, for instance, Ceylon was not joined to the Indian administration and was kept under the Colonial Department of the British Government, though obviously it would have been simpler and more natural to have kept it as a part of India under the Government of India. Aden, which was till recently under the Government of India, has also now been separated from India.

In the case of Burma it was so long kept a province of India chiefly because the services of the Indian Army were needed for its subjugation as well as for the protection of its north-eastern frontier. Indian finance was also needed to consolidate the British position in Burma. An idea of the amount of Indian money spent in Burma may be had from the following *Associated Press* massage dated Rangoon 19th March, 1937 :

"Answering questions in the Senate regarding Burma's debt to India, the Finance Member said that the total debt *provisionally* (italics ours) was calculated at Rs. 595,640,300 and the period fixed for repayment was forty-five years.

The power to make a financial settlement between India and Burma was vested in His Majesty-in-Council. The principles of the settlement formulated in the Amery tribunal report were adopted as the basis of determining the payments to be made. The Government of Burma were not competent to re-open these questions.

He denied that the cost of the British annexation of Burma or the cost of the British expedition to Chinese territories were included in the debts."

The amount stated above, though so big, is not all that has been drained from India to Burma for and during the stabilization of British interests there, for, as admitted above, the cost of the British annexation of Burma and the cost of the British expedition to Chinese territories, which must be huge amounts, have not been included in the present calculation of Burma's debt to India. It should be further noted that the present debt settlement has not been made on principles of pure mathematics, but on those based on the Amery tribunal report, and that over and above it was subject to the discretion of His Majesty-in-Council.

It can well be asked what India has gained from having financed to such an extent the British imperial policy in Burma. It can not of course be said that the separation of Burma was not a pre-conceived idea, and that therefore the money spent on Burma was spent on it as a province of India, whose progress and development like those of other Indian provinces were essential for the all round development of India as a whole. For, Burma was never meant to be kept linked up to India as a province of it, as is obvious from one fact among others, namely, that communication between the two countries was never sought to be developed. If that had been intended railway communication would long have been established

between India and Burma. Indian leaders had often urged the linking up of the Indian and the Burmese railways, the expenses of which would readily have received the acquiescence of the Indian legislators. But that was not done, for far from intending to bring the two countries into closer association it was rather the object to prevent the spread of Indian influence in Burma. If Burma was kept under the Government of India it was, as stated above, because of the services of the Indian army and because of the use of the Indian money. The directors of imperial policy take long view of things, and they could therefore see that Burma's separate entity from India was of great importance for the following among other reasons :

1. India being politically much more developed than Burma, a close association between India and Burma would stimulate political consciousness in Burma, which would be opposed to the Imperial policy there.

2. Such consciousness in Burma keeping pace with the same in India would impart force and strength to the political movement in India.

3. For the easy exploitation of vast raw materials in Burma its educational and political backwardness was an advantage, as also the exclusion of Indian commercial enterprise from there.

4. Burma's proximity to the gateway to the Far East on the south and her north and eastern frontiers abutting on China, French Indo-China, and Siam give great strategic importance to Burma, specially in view of Japan's growing power and ambition and her increasing influence and predominance in China. The fortification and building up of the great and very expensive military base at Singapore give significance to the growing Far Eastern question referred to above. To make Burma a strong bulwark against all possible danger from the East must therefore be an important consideration to those who have the imperial interests in their hands. To keep Burma a province of India is, however, obviously a great handicap in the carrying out of that consideration.

Such being the case Burma was made a province of India only for temporary purposes, and as soon as the time arrived when direct Indian association was no longer needed and such association was rather becoming harmful from the political and commercial points of view, the separation was effected. How that separation has been brought about, how at least an apparent consent of Burma to the separation was sought, and in spite of the defeat in the general election on the separation issue was ultimately obtained in the Legislative Council, and how through a separate round table conference, to which selected Burmans were invited, the present constitution separating Burma from India was evolved;—all that is recent history and need not be gone into here. What is really of importance at present is for the far-sighted nationalists of either country not to submit to the separation and to work instead for reunion.

While constantly bearing that in mind their immediate duty is to keep alive as many points of contact and as many grounds of inter-relationship as possible. The first thing for that purpose is to raise the most vehement protest in India as well as in Burma against the enhancement of postal rates between the two countries, the object behind which evidently seems to be to discourage communication between the countries and thus to complete their isolation from each other. The rates which have come into force from 1st April 1937 are : two annas instead of nine pies for the post card, and two and a half annas for the first ounce in the case of closed letters. Packet and parcel rates are similarly increased to an exhorbitant extent. The telegram rates are also to be Re. 1|2 for the ordinary with two annas for each additional word, and Rs. 2|4 for the express with annas four for each additonal word.

Such high rates are bound to operate most prejudicially against the existing Indian commercial interests in Burma, not to speak of their future advancement. Burmese trade with India will also similarly and proportionately suffer.

The enhanced postal rates should therefore be a live issue of vital and immediate importance before all educated and thoughtful Indians and Burmans. The greater issue of future reunion should also never be lost sight of, and for that purpose the Indian National Congress must not cease to have its branch organisation in Burma, which should be animated with greater enthusiasm than heretofore. It is even worth the serious consideration of the Congress Executive to stimulate and strengthen Indo-Burmese nationalism by holding the next session of the Congress in Burma, if possible, instead of in Guzarat.

Let it be remembered by those who have the courage and imagination to visualise India developed into Greater India in future with far-flung cultural, social, religious, commercial and political relationship with Eastern Asia, as in the days of yore, that India must not be separated from a sister-country like Burma, nor must Burma stand aloof from its sister India.

REVEREND ALEXANDER DUFF'S IMPERIALISM

By MANILAL C. PAREKH

DR. ALEXANDER DUFF was a Christian missionary who came to India in the twenties of the last century, and he did much work in the field of education in those early days. His chief services, however, were in the field of mission-work, and so valuable they were from the point of view of Christian missions that he is looked upon today by a large part of the Protestant Christian world as one of the greatest missionaries that came to India. Some would go so far as to place him at the top of the roll of Christian missionaries in India. Whatever this be, when the mutiny broke out in India in the year 1857, Dr. Duff had been in India for nearly thirty years and had come in very close touch with the people of India, for whose "salvation" he had come to this land. It is, therefore, a matter of very great interest to know the re-actions (to use an American term) on his mind of the great conflict that arose between the people of India and the British Government, which is known as the mutiny. Fortunately, we possess a series of letters written by him at that time, and we see therein clearly the reflection of his mind and spirit. The Introduction to these letters which have been brought together contains the following statement which is worth taking into consideration :

"However rapidly the letters may have been written, there is nothing hasty or extempore in the views and opinions which they embody. These are the ripe result of thirty years. The statesman and the fair-minded Englishman will value them as the deliberate judgment of one who has possessed opportunities of observation almost unequalled; and to the Christian reader they will carry peculiar weight, as the testimony of one who has made life-long sacrifices for the sake of the gospel in India, and who, in the hands of the Most High, has been the means of inaugurating a singularly promising and successful scheme for India's moral and spiritual elevation."

These letters were written to the then convener of the Free Church of Scotland's Foreign Committee, and each of them was printed for the public of the British Isles as soon as it was received. They were brought together and published in 1858 in the form of a book, which was called "The Indian Rebellion, Its Causes and Results." This is a pretty big work of about 400 pages, and all that we propose to do here is to give a few characteristic passages from these letters to show how such "a great Christian statesman" and "one of the greatest missionaries that India ever knew" was not only as imperialistic as other Englishmen but he could even teach them many lessons in the art of imperialistic conquest and government. These letters furnish a most interesting, though painful, study of missionary mentality as it expressed itself in one who was indeed one of the noblest of them.

The man who has been introduced in these terms to the readers of these letters which were published in London first and almost immediately after in New York starts with the supposition that the great conflict that arose in India was not merely a mutiny of the Indian Army, but a Rebellion of the entire Indian people. This belief of Dr. Duff stands in sharp contrast to that of a large number of British Civil and Military Officers of those days, and it is evidently generated and confirmed by his missionary zeal. This is what he says in regard to it in his letter No. 9, dated 20th August, 1857 :

"That there was anything *like affection* or *loyal attachment* (the italics are his), in any true sense of these terms, on the part of any considerable portion of the native population towards the British power, is what no one who really knows them could honestly aver. Individual natives have become attached to individual Britons. Of the truth of this statement even the recent sanguinary mutinies have furnished some conspicuous examples. But such isolated facts can prove nothing as to the feelings generally prevalent with respect to the British and their power."

He follows up this statement with some details and then adds the following :

"Now, in the face of these, and scores of other substantially similar statements from all parts of the North-West and Central India, what becomes of the lullaby declarations of those who would fain persuade the British public that nowhere among the general civic or rural population of India does there exist any feeling of ill-will, or discontent, or disaffection, towards the British or their Government? All such unqualified declarations I do most solemnly regard as a gigantic (I do not say wilful) imposition on the British people—an imposition which, if not timely exposed or abandoned, is sure to prove as fatal to the reestablishment and perpetuity of British supremacy, as it is in itself gigantic. . . . It is but right, therefore, that the British people should be jealously on their guard against the fair-weather representation of men high in office—men who from personal intercourse know nothing of native sentiment beyond the

glozing lies of a few fawning sychophants—men who, from motives of political partizanship and personal self-interest, are sorely tempted to mistake the apparent calm on the upper surface for peace, contentment and loyalty. It is but right that the British people to whom the God of Providence has so mysteriously intrusted the sovereignty of this vast Indian empire should know the real state of native feeling towards us and our power, that they may insist on a searching scrutiny into the causes which may have superinduced it, and detecting the causes, may demand as with a voice of thunder, some commensurate remedy."

As for the remedy which Dr. Duff proposes, he gives it in these words:

"Let then, the Christian people of the highly favoured British Isles, in their heaven-conferred prerogative, rise up, and resistless as the ocean in its mighty swell, let them decree, in the name of Him who liveth for ever and ever, that henceforward those commissioned by them to rule over and administer justice to the millions of this land shall not dare in their public acts and proclamations, practically to ignore or scornfully repudiate the very name and faith of Jesus, while they foster and honour the degrading superstitions of Brahma and Mohammed. *Let the British Churches, at the same time, arise and resolve, at whatever cost of self-denial, to grapple in right earnest, as they have never yet done, with the stupendous work of supplanting the three thousand years' consolidated empire of Satan in these vast realms, by the establishment of the Messiah's reign.*" (The italics are of the present author).

In view of these quotations and much more of the same kind, it does not need to be said that Dr. Duff sees in this struggle the forces of God and of Satan arrayed, one against the other. In his eyes God is fighting on the side of the British and the Devil on the other. Because of this he rejoices deeply and with much gratefulness to God over every little victory of the British arms, and much mortified at anything of the like kind on the part of the Mutineers. So full of distrust in the people of India and of Bengal amongst whom he had lived for nearly thirty years working for their salvation has he become that he, along with other Europeans, advises the Government to proclaim "*martial law at once throughout the Bengal Presidency.*" (The italics are his.) His own son has joined the British army, and his parental solicitude added to his zeal for the propagation of the Gospel in India makes him pray again and again for the success of the British arms.

Dr. Duff's estimate of the antagonism, indifference and loyalty of the Indian people towards the Government varies within certain limits at different times in accordance with his interpretation of the attitudes of the people of different Provinces at different times. He is, however, certain that the people of the country as a whole have no loyalty in the sense of attachment. There is one solitary exception to this in his eyes, and that is the native Christian community, of which he speaks in the following terms:

"As to *lovers* of us or our rule, in any true sense of the term, probably there are none among any class, except the comparatively small body of professing native Christians. In them, participation in the transcendent benefits of a common and glorious faith has overcome the antipathies generated by foreignness of race and the humiliation of conquest, and merged all in the love and fellowship of Christian brotherhood. The reality of their good-will and affection towards us, and to their credit it ought to be specially noted, has, in various ways, been made manifest throughout the progress of the recent awful rebellion."

He proceeds to give a few instances of such loyalty on their part and then draws the following generalization:

"*Theory and practice alike concur in proving, that to increase and multiply the number of native Christians, is to increase and multiply the only class of truly staunch and loyal native subjects of the British Crown among the teeming millions of India.*" (The italics are mine).

It is easy to see how in the eyes of this "Christian statesman," the interest of the Kingdom of Christ as he understands them coincide with the consolidation and expansion of the British Empire.

As for those who, according to Dr. Duff, hate the Government, the Moslems come first, then the Brahmins and the Rajputs. This is what he says of them:

"For the reasons assigned in my last, a large proportion of all these classes, so long as they remain genuine Mohammedans and Hindus, cannot but dislike, or even hate, us and our rule—do or attempt what we may for their temporal welfare."

The Moslem religion and the Hindu caste-system are the chief rocks of offence to this Scottish Evangelist, because they create loyalties which run counter to those which the learned divine would like to instil.

This is not all. What pains one the most in reading these letters is the fact that this greatest of Christian missonaries, a man who had devoted thirty years of his life to the so-called evangelical service of India preaching the Gospel of Christ, the Prince of Peace, is not a whit behind the worst counsellors of the Government in demanding the sternest measures in dealing with the people who rebelled. Nay, he goes even further and calls for greater punishment than was meted out to the offenders. One does not know where to turn in history for finding vandalism such as he wanted the Government to practise on the people of India. Here are a sample or two of what he wanted to be done.

"But were the palace of the Great Moghuls, which recently witnessed the slaughter of our countrymen and

countrywomen, and served for many a day as the burning focus of treason and rebellion to all the disaffected throughout the provinces, to be razed to the ground, and were the famous *Dewani Khas*, or hall of audience, with its celebrated inscription, to be carefully taken to pieces, removed to Calcutta, and thence conveyed to London, nothing perhaps could more infallibly express on the fatalized mind of India the absolute assurance that the seat of imperial grandeur and supreme dominion had at length been transferred from the banks of the Jumna to the banks of the Thames. Then farewell to any further rebellions on any imposing scale in our day!"

Dr. Duff's remarks about the fall of Lucknow are conceived in a spirit which is still worse, as the following will show:

"And probably by this time that quarter also is closed in. If so, the terrible work of destruction will have commenced in earnest; and there seems no alternative between absolute extermination or unconditional surrender. (This is said of the Indian rebels). It is now that, in such a case, one begins to realize the fact that righteousness is as positive an attribute in the Godhead as mercy, and that retributive justice has its claims as surely as compassion; and that, however great the clemency and long-suffering of the Supreme Moral Governor, sooner or later the thunderbolt of His righteous vengeance will smite into the dust guilty cities and nations. More than once I have alluded to Lucknow as perhaps the wickedest city in India. Apart altogether from recent mutinies and massacres, it was, in strictest literality, a very Sodom and Gomorrah of iniquity. . . . I would not be surprised, however, if a whole host of puling, artistic sentimentalists would raise a doubtful lamentation over the downfall of Lucknow. For there, as at Rome, the arts of painting, statuary, and architecture, flourished alongside of abominations worthy only of the bottomless abyss. It was a city of palaces, mausoleums and magnificent gateways, adorned by all that could be achieved by the most consummate skill of oriental painters, architects and statuaries. Mohammedanism, in this respect, has done for the East what Romanism has done for the West. . . . The only other city in India which, for aggravated wickedness and vice, could be named along with Lucknow, is Delhi—both essentially Mohemmedan, and both scourged as no other cities in India have yet been done in our day. And when I think of the monstrous systems—theological and practical – which the public edifices of both have symbolized and tended to perpetuate, much as I admired their beauty and gorgeousness, *I confess that I could gaze at the ruins of them all without one feeling of regret.*" (The italics are mine).

The feeling of vengeance that this great Christian missionary has would not be satisfied at the destruction of these cities. He is happy and thankful to God that the offenders were punished in the way they were by some of the British generals. He is angry with those among the British who would show any mercy or mildness, and praises warmly the conduct of such among them as took an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth, and did even worse. Here is a sample of his appreciation of retributive justice.

"General Neill, on the other hand, was a man who enjoyed the unbounded confidence of the British community, because of his firmness in decision and promptitude in execution: and, above all, because of the *instinctive sagacity which he had so often shown in doing the right thing, at the right time and in the right way.* . . . In the view of such horrid butcheries (committed by the Mutineers in Cawnpore), General Neill, though naturally a mild, gentle, quiet, inoffensive man, seems to have irresistibly felt that an exhibition of stern justice was imperatively demanded. *His Scottish Bible-training* had taught him that justice was as absolute an attribute of Deity as mercy—that magistracy was "an ordinance of God," and expressly designed to be "a terror to the evil-doers." (The Italics are mine).

So highly commended a Christian general is reported to have done the following in the Letter No. VII:

"Accordingly, General Neill, by the last accounts, "was compelling all the high-caste Brahmins he could capture among the guilty Sepoys, to collect the bloody clothes of the victims, and wash up the blood from the floor, a European soldier standing over each man with a 'cat-o'-nine-tails,' and administering it with vigour whenever he relaxed in his exertions. The wretches having been subjected to this degradation, which of course includes loss of caste, are then hanged one after another."

Speaking about the same thing again in his Letter No. XVII, Dr. Duff says this:

"Nor did he (General Neill) regard it as torture or cruelty in the ordinary sense of these terms, to cause murderers who were still reeking with the gore of innocent women and children, to wipe up a portion of their blood which they had no scruples of conscience or of caste in so profusely shedding. *Neither, may I add, need any enlightened Christian shrink from avowing that he has left no special indignation at a procedure so unwonted in such strangely unwonted circumstances.*" (The Italics are mine).

The foregoing quotations are enough to show what an imperialist of the deepest dye this great missionary was, and how his zeal for religion and for the propagation of his faith had fortified and augmented his racial and political imperialism. If he blames the Government, it is only because it is, from his point of view, too lenient, mild and tolerant to the prejudices of the people of the country, both Hindus and Mohammedans. While the Company's Government hesitated to disarm the people of the land, he clamours for such disarming, and it is not unlikely that his voice in this matter as in others had weight with the British Government when it finally made up its mind to deprive the people of the country of their arms. This is what he says in regard to this matter.:

"One indispensable preliminary (to pacification) measure, as stated in my last, must be a stern and relentless disarmament of the restless, turbulent and warrior classes throughout the whole of Northern and Central India. On this subject for the sake of India itself, all puling maudlin sentimentalism ought to be scathed and scouted with unpitying scorn. A demand from the mighty British people for the immediate and universal disarming of the whole of the dangerous classes of India, ought to

reach our shores, in a voice, if not as loud, as effective as that of ten thousand thunders!"

There is much more in these Letters which could be quoted to show how the mind and spirit of this "great missionary" are so warped as to inflame him with a passion against and hatred for a people amongst whom he lived for thirty years, and who, according to his own words in these letters, "*manifested no special hostility or enmity towards the missionaries or Christians of India*" (the Italics are his) which even the worst among the British civil or military officers could not have shown. He approves of all that was done by these latter, even the worst of them, and again and again he criticizes some of the officers of the Government for not being strong enough. He identifies himself wholly with the Government and all its enemies are his enemies. As a matter of fact he sees far more enemies than the Government ever saw, because in his eyes all non-Christians are actual or potential enemies. Thus his religious and missionary zeal, instead of making him love the people for whose 'salvation' he had come to India, turns him into a militarist and imperialist of the deepest dye, and since he is one of the most important missionaries that ever came to India, a man who is more than an epoch-maker in the history of Christian missions in India, we see the spirit that they, and even the best of them, are made of.

Jesus was crucified only once by Jewish Nationalism but he is being crucified all the time by Christian Imperialism.

PRIMARY EDUCATION IN BENGAL

By Prof. D. M. SEN, M.A., Ph.D.

"Education," we are told, "has come to be regarded generally as a matter of primary national importance, an indispensable agency in the task of nation-building. Communities, which in the early days of English education, were slow to respond, are now fully awakened to the need and possibilities of education for their children. The demand for more institutions for the education of girls has been insistent all through the province for some time past. The movement has spread to backward classes—the depressed classes, the scheduled castes and even to the aboriginal tribes. All now demand education as a right." In the same strain it is admitted that "Expansion of education is still certainly the need of the province, but if it follows unhealthy and unprofitable channels, the flood may devastate instead of fertilizing the country."

In a country whose water-channels are so ill-regulated, fear of flood is potent enough. But, however flood-complex-ridden we Bengalees may be, we did not apprehend disaster when the Hon'ble Minister of Education introduced his resolution in rainy July, two years ago, to irrigate the vast barren tracts of the illiterate country-side with his 16,000 knee-deep canals and their feeders. Rather, it was feared that the supply promised would hardly drench the soil, left uncared-for over such a long period, deep enough to make it suitable for raising any harvest worth reaping. The intelligent public got alarmed that this well-meaning intellectual irrigation scheme would clog many an indigenous water-bed of private enterprize to pave its spectacular paths. The taxation demand, as usual, would be disproportionate to the yield.

I am not here on this occasion to discuss the responsibility for this rather belated awakening of the lower strata of our social consciousness. I mean to avoid also staggering statistics and appalling comparisons with civilized countries in the educational sphere. I shall concern myself mainly with the quality of the educational programme for our rural area, leaving aside the quantitative meagreness along with oft-repeated and unwarranted excuses.

I can hardly conjure up in your imagination today a vision of the tree-clustered peaceful villages of Bengal—the home of plenty, with their venerable "*Pandit-Mahasaya*" and his open-air "*Pathshala*." The memory of the seasonal festivities and the rich entertainments may still haunt some of us like the dream-images of a famished mind. We are left today with a heritage, the stark naked picture of which we dare not face. We shall limit our field of enquiry to our cheap primary schools with their

ill-paid and ill-equipped 'gurus' and the still more ill-nourished scholars, who come there to be detained rather than trained. These primary schools—with their lower and upper grades—are holding up the beacons of knowledge which save the countryside from being enveloped in the gloom of ignorance. In spite of about 60,000 centres of elementary learning we have not been able to make literate even an appreciable fraction of our people and yet we are asked to believe that even a quarter of this number—when better equipped—would go a long way to cater to the educational need of the illiterate millions of Bengal.

Granting that such a miracle were possible even in this age of science—(we are credulous in the tropics)—would these proposed improved schools give us any education, worth the name? The pilots, who are to steer the boat of education in uncharted waters, can be hired for the glorious honorarium of less than a factory labourer's or town menial's wages, and we are asked to believe that education would leave a lasting if not permanent impression on the minds of those rustic children who at present behave unsatisfactorily and manage to forget with a great facility even what they had learnt!

On a close scrutiny of the programme of improvement one finds the proposed new primary schools will at best be modelled after the so-called "efficient secondary schools." What is being advocated is really setting up in the rural areas the four lower storeys of the educational structure of High Schools that are so familiar to us; the outer surface is to be painted green with "rural bias" instead of its being washed white or drab in the usual way. One fails to discover any other distinctive feature in the programme which has been paraded with so much gusto. Wherever the menu has appeared to be commonplace and stale it has been sprinkled with the sauce of 'extra curricular activities.' Are we to believe that food-stuff which has been found unwholesome, will bring nourishment to us if only served with pickles or sauce?

The cumulative effect of the system in vogue has been sad enough. We are reminded at every step that we—the so-called educated people, the product of the existing schools and colleges, are neither suited for the practical sphere nor does our training make us competent to adjust ourselves to our social environments. The number of such educated misfits multiplies with time. Many a rural guardian is known to me who would have the children stay at home rather than be rendered worthless by being "educated" in the existing schools. All over the country there is to be noticed a feeling of discontent about the prevalent system—in newspapers, public meetings and learned academic addresses. The critics seem to have one point in common :—our educational method is abstract and narrow, its sole emphasis being on the intellectual phase of the mind. Knowledge has been subdivided into so many subjects, masses of informations. As the horizon of knowledge widens, our curriculum threatens to be a miscellaneous tyranny of "subjects" which are often at cross-purposes with one another and out of harmony with the human needs of the modern age. Those of superior intellect seem to pass off with flying colours, but they hardly acquire the skill of application. Academic knowledge and incompetence are often found together. The dismal record has embittered the poet of our age to castigate the process as the "Parrot's Training." We have been dubbed by other great men of our age as a nation of incompetent crammers, ever hunting for unenterprizing jobs for which our mentality has been inevitably shaped. At the end of the school or college career, the enthusiasm of youth is soon chilled into blank despair. It may dawn on him sometimes that he has been a victim of a system over which he or his parents had little control. It was introduced in this country in order to train middle-class youth for filling up numerous minor gaps of the Governmental machinery and mercantile offices of the East India Company. There was a demand—we thought we were having a fine education : having been more than met, the demand is no more. In spite of the endless repairs and reforms that have modified the system, its framework still remains true to its original type. To this source can be traced the entire system of our education, from the infant school curriculum to the college courses of the University. Are we then to hope fondly that a process which has failed us elsewhere will bear the cherished fruit in the rural area, when administered in a mitigated dose?

Our primary and secondary schools have never asked the question, what types of man and woman does society need?—but have contented themselves with the "spreading of learning," irrespective of the need or the fitness of the recipient to possess it. Is the English tradition in education leading us rightly? The antithesis between mind as something pure and body as something vile, originally derived from Christian monastic tradition, has made our schools only centres of mind-culture—and even that in a fragmentary fashion due to our meagre resources. After receiving mind-culture for about a century

we are told today, our ills will be remedied if we now receive body-culture. The mind-culture now administered in our primary and secondary schools is being patched up or eked out with body-culture. The advancement of education through a century has brought us to the conception of man as a patchwork of mind and body. But more patchwork is being proposed. To the School huts some plots of land are to be added to train the hands which have had little work to do so far. The subject of Nature Study is being ushered in to train the eye and the ear. In lucky rural areas the children will have football grounds to exercise their legs, which had not hitherto had any function in school-life except while making amends for delinquencies. Above all, to make education perfect the children will receive "religious instruction" separately for their spiritual growth. The various compartments of the child-mind will be attended to in various ways, intellect in one room, morals in another, the senses elsewhere and physical needs on the play-ground. Our educational practice is still in the grip of that fatal tradition, referred to above, in spite of our effort to give it a semblance of the enlightened. The analogy of the mind-machine we have borrowed from our foreign masters who are developing an industrial civilisation and who find it convenient to think in terms of the machine. Transplanted into our Primary & Secondary schools, it produces a confusion of uncoordinated printed informations, the burden of which weighs heavily on the child-mind. It ever remains a culture imposed from above, alien to the genius of the people, without natural root in the soil of the country, and the fruit it bears—if it bears any at all, is often worthless, if not evil.

If we are groping for a way out of this confusion and have a mind to think out anew our solution for wholesome education, let us take our cue from the poet and seer. Let us banish from our mind the picture of the child patched up from the dissections of psychology and physiology and borrow our light from the poet that the child is a living being, a whole. The creative urge of Nature is the driving force of his life. Find, then, a form of education which rests on the creative principle and aims at creativeness. Let us provide for the rural child such an environment as will educate him in his wholeness as such and will nourish his soul, which hungers for creation and can never be satisfied with anything else. The only bias worth striving for in the programme of our rural education is this creative bias. If you ask me what ideal can be appealed to, to bring out the creative element of the youthful mind, my answer from my faith is that it is love of harmony, innate, but repressed, perverted and smothered in most of us. This deep unsatisfied hunger is rendering our country utterly miserable at the present moment, though perhaps we have not the faintest idea of what the matter is with us. In the education imparted today creativeness has either no place or a place far too small. Most of it is thwarted in the process of becoming learned. The result is that the most powerful impulse in children, the urge to create, finding little or no outlet in the "subjects" they are taught and meeting only obstructions, warnings and good advice, breaks bounds with disastrous consequence. The treacherous under-current of baulked impulses and the only too-familiar phenomena arising from them, which poison the life of so many schools and cause often sleepless nights to the parents and school-masters, are the concomitants of a system of education which has failed to harness the creative impulse of the young. The destructive phase of our public life indicates but a later stage in the same malady.

Let us have a look at the dirty urchins, who appears so dull and bored within the school walls, out of them,—in the fields and woods, by lakes and rivers, with a potter or a carpenter. Watch their interest where Nature is living, moving and growing. Listen to their questionings before they are sophisticated, to separate learning from work and play, and knowledge from life and you will find the key to the solution of the problems of education among the rural people. The function of a rural school is "to provide the children with the utmost liberty within the surroundings that are filled with the creative possibilities, with opportunity of play that is work—the work for exploration; and of work that is play,—the reaping of a succession of novel experiences. It will not raise barriers to separate the child from the sustaining freshness of Nature and the surroundings of human relationship. It will be the training ground for a courageous and resourceful mind."

If the practical and intelligent villagers were given an option in the matter they might have said: "We don't want your History and Geography, your Classics and Scriptures and don't care much about your Reading, Writing and Arithmetic even, but we do want you prepare our children for life—we want training in the arts and crafts of life." The answer would have

been: "You can't have that sort of education, because there are no teachers who could give it and the State has no machinery adapted for that purpose." As it is, the villagers have said little or nothing about it. They are being made to accept the education which foreign experts and their native under-studies have manufactured and the well-to-do part of the community have long enjoyed or suffered, as equally desirable for the younger generation. There is no alternative. The State has nothing else to give and the recipients are not yet awakened to the needs of anything else. It is one of the anomalies of the present situation that, while the Government are professing to introduce compulsory education, they have scarcely made any effort in defining the direction education should take. Perhaps they have little guidance to offer. They have contented themselves with offering what their experts judged to be the best and what the existing machinery was capable of giving on traditional lines, if it were oiled, cleaned, repainted and some extra nuts and bolts inserted in it. Though it is admitted that it is out of date, they do not know how to replace it.

The problem facing us is difficult but may not be insoluble. The very fact that the intelligentsia is aware there is such a problem, makes us hopeful. The State-machinery is heavy and cumbrous; it needs paved paths to move along. It may break rigid conventions, neither is it competent to explore fresh avenues outside its jurisdiction. The Education department preserves, but may not experiment with growth. In all countries, with the solitary exception of one—Soviet Russia, the pioneering work has been done by private enterprise. The cumulative effect of the opinion of the thinking public and the promise that progressive educational experiments held out, have made the States move. When the intelligent minds of Bengal tackle the problem in all earnestness, as it is being tackled in some quarters, the difficulty will gradually be overcome and the public will have learnt to value education at its proper worth and make its voice more effective not only in demanding that education shall be given but also in pointing the direction education shall take. The failure of the present system has at least succeeded in awakening us to demand something more wholesome. The education of our people must be evolved out of the ethos and experiences of our generation. May be, we have not clearly discovered our goal; but if we courageously accept the field-work that awaits the sons of Bengal, the dawn of a new era in education may not be far away in this country.

As I conclude, I should like to add a few remarks on two points. Firstly, let me take the idea of "rural bias." I can well imagine that rural bias has some significance in a country where the country-side is quiet and peaceful, where wholesome food and pure water are not scarce, where health rather than disease is the feature of rural life. But here in our country the town life is bad enough, but the village life is worse. I need not tell you about our villages where the vitality of our people is being sapped in combating malaria and infectious diseases; where in the rains, floods intern the cattle and men under the same roof, and in parching summer women have to travel no small distance to get a jar of drinking water, and above all, where the life of the intelligent youth is rendered intolerable and the safety of the person and property is becoming increasingly problematic. One wonders, how our existing primary schools with titbits of agriculture and handicrafts will drug the rural mind so as to produce the desired craving for life in such villages! It is a fond hope indeed that the scant educational resources will conquer the mighty economic and political forces that are making our village life crumble to pieces. It may be worth our while to pause and think how powerful those factors are which make us uproot ourselves from the native soil where we had struck root at birth. It reminds me of the effort of a benevolent clergyman who set up a wayside pulpit adjacent to a public drinking house and a cinema hall, hoping to produce a "religious bias" in the flock that had strayed from folds of his Church.

For centuries the villager has lived cooped up within his narrow walls; little does he know how the currents of humanity flow in which the stream of his life should join. He has been breathing the heavy air of his enclosed life—the stupefying gas of rural bias. It is he most of all that needs fresh air, the wide horizon of the bigger world where his stunted mind needs an outlet. Let us not mete out education as doles in an almshouse and flatter ourselves for our charitable disposition. Let us not be surprised if the rural people, like Oliver Twist, ask for "more."

Secondly, let me consider the question of religious education in the Primary Schools. In fact the proposed scheme is not for religious education but for instruction on doctrines of the Hindu, Christian and Muhammadan religions and their rituals, leaving aside other religions. The civilised nations of the world, whom we emulate, have wisely avoided the paths where we rush in in hectic zeal. Not that they have

not tried; dearly have they paid for those trials. The bitterness of their experience sobered them to leave the problem out of their educational and civic institutions. Their task was far less complex than ours, yet blindly we move impelled by no other motive than mutual jealousy stirred up by extraneous causes. I am conscious of the sentiment that we in the East value religion more than they do in the West. Even supposing such a presumption were the truth, I fail to see how this process will lead us to the goal. In the religious instruction hour the children of a primary school will divide themselves according to religion-groups—some will go to a Maulavi, some to a Pandit, and some to a Padre. The school building will be resounding with a symphony(!) of languages—Bengali, Sanskrit, Urdu, Arabic and perhaps Latin in some cases. We value religion indeed, but what material value are we attaching to the intellect of those to whom we entrust our future generation to be guided to the "heavenly light"? —not much more than half-a-rupee a day.

I cannot help expressing my grave apprehension. This generation of ours seems to be doomed with endless factions and divisions in social, political and religious life. The body of our National life is being poisoned to the core by the toxins produced by the deadly germs of factional feuds. There was left but one avenue of escape to an open space where the children of the soil might have gathered to unite to breathe in relief—it is the sphere of education and culture. Must we seal our fate by setting up walls there as well to make communal plots for sowing the seed of internecine discord?*

* Read at the Primary Education Section, All Bengal Education Conference—Jalpaiguri, March, 1937.

"THE QUEST ETERNAL"* : A STUDY

By Prof. S. N. RAY, M.A., Ph.D. (Lond.)

Dr. Seal's name inspires his readers with awe. Generations of students sat at his feet with a palpitating heart, wondered at his scholarship, and, baffled by the immensity of his mind and flights of his thought, came away in despair. Thus a legend has grown round his name, and people think of him just as they think of the Himalayas—majestic, immeasurable, mysterious, unknowable.

I must confess a sort of stage fright seized me when I realised the magnitude of my folly in having consented, in a weak moment, to present Dr. Seal's poem to the readers of *The Modern Review*. Nor was it lessened when I consulted some of my friends whom I consider amply qualified for the task I have undertaken. They would not approach the book. Thus forlorn, like a hunted animal, I began to clamber a perilous steep as it were. I am glad to be able to say that I have no remorse now, and the adventure did not prove altogether hopeless. If I have not been able to sound the depth of the fathomless seas (for that is how I regard the poem), its music repaid my labour, its mystery lured me on and its vision illuminated my dark soul. I found the whole world linked up by a secret thread, a new meaning in the mythologies, and a new significance in the obsolete philosophical thoughts of the races. As I went along with the poem, its import became clearer, for the author with the experience of nearly half-a-century as professor has taken immense pains to make his ideas intelligible to his readers. In this task he has succeeded more than T. S. Eliot in *Wasteland*, of which I was reminded by its array of prefaces, appendix and notes, not to speak of its philosophical character.

The better part of the *Quest* had been written long before any philosophical poem was attempted in England. For, its first two parts were complete in their present form in 1893. The book comprises three quests, the Ancient, the Medieval and the Modern, and seeks to transcribe basic philosophical ideals in "forms of pure poetry." It is a daring attempt indeed, even in this land of philosophical poetry—the land where among others *Prabodh-Chandrodaya* and *Svapnaprayan* flourished. Dr. Seal, probably conscious of the limitations of his contemporaries, has dedicated his work to the

* By Sir Brajendranath Seal, Oxford University Press, 1936. Price Rs. 5.

judgment of eternal time and the wide world—his motto is "Kālohyayam niravadhirvipulā cha prithvi." After this, it would be presumptuous on my part to say how greatly I have been fascinated by its melody, or how I have marvelled at the beauty of its expressions, the grandeur of its conception. Though I wish that he had descended a little to the level of his readers, I must, in fairness to the author, mention the fact that I did not find him so obscure as not to be infected by the spirit of his writing.

It is not easy to say how far poetry is connected with philosophy; probably all poetry has some philosophical content. No one will claim that metaphysics and psychology are poetry, but everybody must admit that the *Quest Eternal* is a noble piece of poetical composition. It is philosophy in the sense that it is a history of ideas, but in this the highest findings of metaphysics have been emotionally exalted into poetry. The poet does not apprehend the truths as a result of syllogistic process, but goes back to their fountain-head, and shows how they rose suddenly from the sub-conscious region of the human mind to its conscious level, and filled it with wonder. It is the sense of wonder that transfigures an object, opens up a new vista, and rouses the soul to a sense of rhythm and harmony. Dr. Seal has released the spirit of wonder from the crystals of words, and has invested the dry speculations of philosophy with life and beauty.

The *Quest* fulfils another essential condition of poetry: the creation of a personality with an individual scheme of life, an individual outlook on the universe. The three quests are woven round the personalities of their heroes, and systems of thought, apparently disjointed, submerged and lost, are made to appear as the varied experiences of one human soul. It is there that they find their logic and unity.

The hero of the first quest, *viz.*, *The Ancient Ideal*, is a Greek priest returned from Bactria to his island home after many years' sojourn, say at Taxila or Mathura, where he had become familiar with Indian philosophy, Indian mythology and Indian art. Similarly in the *Medieval Ideal*, the author has chosen for the central figure a knight-errant who has pursued through the ages the queen of his destiny. The hero of the *Modern Ideal* wanders in search of a wisdom that is able to master death, not death in the physical sense, but death conceived as a dark power in life that frustrates all ideal strivings.

As the poem is the symphony of the ages, and moves round some elemental concepts, one expects that there should be parallelisms and common motifs in the three Ideals. Thus the birth of the Godhead is conceived as a natural (or immanent) cosmic process in the *Ancient Ideal*; as a supernatural (or transcendent) phenomenon in the *Medieval Ideal*; as an emergent evolution in the *Modern Ideal*.

Before I proceed to give the argument of the pieces, which the nature of the subject necessitates, I should like to say one word about the form of the poetry before me. Dr. Seal claims that there is a novelty about the poetic form used by him. He tells us that this consists in escaping from the "conventionally unconventional" of modern verse, and going back to the classical in manner and diction. "An austere economy even to baldness," he observes, "has been the author's constant model in expression as the only proper vehicle for the new poesy." I do not know how the verse-form of the *Ancient Ideal* can be said to have conformed to the classical pattern. To me it seems entirely modern—the poet's own creation which obeys the law of inner necessity alone. The following verses, taken haphazardly, will illustrate my meaning:

> Quiring on myriad worlds through Heaven's immense expanse!
> While the worlds, they tremble, tremble,
> Reel and tremble,
> Reel and tremble,
> Tremble to your unisons!

It is a mixture of all kinds of metrical types, whose use can be justified only by the intensity of the passion and the rhythmical variation of the emotion which shake the poet as it were. His poetry is like the sea in storm, swelling, breaking, swirling and eddying. In the *Medieval*, the most poetical of the three sections, there are rhymes at the end of lines as well as in the middle, in addition to alliteration and assonance, all suggestive of Middle English poetry. Infusion of a few Middle English words, abundance of liquid consonants and echo of Spenserian music create an illusion through which the Wizard Knight moves. The *Modern Ideal* is in Blank verse, and the diction is laden with scientific, philosophical and economical terms, perhaps necessitated by the author's anxiety to do away with the baneful amorphousness of subjective poetry, or perhaps to describe the complexity of modern civilization. I cannot say if Dr. Seal has a partiality for expressions of Latin origin, but he has employed a large number of them, probably for the clarity

of meaning. Such words as *thaumaturgic, demiurgic, corybant, phillippizes, sempiternal, parturition, susurration* and *fuliginous* have been introduced into his poetry, not to speak of *tumultuosissimamente* which is by itself a verse equal in length to a trisyllabic measure. All this he has done to secure definiteness of meaning, for, unlike the modern advocates of poetical esotericism, he believes that poetry must first of all communicate a distinct thought. I am not sure how far he has succeeded in this, for his readers may not be as acquainted with the technical terms as he is. Words are symbols which bring before the reader's mind certain ideas, only if he knows them. What do they avail if he does not? The aim of the poet should not only be to empty his own soul, but to fill his reader's. Dr. Seal, it would appear, does not believe, like Tolstoy, that the greatest art is that which is intelligible to all. One has to bring a great deal of mental preparation to the understanding of his poetry. Thus he must, tragically enough, find himself in the ranks of those who are endeavouring to make poetry the matter for a coterie.

In giving so much importance to the intellectual side of poetry, the author however does not in any way sacrifice the emotional. On the contrary, he seeks to transmit his emotional experience not only through the meaning of words, but sound, rhythm and the remoter associations of words. For this he makes lavish use of imageries and brings together all that is beautiful in the literature of the world. His heart glows with emotion, and his mind surges with ideas which rush so rapidly upon him that they obscure the meaning. He loves to call his way Classical, but his spirit is Romantic, and finds satisfaction in the exuberance of expression.

Argument of the Poem

1st quest :

The first quest is a hymn to the Everlasting offered by the inhabitant of an ocean-isle rocked eternally by the surging seas. From this we learn how the human mind first rose to consciousness, and how it groped from truth to truth. The mind of the primitive man is here likened to a nebulous world—dark, grey and misty, steeped in a dreamless sleep as it were. It was like a shoreless ocean without a stir. But lo! the deathlike peace was broken at last, and the mighty waters began to roll and roar. From this tumult emerged the vague perception of Godhead. It was a very indistinct realization at first. The infant mind traced countless symbols of the Divine across the vast spaces of the ancient heavens, and by a curious self-projection, created the stellar and sub-human beings of our pre-historic tradition.

The cosmic wave rolled on, and brought on its crest newer forms—" Intelligential Essences and Fair Humanities," whose glory touched the poet's dream in epos, chant and lay. Thus came the Maid Eternal: Urania, Asura-vimohini, Uma, Usha, Urvashi, Proserpina, Aphrodite and Helena, reflections of whose smile have fired " Heaven's hosts, Earth's hearts of clay;" the Child Eternal: golden Eros and Bála Gopála, the harbinger of peace, whose dancing shape, beautiful face and artless prattle lulled the raging hearts of mortals; the Prima Mater: Adya-Shakti, Prakriti, the " timeless, spaceless " Aditi; the Magna Mater: mother of Gods and men: Ops, Demeter, Semele, Isis, Ceres, Cybele.

Time flowed on, and the old objective attitude gradually gave place to subjectivism. Man was no longer satisfied with the Maid or the Child. The hope of a new birth, which humanity was now looking forward to, roused the whole universe to the frenzy of joy. Everything in creation was stirred to life, and was moved to cosmic dance in elemental harmony. From the ' awful night profound ' of spirit rose God's own head. Man at first was at a loss what to think of it. It came like a sudden flash in the midst of dread darkness, and the abysmal void of his soul was illumined. It a was soul within the soul! Man gazed, and lo! to his bewildered eye answered an eye in ecstasy! He shut his eyes but the eye within him burnt. Doubt darkened his soul, and he asked himself if it was merely a phantasy. The truth, however, came to him when he realised how the world was changed for him since that hour. He found the earth and heaven peopled by etherial beings, and the " void and vasty deep " lit up with an ineffable smile. He must have come—the nameless One, whom we call by so many names!

For ever since that mystic hour,
In Titan ranges wild and free,
Thy presence girds me round and round,
A sleepless Eye, a nameless Power!

This bliss alas! was not to last too long. Soon was it followed by a yawning chasm in the " Spirit's underground." Life became stale, a joyless void:—

Pan is fled!
Pan is dead!
Void! Void! Void!

The whole universe now seemed to dissolve into nebulous spray. Creation's " spiral frame "

seemed to unwind at the mystic counter-rhythm of Lord Shiva's *tándava* dance.

Flux and reflux succeed each other and eternally recur. That is how creation subsists. The ruin and terror of destruction are chased away by the Ananda-Murtis and Raginis, the handmaids of Máyá.

All through these mysterious processes of birth and dissolution, however, one thing lives for ever: the human soul, the "I":

> Locked I lie,
> In Thy rock-embrace for aye
> Unhushed in the winklessness of Thy broad open eye.

This creature is an earth-born, lost, young thing "allured, half-blind with glare," and in terror and fascination wings eternally the trackless ocean of life, drinking of myriad waves and suffering sea-change in the process.

2nd Quest:

The second quest reminded me of those monks of the European Middle Ages, whose belief in the Christian church was weakened by their knowledge of Plato, and who sought truth through *Natura*, studied the forms and species of things, practised alchemy, and, as orthodox Christians thought, sold their soul to the Devil. The hero, however, is not a monk but a wizard knight, who is engaged in search for the queen of his Destiny, his La Belle Dame Sans Merci. For this he had gone forth to Media, Mizraim and Rum, had dared the curse pronounced of old on the seeker after truth, had defied all organised institutions that repressed the freedom of the soul, *e.g.*, the Church, the Empire and the Turks, and followed only the dictates of Reason. He had saved many a hapless soul from the wood of Error and the castle of Enchantment, but knowledge cannot save him, for, a dire curse follows him—"All his quest of Knowledge blest, himself it cannot save." He seeks peace not of the Christian type of meek acceptance, but the peace of seers who have been conquerors of Destiny through clearness of vision. He realizes later on, to his utter dismay, that clearness of vision is not an unmixed good:

> O misery! from illusion free
> This knowledge loses life!
> For Beauty and love, and Pity above,
> Are still with illusion rife!

This truth comes home to him in his last adventure when he encounters Nature as a veiled bride. He strips her of the veil, and everything turns to naught, and leaves him bewildered. Despair seizes the soul of the wizard knight, and he leaps into the deeps of the glen where he had gone to meet his destiny.

3rd Quest:

The third quest, the deliverance of man from death, is undertaken by the hero whose beloved has been sacrificed at an omophagic rite. It is not however physical death that is sought to be mastered but the dark power that frustrates all spiritual strivings. In the last two books there was an evolution of thought—one steady upward movement, but here the reader is confronted with a tangled mass of ideas and theories. One loses his path and finds himself bewildered by the jarring philosophies of life which instead of lighting his way only serve to darken it. One thing, however, comes out clear: The struggle must now take place within the soul, for the powers of Evil, the "forces primeval," have planted their standard not in matter or force outside, but in man's own conscious self. "The Passion of Humanity through the ages," as the philosopher tells his readers, "has resulted from this cause, and not from the chains forged by priestcraft or statecraft, labour-sweater or monopolist." This knowledge does not come all of a sudden to the hero, but only after he has ransacked the realms of the soul, of Nature, and of man in history, and has been baffled everywhere by the "reign absolute" of brute matter and blind sense. A feeling of despair overwhelms him when he realizes the impossibility of deliverance from the internecine feud between soul and sense without the crucifixion of the brute in him. But the brute is his origin, how can he kill it? Then again merely subjective life of the soul proves illusory. Conscience preaches sacrifice of every individual for all individuals, a "universal Harakiri." Thus the dimensions of the original problem are enlarged. From the individual's quest of life and wisdom, the hero passes on to the problem of the redemption of humanity as a whole. How to redeem humanity from bondage is his dream, and in this he is inspired by Psyche, soul's vision of deathless love. Once he cherished the hope of a universal redeemer, but in a short time realises the futility of this. He is convinced of the necessity of inner purification and illumination of each individual soul for achieving the spirit's conquest over death. He examines all the systems of thought that were current through the ages, and thus gains world-experience. Viewing the panorama of world-history, he discovers one great truth—the necessity of sacrifice, for that is the lesson pointed out by the omophagic rites of the

savages, the primitive mother's sacrificial offering, the self-annihilation of Nirvana and the immolation of the individual for the good of the community :—

I am the Sacrifice !
Of utter unfulfilment
Comes My grace of fruition!
Of utter tribulation
Comes My hush of Peace!

Having re-lived the "Passion of Humanity," in his search after truth and wisdom, the hero realizes at last that the passion of his own individual life is part of the drama of divine suffering, is but the "World-Passion of Creative Deity." This is how the struggle in his life between the individual and the universal is set at rest. He acquires an attitude of cosmic acquiescence, and finds himself on the road to freedom and immortality.

VIKRAMPUR MUSEUM, ARIAL

By RAMES BASU, M.A.

SINCE my article on the village museum at Arial in Vikrampur appeared in *The Modern Review* for June, 1934, the Palli Mandal of the same village proposed to include the whole of Vikrampur as its sphere of action, thus fulfilling the original idea of forming a regional museum for a glorious centre of culture as Vikrampur. This proposal was formally put forward by Dr. N. K. Bhattasali of the Dacca Museum and enthusiastically supported by Drs. S. K. Chatterjee and K. R. Quanungo at the Tenth Annual meeting of the Palli Mandal which met in January, 1935, under the Presidentship of Rai R. P. Chanda Bahadur. The activities of the Museum founded at Arial for a small group of villages were thus extended for the whole of Vikrampur. There being no other similar institution in Vikrampur the delegates who assembled in the above meeting from different parts of Vikrampur unanimously approved of the idea and offered their co-operation. To assure the permanence of this institution the Museum is going to be a registered body.



Sadasiva

This re-constituted Museum began to function almost immediately. Already it has prepared photographs of the finds acquired by it and has collected some new specimens of images from different parts of Vikrampur. As the mark of the liveliness of the Museum it may be mentioned here that it acquired some unique inscribed clay seals from the Sunderbans. A complete survey of art and archæological treasures of Vikrampur which are still *in situ* or in public and private collections is contemplated and some work has already been done in this direction. We give a short account of some of the recent acquisitions of this Museum.

Stone Images

(*a*) SADASIVA

Among the stone images recently acquired by this Museum there is one of Sadasiva which

measures 8 inches only. We find mention of this god in some copperplates of King Lakshmanasena of Bengal and he occurs in the seals of those records. But stone images of Sadasiva are not very common. There are a



Nataraja



Jasomadhava

few only in the Museums of the Sahitya Parishat of Calcutta; Varendra Research Society, Rajshahi; and Pennysylvania Museum, U. S. A. So far as we know no image of this god has been found in East Bengal.

Iconographically this image is very peculiar. The *dhyana* of Sadasiva requires five heads and ten hands as we find in the Uttra Kamikagama and Mahanirvana Tantra and other old texts.*

* सदेशस्थापनं वक्ष्ये तल्लक्षण पुरस्सरम् ।
द्रव्यैश्शिलादिभिः कुर्यात् पूर्वोक्तैन्तं विशेषतः ।
बद्धपद्मासनं श्वेतं स्थितं पञ्चास्यसंयुतम् ।
पिंगलाभजटाचूडं (जूटं ?) दशदोर्दण्डमण्डितम् ।
अभयं च प्रसाद च तथा शक्तिं त्रिशूलकम् ।
खट्वाङ्गं दक्षभागस्थैर्वहन्तं करपल्लवैः ॥
भुजङ्गं चाक्षमालां च डमरूं नीलपङ्कजम् ।
बीजापुरं (बीजपुरं ?) च वामस्थैर्वहन्तं सुप्रसन्नकम् ॥
अर्चनाध्यायसंसिद्धं ध्यानान्तरयुतं तु वा ।
इच्छाज्ञानक्रियाशक्तिकयसंक्लिप्तलोचनम् ॥
ज्ञान चन्द्रकलायुक्तं कलावर्णोपलक्षितम् ।
ब्रह्मसूत्रादिकं कार्य्यं सुवेशं प्रतिमोदितम् ॥
एवं सदाशिवः कार्य्यो मनोन्मन्या समन्वितः ।
(उत्तरकामिकागमे त्रिचत्वारिंशत्तम पटले)

—Elements of Hindu Iconography—By T. A. Gopinath Rao—Vol. II, part II, प्रतिमा लक्षणानि—P. 187

(*b*) Mahanirvana Tantra—14th Ullasa, Slokas 32-38.

But the number of heads is not always five in Bengal images. The Sahitya Parishat has one with four heads and eight hands. Like this image some other images (from Radha and Varendra) have four faces and ten hands. Also the order of the weapons does not tally with that of the *dhyanas*. These images have been elaborately described by Mr. Haridas Mitra in the J. A. S. B., 1933, pp. 171—254 with 6 plates.



Vishnu

The image of this Museum has only one head with ten hands and the order of the weapons is not the same as in the above images. It is to be noted that the Sadasiva on the seal of the Tarpandighi copper-plate of King Lakshmanasena illustrated in *Inscriptions of Bengal*—Vol. III, N. G. Majumdar, facing p. 116, has only one head and the order of the weapons generally tallies with that of the present find. The discrepancy between the seal-image and the other stone images as to the number of heads and the order of the weapons has been noted by scholars. Here at last we have a Sadasiva image of the same type as that of the Sena seals.

It is interesting to draw attention to the fact that a very fine specimen of Arddhanariswara (so much eulogised in the Naihati Plate of Ballala Sena) came from the same spot.

(*b*) Nataraja

The worship of Nataraja seems once to be current in Vikrampur from the number of images of the god found there. Here is a well-preserved image of Nataraja now in the possession of Mr. Haripada Basu of Dhipur, an adjoining village of Arial. This image was dug out of the Deulbari area of Arial and removed several years ago.

This image is of the characteristic East Bengal type of Nataraja dancing on his bull. Its peculiarity lies in the number of hands, which as in the Ranihati (in Vikrampur) image of the god are twelve in number and the pose known as *Urddhvatandava,* with one pair the Vasuki is held high overhead, another pair is uplifted and touches the *Mukuta,* while another pair holds a *Vina.* These three peculiarities are not generally found in one and the same image.

(*c*) Jasomadhava

Eastern Bengal, and specially the district of Dacca, seems to have evolved a new type of Vishnu images known locally as Jasomadhava. The specimen here reproduced was found in Raudia Sholakanda, an adjacent village of Arial and is now being worshipped by the Goswamis of Arial as their family deity. This will easily be found to be a very fine specimen. It is to be noticed that the whole image except the *Chali* and the head of the god and the lower portion is in the round.

(*d*) Kuvera

There is the lower portion of an image which from the posture, protruding belly and tiger skin, may be identified as that of Kuvera.

(*e*) Architectural Remains

In my previous article mentioned above, two huge shaped blocks of sandstone were noticed. These seem to be the remnants of the outer wall of a stone building. These were acquired from the huge mound of Raudia

Sholakanda which gave out the huge graphite pedestal illustrated in my previous article. Ruins of any stone building are rare in Eastern Bengal, specially in the alluvial plains of Vikrampur. So the recovery of these two blocks bespeaks of something archæologically and architecturally interesting.

2. Metal Image

Vishnu

Quite recently a badly corroded copper image of Vishnu has been presented to the Museum by two boys—Masters Anil Kumar Mukherjee and Ratan Lal Banerjee. The interest taken by these two boys is surely commendable. This image reminds one of the famous silver image from Churain (in Vikrampur) in point of style. The image is shaped in the round. The entire *Chali* which forms the back-ground is attached to the pedestal by two pegs and is removable.



Architectural Remains

3. Wood

Door-Jamb

Mention was already made of a wooden door-jamb which has come to the Collection from Sonarang. It is a good specimen of fine workmanship on such a perishable material as wood. The state of preservation can be accounted for its being imbedded in loam several feet below the surface. Here we find the figure of a woman, possibly an *Apsara,* in an elegant pose. On the top of this figure is carved an intertwining couple of serpents. The mastery in the manipulation of the chisel is vivid in carving out the two figures in relief and specially in bringing out the scales of the serpents which are still distinctly intact. The whole jamb measures about 5 feet in height. The illustration shows only a portion of this remarkable work in wood.



Left : Kuvera. *Right* : Wooden Door-jamb

Besides those mentioned above several other images have been unearthed and acquired from a mound in the village where excavation was carried on last year on a small scale.



REVIVAL OF SINO-INDIAN CULTURAL INTERCOURSE

THE establishment of spiritual and cultural contact between China and India in ancient times is unsurpassed by any other event in ancient history in intrinsic importance. Were not for the unhappy fact that bad news is more striking than good, the importance of Sino-Indian cultural intercourse in times past would have been more readily recognised than it has generally been. As Rabindranath Tagore's address on the occasion of the opening of the Chinese Hall at Santiniketan fully appraises the value of Sino-Indian relations in days of yore, it is unnecessary to dwell further on the subject.

This Chinese Hall is the gift of some Chinese friends of the Poet, Rabindranath Tagore, including General Chiang Kai Shek, for the founding at Santiniketan of an Indian section of the Sino-Indian Culture Society which was started as a result of the Poet's visit to China. We understand it has cost Rs. 33,000. It was designed by Mr. Surendranath Kar, vice-principal of the Art School at Santiniketan, and built by Mr. B. M. Sen, contractor. The Hall will be a centre of Indo-Chinese and Buddhist studies and will house a magnificent library of about 1,00,000 Chinese books on art, literature, religion, philosophy, history and science, presented by Chinese friends. There will be quarters for professors and students attached to the Hall. On the walls of the halls on the ground floor and first floor some excellent Chinese paintings and other works of art have been hung.

The ceremony of opening the Hall was performed under a pavilion erected in front of it. The proceedings began at 8-30 in the morning of the 14th April, the first day of the Indian month of Baisakh, with the singing in chorus of the well known Vedic exhortation to be one in mind, heart, speech, endeavour and perseverance. Then Pandit Kshitimohan Sen chanted some Vedic *mantras*, of which a free translation is given below.

On this auspicious occasion of entering the House, let all say, the day is blessed. Let all say, it is well. Let all say, may it prosper.

This House is fashioned by the vision of the poets. May youths come here from distant lands.

May seekers come here from all countries, even as the months are gathered unto the year.

Who acknowledges you, O House, who is of help in your building, who makes sacrifice for your sake, I salute him, and I salute Him who is the Divine Spirit of this House.

With all persons, with all beings, with all bodies, with all that is mine, I enter you, O House.

Free us from all bonds, whether good or bad, rescue us from evil dreams. May we find our access into the realm of the beneficent.

He who clings to the immediate misses the truth of the near, which dwells in the heart of the perfect in the far beyond, where it is ignored by the small.

I salute the greatness of this House from the East.
I salute the greatness of this House from the South.
I salute the greatness of this House from the West.
I salute the greatness of this House from the North.
I salute the greatness of this House from all directions.

After singing a song in Bengali, which was an invocation to the Buddha, the Poet read his address.

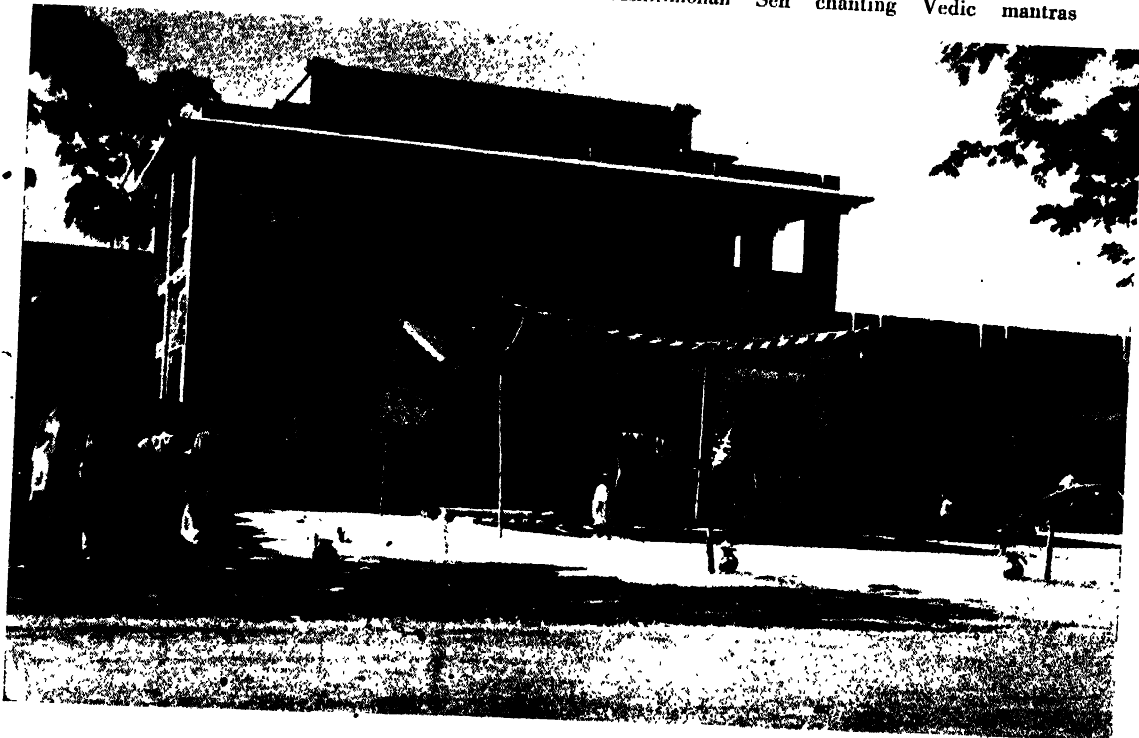
Following the Poet's address, the Chinese Consul-General read messages from General Chiang Kai Shek and several Chinese savants. The Consul-General delivered an address extempore in which he laid stress on the fact that the people of China had all along been ruled more by her sages and philosophers than by emperors or other rulers. Mr. Rathindranath Tagore, Karmasachiva of Visva-bharati, then read other messages. It had been arranged that the Hall would be opened by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. But illness prevented him from coming down to Santiniketan. His daughter, Miss Indira Nehru, who was formerly a student here, came with her father's message, which runs as follows :

"I am ashamed that physical illness should incapacitate me from keeping my promise and being present at Santiniketan tomorrow for the inauguration ceremony of the Chinese Hall. It has not been so usually with me and so I gave my word gladly and with the full confidence that I would join in this great ceremony, great in the memories of the long past that it invokes, great also in the promise of future comradeship and the forging of new links to bring China and India nearer to each other. What a long past that has been of friendly contacts and mutual influences, untroubled by political conflict and aggression. We have traded in ideas, in art, in culture, and grown richer in our own inheritance by the others' offering.

"The political subjection came to both of us in varying forms, and stagnation and decay, and at the same time new forces and ideas from the west to wake us out of our torpor. We have been struggling to find a new equilibrium, to rid ourselves of the forces that throttle us to give expression to the new life that already pulsates through our veins. The whole world seeks that new equilibrium, but the forces of darkness are strong and in the name of fascism and imperialism and their allies seek to crush the spirit of man and all the art and culture that flow from it. But that spirit of man is not easily crushed. It has survived many a barbarous onslaught. It will triumph afresh.



The opening of the Hall by Tagore--Pandit Kshitimohan Sen chanting Vedic mantras



The Chinese Hall at Santiniketan

[Photographs by Courtesy of Visva-Bharati



Rabindranath and his guests



Decorations and offerings at the celebration
[Photographs by Courtesy of Visva-Bharati



1. A part of the gathering. 2. The Chinese Consul-General and Prof. Tan Yun-Shan. 3. Prof. Tan Yun-Shan and other Chinese gentlemen. 4. A distant view of the Chinese Hall. 5. Ladies and others at the meeting. 6. Another part of the gathering. 7. Tagore arrives at the pavilion. 8. Tagore leaves the meeting. [Photographs by Mr. B. M. Sen

"China and India, sister nations from the dawn of history, with their long tradition of culture and peaceful development of ideas, have to play a leading part in this world drama, in which they themselves are so deeply involved."

Mahatma Gandhi sent the following message:

"Had I not to go to Belgaum on the very date you will have the opening ceremony, I would most certainly have come not only for the ceremony but also to see you and Santiniketan which I have not seen now for years. As it is I shall be with you in spirit. May the Chinese Hall be a symbol of living contact between China and India."

The reading of the messages was followed by Professor Tan Yun-Shan's address. He will be in charge of the Hall, for which no one has worked more earnestly and perseveringly than he. Regular readers of *The Modern Review* will remember his article on Cultural Intercourse between India and China in our issue for November, 1935, which has been published as a pamphlet at Santiniketan. He said, in part:

"Today I am reminded of an old story of the first quarter of the sixth century of the Christian era when a great Indian sage named Bodhidharma went to China. He carried with him no more material things than a single robe and a bowl. He loved the country and lived and died there. The only gift he left to his host as well as his disciple, besides his Dharma was this single robe and the bowl. It is this robe and the bowl which becomes a landmark of the history of Buddhism in China. It created a great school of thought and became a great Dharma-jewel of Chinese Buddhism. Later the masters of this school used this robe and the bowl as a symbol for handing down the real Dharma of this school of Buddhism. They are still well preserved in a very famous monastery in Kwangtung Province. Is this robe and bowl materially speaking a valuable thing? You will certainly say 'No.' But being a symbol of love it becomes so precious and rare. So may this Chinese Hall be! It will not only be a centre of our work for cultural interchange but also a concrete link of love between our two countries and cultures. And it will also strengthen our common endeavour for the attainment of the common goal under you, Gurudeva, and your great inspiration and leadership."

It may be noted here that the Hall contains a large portrait of the great Indian Buddhist sage Bodhidharma, who went to China from South India.

In conclusion the speaker said,

"I must also offer you all honourable guests, sisters and brothers on behalf of our Society in China as well as my country and people our kindest regards, heartiest love and best thanks. Today is really an auspicious day synchronising as it strangely does with the day of the foundation of our national Government. As we celebrate the opening ceremony of our Hall here, our country on the other side of the mighty Himalayas is celebrating their foundation day, as if to echo the feeling of love and sympathy expressed through this gathering here."

The Poet next formally declared the Hall open. The proceedings came to a close with instrumental music.

COMMENT & CRITICISM

"Price of National Mis-Government."

In the April Issue of *The Modern Review* Major D. Graham Pole greatly exaggerates the sins of the National Government. The expenditure on the Singapore Naval Base, the earlier history of the Labour Party and the history of India's Public Debt show that any other form of English Government would also have deemed it imprudent to contemplate expenditure on defence of less than £1,500 millions. Their mentality is such.

Major Pole forgets that £1,500 millions represent on the credit side what the unjust income of England from India represents on the debit side. The English Labour Party has never been a poor man's party. English labour is well-paid and the labourer is a small capitalist. He has never felt the pinch of poverty. The vast Indian tribute has filtered down to the labouring classes. The April issue of *The Modern Review* pointedly shows on page 492 that the independence of India is the only way to real World Peace and it is the only solution. In the book *The Intelligent Man's way to prevent War* (Gollancz) edited by Leonard Woolf, it is said:—

"The significance of India in relation to World peace cannot be ignored by the citizens of this country."

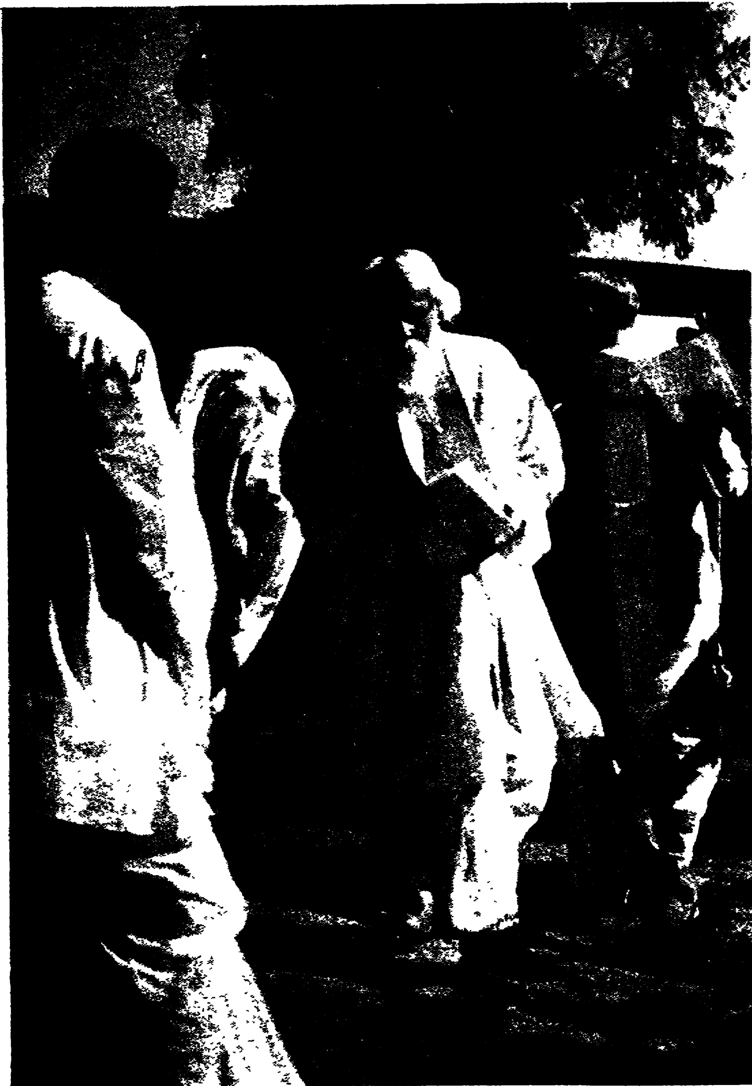
The struggle of the Powers for raw materials has still further enhanced the value of India.

The flow of wealth from India has made the existence of a large class of proletarians in England impossible. Every individual in England gets an income of £5 per annum directly or indirectly from India. 700 to 1,000 millions of English money are invested in India and it yields a high rate of interest. Even during the last Great War, the income from India (combined with other factors) mainly kept England steady. No national crisis affecting the exploited and the exploiters alike necessitating a Revolution occurred in England. Workers have never felt the necessity for change. No necessity arose for any sacrifice on their part. The fear of a possible repercussion in India may have stood in the way, as the Labour Party exploits India equally with others.

With the loss of India, British Labour may become more vocal and active and British Imperialism will cease to be a menace to World Peace, as Portugal has now ceased to be so.

K. L. Kudva

THE OPENING OF THE CHINESE HALL AT SANTINIKETAN



Tagore arrives at the pavilion



Miss Indira Nehru, daughter of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, arriving with her father's message



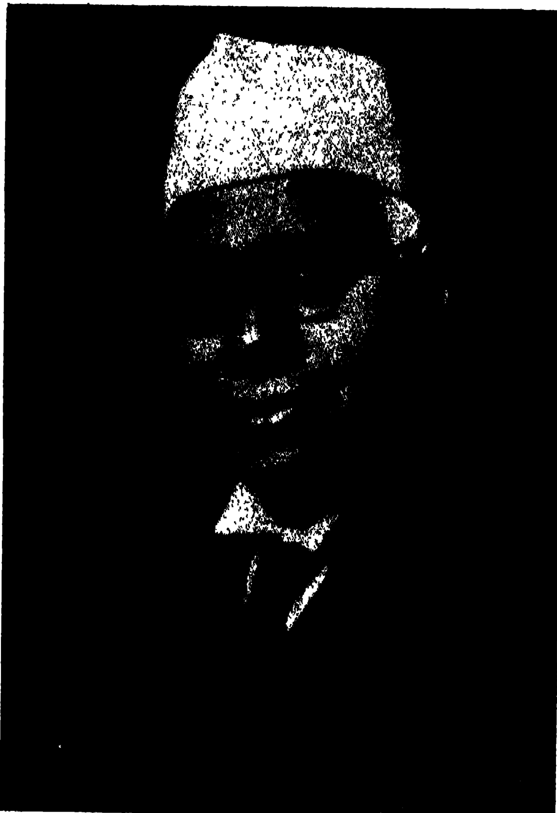
A scene from the play *Savitri* given in London

THE WORLD FELLOWSHIP OF FAITHS

BY MISS PADMAVATI CHINNAPPA

PERHAPS the above title is not familiar to most people in India. I happened to meet the founder of this Association in London. He is one of those people who possess a strong will power for the mission he has undertaken, yet he has not the rigidness of a monastic order in him. A childlike smile always plays over his face, and is enough to show the nobleness of his heart.

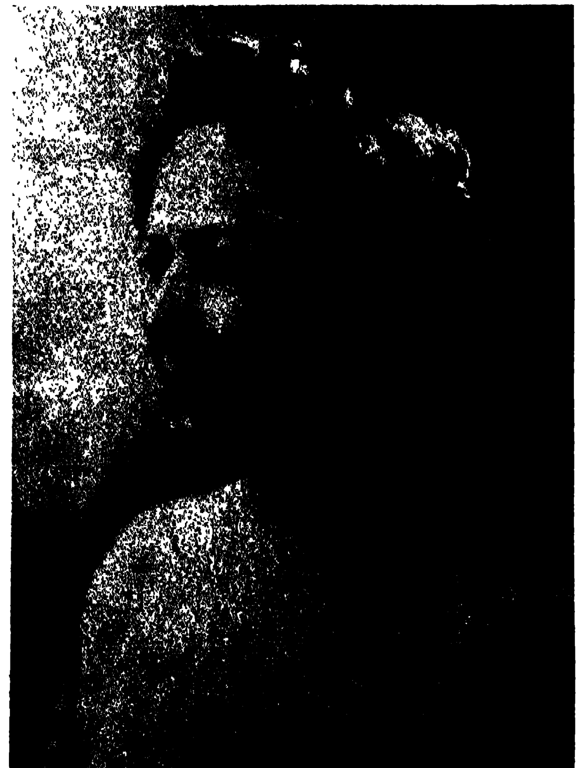
Mr. Kedarnath Das Gupta was born in Chittagong in 1878. He was quite young when he started work with Surendranath Banerjea and Gokhale. He was still a college student when he started a periodical *Industrial India*. He wanted to encourage Indian industry through this magazine. He opened a store of Indian goods in 1904 and, in 1908, he went to England



Sj. Kedarnath Das Gupta
Founder and General Secretary of The World Fellowship of Faiths

with the idea of creating a market for Indian hand-made goods there. He was, in addition, studying Law at this time. Mr. Das Gupta did not prove a successful business man, and this second effort was a total failure. He is a born patriot. So it was quite natural for him to do some political work in London. He organised some meetings, but the audience was never very encouraging. Those who came to these meetings were only those who wished to patronise Indians. Mr. Das Gupta was not one of those men who could be discouraged and depressed by ordinary failures, but he was very much disappointed in noticing the utter indifference of the British people towards India and Indians. How he wished that he could convince them that India still had her glorious past, although now she was under foreign domination!

But the sun shone out of the cloud of worries. A noted American actress, a friend of



Mrs. Clarence Gasque
International Director of The World Fellowship of Faiths

his, Mrs. Brown Potter, suggested to him that he should produce some oriental plays, portraying the ideals and the life of the East. He produced



The Junior Women's Group in London

the play *Buddha* in London, and it proved a great success. Some well-known English actors and actresses took part in it. After meeting the stage expenses, he was able to save about 700 pounds out of four performances. After this, Mr. Das Gupta went to America, where he also produced some plays. Again he received a very favourable audience for his plays. The famous Dame Sybil Thorndike acted several leads in them. He has produced altogether thirty-one plays in London and America, including *Sakuntala, Savitri, Harish Chandra* and *The Divine Vision.*

All this time certain changes were taking place in his mind. He had been worshipping God as "Mother" from his childhood, because he loved and adored his own mother. Whenever he saw a woman, he bowed before her as Mother Power. While he was working in London, he felt the great need of a common religious understanding amidst the various and different religions. In Chittagong he had observed that the inhabitants there lived together on terms of decent amity, though they were composed of the four great religions of the world : Hindu, Buddhist, Moslem and Christian. From his childhood he had been inspired by this idea. He wished that the East and the West could understand and appreciate each other better. As a matter of fact, he had been working for nearly twenty-five years on this idea.

In 1910, Mr. Das Gupta founded "The Union of East and West" in England, for cultural unity. In this connection, as I have already mentioned, he rendered valuable services to India by producing many oriental plays in which he portrayed the ideals and the life of the East. In 1920, he went to America with Dr. Tagore and he established a branch of "The Union of East and West" in New York. Here he found a cordial co-operation in an American, Mr. Charles Frederick Weller. Mr. Weller had for years been working as hard for a "League of Neighbours" as Mr. Das Gupta had for the "Union of East and West."

Mr. Das Gupta and Mr. Weller found the necessity for "spiritual unity" by bringing together spiritually-minded people on a common platform. Mr. Weller already had been working

for "Racial Unity" by Social Service, so the "Threefold Movement"—the cultural unity, the racial and the spiritual unities—gave birth to the "World Fellowship of Faiths." The first World Congress of Faiths was held in Chicago and New York, 1933-34. The motto of this union is "to develop a world-consciousness, and to create a sense of world fellowship."

The Gaekwad of Baroda said at a public meeting in India on December 28th, 1935:

"In America in 1933, I had the privilege and pleasure of presiding at the first Congress of the World Fellowship of Faiths. It was one of the most interesting experiences of my life, for, gathered under one roof, were distinguished exponents of every religion and creed . . . It was a memorable gathering and the effect it had upon me personally was to confirm my belief in the essential unity of all religions and in the primary importance of frank discussion and constant study."

The World Congress of Faiths, being the Second International Congress of the World Fellowship of Faiths, was held in London from July 3 to 18, 1936, and culminated in an open-air gathering on July 30th at the picturesque garden of Mrs. Clarence Gasque, International Director of the Organisation.

An International Assembly of Faiths will be held in London at the time of the Coronation, and also in Paris at the time of the World Fair there this summer. Representatives of the great religions from Persia, India, China, Japan, Europe, Australia, America and other lands have been invited to give men an idea of the direction which the human race should take.

Mr. Das Gupta has started "The Junior Women's Group" as a part of the Fellowship. He wants this group to show the cultural side of India to British audiences. "The Junior Women's Group" gave performances of Indian dances and tableaux vivants of *Sakuntala*, and *Mother India* on the Divali Day.

If we can have a few more genuine religious workers who are building bridges of understanding across the chasms of prejudices such as is Mr. Kedarnath Das Gupta, there will be a great change of opinion among peoples, and we will no longer see the clash of culture, religion and civilisation.

LONDON.



The participants in the Dewali festival in London

ROMANCE AND REALITY

By SITA DEVI

SHISHIR was not an uncommon type, but he was not totally devoid of personality either. He was the scion of a middle-class Bengali family and had been brought up in the way all middle-class boys are. He had passed the Matriculation examination and then gone in for collegiate education, and had grown despondent like the rest of his kind on finding that the said education was very costly but had little market value. But still he stuck on. His father was fast becoming a confirmed invalid, and it was inhuman to allow him to work on any longer. So Shishir and his younger brother Mihir must manage somehow to earn enough money for the expenses of the family. It was unlikely that the household would go on as usual without any help from anyone.

Shishir at last succeeded in securing a job, though it was nothing to boast of. He became a clerk in the same office in which his father had worked before. Mihir refused to demean himself, as he thought, in this way and went and joined a cinema concern. There was no money in it, but there was art.

But Shishir could not become a clerk out and out. He retained his individuality. He dressed much better than the other clerks, he smoked but not the cheap *bidi* and he never patronised the shabby tea-shop which his fellow workers favoured. He carried sandwiches, wrapped in gelatine paper and tea in a thermos flask. He was not a person to ruin his digestion by taking third-class food. And he never chewed betel leaves.

He loved literature and wrote surreptitiously. As he was a bachelor and his brother, who lived in the same room with him, stayed out all the time, no one noticed this foible of his. The only woman in the family was his old mother and she too was a victim to rheumatism. So she never ventured to climb the steps to her sons' room. Shishir had a sister, but she had been married off a few years ago.

But woman is at the root of all mischief in this world. "Cherchez la femme," as the French say. So the person, who was responsible for dragging out into the light of day this secret of Shishir's, was a woman, though not a lady. She was called Poorabi, and yet was not a lady. She was the maidservant of the family and looked like a stout club made of ebony.

Shishir had written a fine poem, and it had kept him up all the night to do it. He had put it on the table and as he was feeling extremely sleepy, he had not bothered to put the paper weight on top of the sheet of paper. In the morning just as he went down to wash his face, the good Poorabi came up to sweep his room. She swept the room thoroughly and collected the refuse in a corner, looking about all the while for a piece of paper, in which she could gather these up. The young men could make the room dirty like a pig sty, she thought. Only last evening she had swept the room clean, and now look at the lot of rubbish that had collected overnight.

She found a large piece of paper, lying under the table. It did not look like anything important, as it was full of scribblings. It must be an old letter, thought Poorabi. She collected the refuse in it, [illegible] threw it into the refuse bin of [illegible] mistress brought her the bazaar money and she went out to do her daily marketing.

Shishir came out of the bathroom, made some tea for himself and drank it. He did not like anybody else to make his tea. And who was there to make his tea? The maidservant and the cook were awful to look at, their very sight took away his appetite. His mother was old and sickly, she could do very little. When her sons sat down to eat, she came and sat in front to supervise. She tried now and then to talk about their marriage, but they refused to listen to her. The sort of wife Shishir wanted was not easily attainable for a clerk in a mercantile office. And there was such a crowd in Mihir's heart at present, that there was no room for a wife.

"I cannot look after this household any longer," the old lady would cry in anger. "My bones are too old."

"But why do you get angry, mother," said Shishir. "Do we need a lot of looking after? I spend the whole day at the office, and Mihir spends his nights, too, at the studio more often than not. So why bother about this household? But if even this is a strain on you, why don't

you engage another maidservant like Poorabi? I think she can give a good account of herself."

"Oh indeed!" said his mother. "Can a maidservant manage everything? And don't you have to spend money for a servant?"

"But does not a wife also make one spend money?" asked Shishir. "You seem mightily anxious to get a daughter-in-law. But won't she eat and drink and would not that cost money?"

"Don't be silly," said his mother. "You modern boys are full of pertness. Is the bride coming with empty hands? And are you never going to get an increment?"

"Who can say for certain?" her son replied. "There may be an increment and there may be dismissal as well. The times are bad."

The maidservant came back from the bazaar at this moment. Shishir got up hurriedly, as her ugliness jarred very much on his sensitive nerves. Why should a woman be ugly?

He went up to his room and found it tidy and clean. But where was his poem? He was sure he had left it on the table.

He searched through the length and breadth of his room, but found it nowhere. His patience at an end, he began to shout. His mother came to the foot of the stairs and looked up. "Why are you shouting like that?" she asked. "Are the heavens coming down?"

"Ask your maidservant not to enter my room again," Shishir cried. "Why does she throw away all my papers?"

The old lady was mightily afraid of Poorabi. Though she was but a maidservant, yet she had such dignity about her that she seemed to be the real mistress of the house. Besides she was verily an Amazon, she could do the work of ten. The other maidservant took life easy, the entire work being really done by Poorabi.

"Why, what have you lost?" asked his mother, in a low voice, lest Poorabi should overhear them.

"I had an important paper on my table" said Shishir. "I don't see it now."

The old lady limped back slowly to the kitchen and asked Poorabi. "Have you thrown away any paper from the boys' room while you were sweeping it?"

Poorabi was preparing the vegetables. She stopped her work and answered in a loud voice, "Why should I throw away papers? I threw away the refuse only."

Shishir lost his temper completely. "The paper cannot walk off by itself," he shouted. "Someone must have tampered with it. I must have it back."

His mother stood bewildered, when the maidservant pushed off the chopper angrily and jumped up. "Where are you going?" asked her mistress. "The vegetables must be prepared immediately for cooking."

"I have got only one pair of hands," screamed Poorabi. "How can I look for lost papers and prepare vegetables at the same time? What a job!" She hurried out at once.

Shishir was convinced that his mother had spoilt this brazen hussy to the limit. Just listen to her! She talked as if she were the mistress and the rest her servants. Could not mother procure any other maidservant? But though rebellious at heart, Shishir could say nothing and went back to his room, muttering.

Poorabi returned after some ten minutes and held up a crumpled piece of paper shouting, "Look here, sir, is this the paper?"

Shishir came out at the head of the stairs. The paper looked very much like the one he had lost. It was of the same bluish-grey tint and ruled. Shishir usually wrote his poems on note paper. "Probably it is," he said. "Bring it up here."

Poorabi came up to the middle of the staircase, placed the paper on a step, and hurried down again. "Where are you off to, again?" cried Shishir's mother anxiously. "The boys seem fated to go without breakfast today."

Poorabi looked back and answered "What can I do? I must have a dip in the Ganges now before I can enter the kitchen. I had to turn over the refuse of the whole neighbourhood."

"What on earth for?" asked the old lady in dismay.

"I took a piece of paper from your sons' room to collect the refuse," replied Poorabi. "Now did not your son kick up a row for it? So I had to turn over all the rubbish to find it. And I have brought it back too."

"Goodness gracious!" cried Shishir's mother, her palm on her cheek. Poorabi passed out of the front door.

"My dear boy, throw away that paper," cried the old lady to her son. "The foolish woman had brought it back from the dust bin on the street. What abomination! She is an idiot. Throw it away and wash yourself properly again."

"Huh!" said Shishir. He was looking at the paper in his hand, as if it was the moon, come down from the sky. It did not contain his poem, but all the same, it was a priceless treasure.

The paper was a letter, rather crumpled,

but legible enough. It was a complete piece, discarded for some reason, or it might have been thrown away by mistake. There were idiotic servants in every house. It was written by a girl, to another girl friend. It began thus—

" MY DARLING LEENA,

I have not written to you for a long time. I cannot lie to you by saying that I was too busy. I am not busy, but my heart is too full. Full of something that worldly-wise people would call useless. I am thinking day and night of my unknown friend. I cannot say that I have never seen him. Since he lives in the same street, I have often seen him coming and going. My eyes are athirst for a sight of him and I wait by the window all day long. But I don't think he has ever seen me. He is a poet, he seldom gazes at the earth and its creatures. His heart is full of the goddess of songs.

I cannot explain to you what has fascinated me more, his appearance or his maddening poems. But be that as it may, I am in love, up to my neck.

But dark days are ahead, I hear the rumbling of distant thunder. My heart trembles with fear, still I must be true to my womanhood. Hindu girls are taught to obey their parents, but not in such cases. They want to sacrifice me at the altar of Mammon. My body shivers with loathing when I think of it. Can you tell me what to do? Shall I act like the heroines of old? But a woman's love does not command the price nowadays that it did in olden times.

Your
Heart-broken Reeni."

Shishir sat like one stunned. From what land of dreams had this fervent call come to him? Was he dreaming, or was it real? Who was this Reeni, who had like Damayanti of the classics, sent this messenger to him? How did she look? Where did she live? The insignificant dwelling of brick and mortar disappeared from around Shishir, he was already in a strange land of enchantment. Princes and princesses jostled him at every step. The iron castle of the ogre was forever being destroyed by heroic lovers there, and the garland of flowers woven by fair hands, graced the hero's neck. But alas, imagination was a true guide in this land alone. How was he to find his princess in this hard world of reality, in the cold light of day.

The combined call of his mother and the cook, broke through his day-dreams. " Are not you going to the office today? " his mother cried. " The breakfast is growing cold as ice," screamed the cook. " I tell you I won't be able to warm it up again."

Shishir sighed and shut the letter up in his desk. He then went down to bathe. Every day, bathing was an elaborate affair with him and took up at least half an hour. But today he had finished in five minutes. He sat down to his breakfast with a preoccupied air, ate very little and started off for the office, without taking any spices.

Alas, he did not know at which house to look. There were houses enough on both sides. From which window were the large dark eyes of the damsel gazing at him? Shishir knew that he was the poet she meant, it could not be any other. What man fervently hopes for, he naturally believes. Shishir could not look at every window, he passed. People would take him for mad. He had stumbled very badly twice, already. He had not much time left either. To be late at office, meant serious reprimand from the Bara-babu. He came and stood at the street corner, waiting for the tram.

But even at the office, he could not get this thought out of his head. The girl must live close to their house, else the same dust bin could not have been used by both the families. But how was the wretched youth to be sure whether the letter had been thrown away from Leena's house or from Reeni's? But was it likely, that a letter, containing such a secret from a beloved friend would be carelessly thrown into the dust bin? She should have torn it up at least. Strange are the ways of women, thought Shishir. The dust bin stood close to their house, he did not know where the next one was placed. He determined to find out in the evening, and to search for his unknown love in the region between these two bins. But how was he to conduct the search? And there might be another dust bin on the right hand side as well as on the left. So he must search over a pretty extensive area. But fortunately, Bengalees were not numerous in this quarter and nearly half of them lived in slums. Shishir could leave them out safely. He wondered whether there were another poet in the locality besides himself. He did not think so. He would have known him then, since Reeni had known him.

Reeni, Reeni, Reeni ! What a sweet name ! It tinkled like the bells on a beauty's anklet. Was the full name Nirjharini? Was she like a brook, a rivulet? The name was so sweet, he wondered how its possessor looked. She must

be fair and sweet. She must also be well educated and young, so much was evident from the letter.

He came home in the evening and flung himself full length on his bed in his office clothes. How to begin his quest? It was not really the age of romance. Had it been so Shishir would have known what to do. Even in the historic ages, people were not so helpless. But this modern age was absolutely rotten, romance had been relegated to the leaves of magazines only. If you tried to indulge in it the tiniest bit, in real life, people would rush at you with raised sticks. In the West, people were really happy. They could do anything and they could think anything. But this old land of ours! Fie on it. No gentleman should live in it. But Shishir must think out a way, in spite of his living in India. He was not a rich man, so he could not employ detectives. He had no young female relatives living in the house, who could be of any help. Mihir might help him, if he was asked nicely. But Shishir felt rather shy about asking him.

Matters would become quite easy if Poorabi would help him. She worked in quite a number of Bengali houses in the neighbourhood and she visited the remaining ones for gossiping. But how could Shishir confide in her? It would be demeaning himself too far. She was a low class woman, uneducated and uncultured and she would look upon the thing in a bad light. But what else could poor Shishir do?

"What are you doing?" called out his mother.

"I am just lying down for a few minutes," answered her son.

"Why are you lying down now?" the old lady asked anxiously. "Are you feeling unwell?"

"Not at all," answered Shishir. His mother could not come upstairs on account of her rheumatism, so the matter stopped there.

Shishir went on thinking as hard as he could, for two days, but he could not arrive at any decision. He read Reeni's letter again and again, till he got every word by heart and till all the letters were photographed in his brain. At last, as he was mustering up courage to go to Poorabi for help in desperation, help arrived from an unexpected quarter. Mihir was busily lathering his cheeks prior to shaving when suddenly he turned round to Shishir and asked, "What's the matter with you?"

Shishir nearly sprang out of his chair, so startled was he. "Why? Nothing of course," he stammered.

Mihir began to ply his razor busily as he said, "Mother says that you have given up food and drink and are deep in some thought all the time. So I had to do a bit of looking about. You want to know who Reeni is, don't you? It is very easy to find out. Engage someone to do the seeking."

Shishir felt extremely indignant at first at this officiousness on the part of Mihir. How dared he meddle in his private affairs? But anger would serve no useful purpose now. If he wanted to find out Reeni, he must take somebody's help; he was incapable of achieving his object unaided. Mihir was better than Poorabi any way, though he would never keep the thing a secret. "But how can I engage a man?" he said to his brother, "I have no money."

"I don't ask you to engage a professional detective," replied Mihir. "Now take Rasmoni, for instance. The old woman works in our studio and does the part of maidservants and professional matchmakers. She goes all over the town, every day. Give her ten or fifteen rupees, and she will bring you all necessary information."

"I can spare that," said Shishir. "When do you want it?"

"I shall see the old woman in the evening," said Mihir. "But I won't see you again before midnight. So you better hand it over to me now, in case you are in a hurry."

Shishir opened his drawer and took out some money. He would be short of pocket money for some time to come, but let that be. Mihir wiped his face clean with a towel and asked, "Have you any idea about the locality she lives in? You did not get the cover of the letter, I suppose?"

So Shishir had to tell him all about the finding of the letter. "Then it is quite easy," said Mihir. "Ten rupees would be enough for the purpose," and he returned five rupees at once to Shishir and went out.

This evening Shishir felt decidedly better. He knew that by this time everybody at the studio was enjoying his secret, and this thought made him uncomfortable. He wished Mihir had more sense. But if the fellow could steer him clear of his difficulties, Shishir was prepared to be magnanimous and pardon him all.

Mihir did not come home that night, so Shishir did not get any information about Rasmoni's success or otherwise. Next day, too, Mihir was absent. On the third day, Shishir became absolutely frantic. Fortunately, it was a Sunday. He had his tea early and went out telling his mother that he would be very late

in coming back. Nobody must sit up for him. He purchased a whole day ticket.

He visited Mihir's studio first. It was closed, nobody was there except a durwan. The man told him that there was a big feast at the house of the manager and everyone was there. He did not know the address of the house. Shishir had to do a lot of searching before he found it. It was nearly evening when he arrived there. There was a big crowd and it took him some time to find Mihir out. Even when he had got him, it was impossible to speak to him alone. The master of the house grabbed him at once, and Shishir had to submit to his civilities for quite an hour before he could escape. He drew Mihir aside then and asked, "Have you got any news?"

"I was very busy these three days," replied Mihir. "I had to finish the shooting in a hurry."

Shishir controlled his temper with an effort and asked again, "You have not even spoken to that woman Rasmoni then?"

"Yes, I spoke to her," replied Mihir, "but I have not heard from her yet."

"What is her address?" asked Shishir.

"Oh, it is a bad place, you won't be able to find it," replied his brother awkwardly.

"That's my look-out," said Shishir angrily. "Please give me the address."

Mihir wrote the address on a slip of paper and Shishir started with it. The place was bad indeed. It was a mercy that it was quite dark by the time he reached it. Otherwise it would have been extremely awkward for Shishir if he had been seen and recognized here by someone he knew.

Fortunately Rasmoni was at home. Shishir introduced himself and said, "You must come out with me for a few minutes."

"Why?" asked the woman.

"I want to ask you a few questions, but not in this place," replied Shishir.

"But what is wrong with it?" asked Rasmoni. "Why not sit down here?"

So Shishir had to sit down perforce. He did not want any more delay. "Have you got any information about the lady?" he asked.

"I have some information, but I don't think it is quied correct," replied Rasmoni.

"But why?" asked Shishir rather surprised.

"There is a girl who lives close by your house, she is named Usharani," said the woman. "Everyone calls her Rani, not Reeni. But friends may call her Reeni for all I know."

"Why do you think it is the girl, I am seeking for?" asked Shishir.

"There is no other grown-up unmarried girl in that quarter," said Rasmoni. "She is the only one, who has finished her school and she is going to the college now. She is pretty enough, and quite grown-up. Must be at least seventeen or eighteen. I heard from their maid-servant that the girl has got a large number of friends to whom she is always writing. Just such note paper as you describe, had been bought for her by the maidservant, only a few days ago."

The clues were not very strong, yet Shishir had no other option but to follow these up. He took down the address and the name of the master of the house and departed. He had lost faith somewhat in Rasmoni's ability.

He reached home quite late. He got a sound scolding from his mother and had to finish his dinner rather in a hurry. But he was feeling too excited to sleep, so he went out again. He found out the house easily. The house was not bad, the outer room was well furnished and looked like a sitting room. The family was not poor evidently, and was rather modern in taste. He saw a small girl and a slightly older boy, sitting there studying with a tutor.

Shishir moved off after a few minutes. He could not stand gaping there for a long while. He must devise some means of getting acquainted with these people. He did not feel the slightest inclination for returning home, but as there was nothing else to do, he came back home and went to bed straight.

But he could not sleep. Plans, most of them highly romantic and impractical, crowded into his brain. He had to reject most of them and at last fell asleep, dead tired. In the morning, his commensense returned to him. He decided to follow the age-old custom of his society and give up all romantic plans. He went to the office and drew some money as advance salary. He had never done this before, even under gravest pressure. As soon as he could get away, he rushed to Rasmoni's house, and engaged her as matchmaker by paying her ten rupees cash down.

Matters now advanced apace. Shishir's parents felt rather aggrieved at this show of independence on their son's part. But he was an adult man and the wage-earner of the family, so he had to be tolerated. It was enough that he was marrying. Rasmoni was paid off after a while and it was decided to go and see the bride formally once, before settling things finally. The bride's family was agreeable enough, as they always are in Bengal, if the match is good. So Shishir's father, uncle and Mihir went in state to see the bride. Poor Shishir was left out,

because it was he who wanted to see her most of all.

"She is a very fine girl, brother," said Mihir, on returning. "You are a lucky chap to get her."

Shishir knew she was a fine girl. Still he wanted many details about her complexion, her age and her features. But how could he ask a younger brother? He had his dignity to maintain and so remained silent. He made his mother understand, by subtle suggestions, that he too would like to see the bride once. The worldly side of the matter was being attended to by the older people.

Mihir began to give him much information gratis. The girl was well educated, had great literary abilities, she was highly accomplished too. She could sing, play and dance, in short she was a rare jewel.

The day arrived on which Shishir was to visit the bride's house. As soon as he woke up in the morning, he felt that the day was different. the eastern sky was blushing deep rose, especially for him. This indeed was the real wedding day for him! The song of birds, the morning breeze, the rosy light, all bore a special significance for him.

Mihir went down. Shishir began to get ready for making tea. He must invite one or two friends to go with him, as it would look odd, if he went alone.

Suddenly Mihir rushed into the room in great excitement. "Just look at the idiotic affair!" he shouted. "I felt that there was something wrong in it, from the beginning. There could not be such romance in our damned land."

Shishir turned white in dismay. "What has happened?" he asked.

Mihir was carrying a Bengali magazine. He opened and pointed to a page, saying, "Look here."

Shishir looked. It was a story written in epistolary form. The first letter was extremely familiar, in fact being the very one, which the good Poorabi had fished out of the dust bin on that fateful day. The name of the authoress was Srimati Usharani Das.

Shishir sat stunned. "You should have made further enquiries before jumping in finally and irrevokably," went on Mihir. "That paper was nothing but a part of her manuscript."

Still Shishir remained silent. Even a moment before he was building his castle in the air, and now it had come down on his head. The mirage had led him to a wild and desolate desert. How was he to get out of it?

Mihir broke in again, "What are you going to do about today's visit? Shall I try to postpone it. Then we can have some time for thinking."

A fair and pretty face seemed to float before Shishir's mental vision. It was beautiful, and bright with intelligence. Melody burst forth from its lips, and the fairy form tripped with dancing steps over the earth.

"No, let it be," Shishir said. "We have given our word to those people."

It was a forlorn hope. Could not reality be like romance for the nonce?



THE RUPEE-RATIO CONTROVERSY

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I

HISTORY OF THE CONTROVERSY

THE post-war period has seen a recurring resurrection of the controversy as to whether the rupee-ratio of exchange that has been adopted by the Government of India from time to time has been too high or not. Thus, when in 1920 the Government, on the recommendation of the Babington-Smith Committee, adopted the 2 shilling ratio for the rupee, the leaders of public opinion condemned it as too high. Events proved within a few months that the Government were wrong and the critics were right. That absurdly high ratio was in force for only a few short months, and it inflicted a heavy loss on industry and trade, and cost the Government many crores of rupees by way of loss of gold reserves. Before the year was out, Government's gold reserves had become depleted to such an extent that they were compelled to let the ratio of exchange drop and find its own level. And for five or six years, they took their hands off the rupee-ratio business.

The controversy was revived when the Hilton Young Commission of 1925-26 recommended that the rupee should be stabilised at 18d. and when the Government adopted the recommendation under the Currency Act of 1927. This time, too, the public protested that the ratio was too high and asked that it should be lowered to 16d., which had been the pre-war ratio for about 20 years. Since the period of 1925-29 was a period of economic recovery all the world over, of which India had her fair share, it was difficult to pronounce any clear judgment as to whether the rupee-ratio was too high or too low.

The controversy was revived, again, in September, 1931, when England left the gold standard and when the rupee was linked up with sterling at 18d. by orders of the Secretary of State for India. Many members of the Legislative Assembly and leaders of public opinion demanded that the rupee should be kept independent of sterling and that it should be left to find its own level without being pegged at 18d. That controversy has been kept alive during the last six years—though with fairly long periods of subsidence. When in the early part of 1933, President Roosevelt gave up the gold standard and later on devalued the dollar, the Indian public demanded that the rupee, too, should be devalued. There was a vigorous and interesting debate between Sir P. C. Ray and Mr. N. R. Sarkar, in the course of which the merits and demerits of devaluation were discussed at full length. The last resurrection occurred in October last, when France, the leader of the gold bloc and the most orthodox supporter of the rigid gold standard, devalued the franc, followed by Holland, Switzerland and many other countries.

II

IS DEVALUTION A BAD THING?

As said above, the ratio controversy is still alive. I think it will simplify matters if we split up the issue into two sections, one of which is a comparatively simple one, while the other is exceedingly complicated and of supreme importance for the economic welfare of the nation.

The first and the simpler issue is whether the rupee should be kept linked up with sterling or be kept independent. On this point, the most decisive consideration in favour of the sterling link is that its management has been so skilled and successful that it has now gained adherents from amongst such differently situated countries as Sweden, Norway, Greece, Turkey, China, Japan, Austria, Argentine Republic, Latsvia and the British Dominions. It is also significant that since 1933 the great U. S. A. has been more or less closely following a policy similar to that of Britain. And, finally, the devaluation of the franc in October, 1936, was also a remarkable tribute to the British ideas of monetary management, because the British authorities had been long insisting that France could never adjust her internal and external economic conditions without a resort to devaluation. Consequently, there are strong reasons for thinking that, apart from her very large trade and financial con-

nections with Great Britain, India was wise in linking up her currency with that of the most successfully managed currency that the world has so far seen.

The other issue is whether the 18d. ratio between the rupee and the pound sterling during the last 6 years of the depression has not been too high. This, as we shall see, is a most vital issue but too baffling for an adequate analysis and too complicated for a clear and unambiguous verdict. But, before we proceed to unravel the mysteries of this subject, we should dispose of a preliminary objection that is sometimes raised and was in fact raised during the ratio-controversy between Sir P. C. Ray and Mr. N. R. Sarkar. When Mr. Sarkar, Mr. D. P. Khaitan and the Bombay group were advocating a devaluation of the rupee, it was argued by some critics that, in any case, devaluation would be a dangerous step, because it would provoke counter-devaluation on the part of other nations, so that in the end it will, like a boomerang, recoil with double force upon the country that started the race of depreciation. This is also the view expressed by the author of the *World Economic Survey for 1932-33*, J. B. Condliffe (p. 47) and by Lionel Robbins, Rist and other economists.

I do not think that this objection to devaluation is a well founded one. For, if it is a fact that many countries followed each other in rapid succession in adopting the method of devaluation, it was done largely with a view to obtaining quick relief from the intolerable strain caused to the economic structure of those countries by the heavy pressure of deflation during the period 1929-31; because this deflation, itself brought about by the maldistribution and sterilisation of world's gold reserves, had subjected commodity prices to a precipitous and unprecedented fall; because the fall of prices was so great and quick that they sank far below the levels of costs; because this disequilibrium between costs and prices caused heavy losses to businessmen, lead to the withering of enterprise, shrinkage of national production, decline of national incomes and public revenues, and swelled the volume of unemployment; and because all these things had nearly paralysed the entire machinery of economic life in all countries of the world. And, in fact, this desire to escape from an intolerable situation through the door of devaluation supplied the principal motive for the abandonment of the gold standard by all countries of the world. Great Britain, U. S. A. and France—these three leading creditor nations have devalued their currencies and yet the final verdict of world opinion has been that their actions have been appropriate and even wise.

III

Over-valuation and Under-valuation: *The Older Meaning*

The plain meaning of over-valuation of a currency is that it has got too high a value in relation to *some other thing*. This 'some other thing'—the objective standard in terms of which the extent of over-valuation or under-valuation of a currency as well as its neutral or equilibrium value should be measured may mean one of two things: Either it may mean some external or foreign currency with reference to which we can judge whether this currency is over-valued or under-valued or is neutral in value. Or, alternatively, it can mean the vast and complicated and very delicately poised internal structure of prices, costs, investments, production and employment. If we think that the primary objective of monetary policy is to promote international trade and investment rather than to maintain the delicate equipoise of internal costs, prices, profits, investment, production and employment, then, we should adopt the first method of measurement, *i.e.*, in terms of gold or some other dominant currency such as sterling or dollar or franc. And this was the object and method of the rigid gold standard that was followed by all countries in the pre-war period and again in 1925-29. This method is based on the assumption that the maximum of economic welfare can be promoted by applying the principle of international division of labour and its corollary, free trade. The essence of its technique is to keep the fluctuations of rates of exchange within very narrow and rigid limits and to regulate the volume of national currency and national price levels according to the inflow or outflow of gold, such movements of gold being regarded as symptoms and effects of disequilibria between internal and external price levels. And under this system, so long as all countries moved in step, the economic machinery as a whole functioned smoothly and efficiently, as indeed it did in the pre-war world, and it may be added, with tremendously beneficial results for all mankind.

If we accept the assumption that the application of the principle of international division of labour, *i.e.*, international trade, is the best way of promoting our economic welfare, and want consequently to establish an equilibrium between our currency and the world currency, or in its absence, some dominant

foreign currency, we have to find out the degree of over-valuation or under-valuation of our currency in relation to that foreign currency. And, for this purpose, we have to apply the theory of purchasing power parity expounded by the famous Swedish Economist, Gustav Cassel, in his many publications on the subject. But, it will help us to avoid confusion of issues if we grasp very firmly the rather peculiar fact that, though Professor Cassel has done more than any other economist to release economic thinking from the cobwebs of ancient superstition regarding the essence of the theory of currency and foreign exchange and to restore sanity of judgment on exchange policy to a world that had been distracted and baffled by the staggering economic experiences of the war and the immediate post-war period, he is, in respect of currency and exchange theory, at any rate, a modern version of David Ricardo. Anyway, the sum and substance of Cassel's famous theory is that if two countries, formerly on the gold standard with fixed rates of exchange, have now adopted inconvertible paper currencies or, as, the economists would now say, independent standards, and have gone the way of appreciation or depreciation of currency in different degrees, then, *other things remaining the same,* we can find out the new equilibrium rate of exchange, corresponding to the old gold parity, by multiplying the old rate of exchange by the quotient of the degrees of change in the purchasing power of currencies in the two countries. Thus, for instance, if the old gold rate of exchange between A's currency and B's currency was, say, x/y, and if A's currency has gone down in purchasing power to one-half and B's currency has gone down in purchasing power to one-third of the former value, then, evidently, A's currency is now half as much again as valuable in relation to B's currency as it was under the original position. That is, A/B, which was formerly equal to x/y, would now become equal to $2x/3y$.

IV

Over-valuation and Under-valuation: *The Newer Meaning*

But, Cassel's theory of foreign exchange, as already noted, is, like the older classical theory, based upon the assumption that a large measure of freedom of trade is necessary to promote the maximum economic welfare. And, it assumes, further, that such free trade would be followed in a substantial measure by all nations of the world. The course of events in the post-war world, however, shows that this is not the case. Most nations have been adopting more and more intensively a wide variety of restrictions on the movement of goods, men, gold and capital. Exchange control, quotas, clearing agreements, subsidised production, currency devaluation and similar other hindrances have been set up by most nations with a view to reducing the volume of international trade to the lowest possible minimum. And the objective kept in view by all countries is the maximum encouragement of internal economic development so as to promote the fullest employment of labour and capital, to achieve a large measure of economic self-sufficiency, to strengthen the economic bases of military power, and in short, to ensure the planned development of national economic resources. While the Old Economic Policy largely subordinated internal economic life to the requirements of international trade and investment, the New Economic Policy would always prefer the controlled development of national economic life to the needs of international economic development.

Great Britain and U. S. A. are the pioneers of the new monetary policy. Its objective is to stimulate national economic development by keeping rates of interest fairly low so as to stimulate investment, production and employment, and by redistributing the national income through taxation and governmental expenditure so as to place adequate purchasing power in the hands of the masses of peasants and workers with a view to stimulating consumption and ensuring a progressive rise in the standard of living. And the preservation of equilibrium between these different sections of the national economic structure demands that prices should be equal to costs of production including a fair margin of profits. The test of such an equilibrium which, be it emphasised once again, is the primary objective of the new monetary policy, is a steady growth of investment and employment.

And in case of a conflict between the two objectives (as explained in my article on "The World's Currency Dilema" in *The Modern Review,* February, 1937), exchange stability is to be sacrificed for the sake of internal stability and equilibrium. It is only when such a stable equilibrium within the country has been achieved that the time will be ripe for selecting a new rate of exchange in adjustment to the cost-price structure so established.

V

Is the Rupee Over-valued?

Now, if we accept this second objective of monetary policy, the value of the rupee should

be measured in terms of price-cost-profit-investment-employment indices within the country. If we find that profits are normal, investments are steadily growing, and employment is full, we shall conclude that the value of the rupee is at equilibrium level or neutral. If we find, on the other hand, that profit margins, investment and employment are subnormal, our conclusion will be that it is over-valued and should be devalued. And finally, if we find that profits are excessively high and investments and employment are growing much too rapidly for healthy and stable development (as in the case of the Indian sugar industry, for instance), our verdict will be that the rupee is under-valued and that it should be raised.

Unfortunately, the necessary data for our tests are not available in India. The only data that are available relate to industrial dividends and movements of share prices. Judging by these tests, we find that the rupee has been over-valued during the depression years. I looked into the list of dividends of various companies, published in *Indian Finance, Investors' Supplement,* March 6, 1937, and found as follows: Out of over 100 companies in the miscellaneous section, 36 paid no dividends during 1933-36, 21 paid no dividends in 1936, and 17 were in a worse position in 1936 than in 1935. Among cotton mills, 25 paid no dividends in 1935. And in 1936, out of 32 cotton mill companies that have declared dividends so far, 9 paid no dividends, and 7 paid dividends below 5 p.c. Among jute mill companies, 42 paid no dividends in 1935, and 35 paid no dividends in 1936, and 53 were in a worse position in 1936 than in 1935. Among coal companies, 38 out of 67 paid no dividends in 1935, and 28 out of 55 paid no dividends in 1936. If we look at the traffic earnings of commercial undertakings like the Post, Telegraph and Telephone, and Railways, we get the same sad tale of subnormal profits or even losses.

These would go to show that, in relation to costs of production which move slowly now-a-days and particularly in a country like India where there is a good deal of economic friction, prices of goods have been too low to allow of fair profit margins for encouraging investment and employment. And although, in the last few months, due to a world-wide boomlet fostered by intensive armament programmes, market quotations of shares and stocks are showing a rising tendency, I venture to suggest that a moderate degree of devaluation of the rupee, say, by 10 or 15 p.c., would impart the much needed stimulus to investment and employment in the country. And I think that the demand for reducing the sterling value of the rupee from 18d. to 16d. is a fair and legitimate one, based upon unmistakable evidence of disequilibrium in the internal economic structure of the country.

VI

Is the Rupee Over-valued? The External Tests

Turning to the external aspect of the problem, we find that here, too, the evidence points to the persistence of a considerable disequilibrium between the internal and the external value of the rupee. We have said above that the internal purchasing power of the rupee, measured in terms of price-profit-investment indices, is too high. Trends of exports and imports and gold movements show that externally, too, the rupee has been considerably over-valued, although the degree of external over-valuation seems to have been somewhat reduced in recent months. Let us take a glance at the following figures :-

In Crores of Rupees.

Year	'30-'31	'31-'32	'32-'33	'33-'34	'34-'35	'35-'36	'36-'37 (11 months)
Balance of trade in merchandise	62.05	34.83	3.22	35.67	23.42	30.58	68.19
Net Import of Gold and Silver	+26.11	-55.39	-64.79	- 57.04	52.17	- 36.80	-12.73

Thus, although the balance of trade has been improving and the export of precious metals decreasing during the last three years, the normal position is as yet far from achievement, because normally India is a net importer of gold and silver to the extent of 20 to 30 crores of rupees.

Let us go into a second type of evidence. During 1929-35, while world's export trade as a whole fell off by 65 p.c., that of Canada went down by only 60 p.c., Britain's 65 p.c., Australia's 57 p.c., that of India declined by as much as 70 p.c.

Here, too, then, the evidence points to the necessity for a moderate measure of devaluation. And I suggest that if India devalues the rupee to, say, 16d. sterling, she will only be following the example of leading countries and will be doing so, not to obtain any unfair competitive advantage, but to restore the equilibrium of internal price-cost structure and to promote a steady growth of employment of labour and capital, so that she may escape from the tragedy of poverty in the midst of plenty. Such a

course is fully warranted by the radical change in the objective of monetary policy that has taken place in the most advanced countries of the world.

VII

Does Cassel's Theory Apply ?

Finally, let us also test the validity of Cassel's purchasing power parity theory in relation to Indian conditions. But, before we do so, it is necessary to point out that there are two very serious obstacles in applying this theory. Firstly, in the vastly altered conditions of international trade and currencies, the entire structure of world demand and supply has been completely transformed and the very terms of trade have been profoundly changed. Consequently, measurement of changes in the relative purchasing power of the rupee in terms of foreign currencies cannot yield any valid conclusions. Secondly, there are not only differences of opinion as to the objective standard of measurement (*e.g.*, whether it should be cost of living or wholesale price index numbers), but also the absence of reliable and adequate data of index numbers. Nevertheless, let us test such data as we have in the light of Cassel's theory :—

(a) Cost of living index numbers: 1928+1929 = 100
British cost of living index in 1936 = 89
(*i*) Ahmedabad cost of living index in 1936 = 74
Purchasing power parity rate
= 18d. × 89/74 = 1s. 9½d.
(*ii*) Bombay cost of living index in 1936 = 69
Purchasing power parity rate
= 18d. × 89/69 = 1s. 11. 2d.

(b) Wholesale price index Numbers, 1927+1928+1929 = 100
(*i*) The Economist (Britain), 1936 = 75
Calcutta, 1936 = 63.46
Purchasing power parity rate
= 18d. × 75/63.46 = 1s. 9. 74d.
(*ii*) 1930 = 100
British Board of Trade, 1936, Jan.—Oct. = 93.6
Calcutta, 1936, Jan.—Oct. = 78.5
Purchasing power parity rate
= 18d. × 93.6/78.5 = 1s. 9. 46d.

Judged by this test, the rupee would appear to be externally *under-valued* to the extent of 17 or 18 p.c.—a conclusion which would be in utter conflict with the evidences of balance of trade and gold and silver movements in recent years. I should add that I applied the test to the figures of each year from 1932 to 1935 as well and came up against the same astonising result.

What should be the proper conclusion, then, in the face of these contradictory results? I venture to suggest that Cassel's theory has failed to give us valid conclusions, because of radical changes in the world structure of trade and industry and also perhaps because of the unreliability and inadequacy of the index numbers for measuring the true purchasing power of currency in the two countries.

Men wiser and more learned than I have discerned in history a plot, a rhythm, a predetermined pattern. These harmonics are concealed from me. I can see only one emergency following upon another, as wave follows wave, only one great fact with respect to which, since it is unique, there can be no generalizations, only one safe rule for the historian; that he should recognize in the development of human destinies the play of the contingent and the unforeseen.

H. A. L. Fisher

Book Reviews

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in The Modern Review. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

—Editor, The Modern Review.

ENGLISH

THE CULTURAL HERITAGE OF INDIA. *Published by Swami Avinashananda, Secretary, Publication Sub-Committee, Sri Ramakrishna Centenary, Belur Math, Calcutta. In Three Volumes. With numerous monochrome and three-colour illustrations. Price Rs. 20.*

The pages of the volumes are of the size of those of *The Modern Review.* Volume I consists of 608+xxx pages besides illustrations, Volume II 617+ix pages and illustrations, and Volume III 692+x pages besides illustrations. All the Volumes have a strong and attractive binding with gilt lettering and embossed symbolic drawing. They have also handsome jackets. The three volumes are supplied in a strong card-board box. The illustrations are very well reproduced. Many of them are masterpieces of art. The text of the contributions is very neatly printed.

An Index would have added to the usefulness of the volumes. But evidently within the limits of time at his disposal the publisher could not get it prepared. But the material brought together in the volumes is so valuable that we would urge the Publication Sub-Committee to prepare an adequate Index even now and offer it for sale separately when ready.

It would not be easy to give an idea of the contents of the volumes. The titles of the contributions, the names of the contributors and the names of the illustrations in the three volumes fill eighteen pages. We can only say that the first volume contains, "The Spirit of India" by Dr. Rabindranath Tagore, "Introduction" by Sir S. Radhakrishnan, and the following sections with several papers in each section :

I. The Vedas and the Upanishads, II. The Epics and the Gita, III. The Smritis and the Puranas, IV. Jainism and Buddhism, V. Systems of Hindu Philosophy (A), and VI. Systems of Hindu Philosophy (B).

The second volume contains the following sections with several contributions in each :

I. Phases of Hindu Religion, II. The Saints of India, III. Religions from Beyond the Borders, IV. Some Modern Reform Movements, and V. Sri Ramakrishna and Spiritual Renaissance.

The third volume contains the following sections :

I. Landmarks in Indian Culture, II. Institutions, III. The Pursuit of Science, IV. The Arts, and V. Literature.

In "The Spirit of India" Rabindranath Tagore writes :

"I love India, not because I cultivate the idolatry of geography, not because I have had the chance to be born in her soil, but because she has saved through tumultuous ages the living words that have issued from the illuminated consciousness of her great sons—*Satyam Jnanam Anantam Brahma* : Brahma is Truth, Brahma is Wisdom, Brahma is Infinite; *Santam Sivam Advaitam* : Peace is in Brahma, goodness is in Brahma, and the unity of all beings.

"Brahma-nishtho grihasthah syat
Tattvajnana-parayanah,
Yad yat karma prakurvita
Tad Brahmani samarpayet.

"The householder shall have his life established in Brahma, shall pursue the deeper truth of all things, and in all activities of life dedicate his works to the Eternal Being. Thus we have come to know that what India truly seeks is not a peace which is in negation, or, in some mechanical adjustment, but that which is in *Sivam*, in goodness; which is in *Advaitam*, in the truth of perfect union; that India does not enjoin her children to cease from *Karma*, but to perform their *Karma* in the presence of the Eternal, with the pure knowledge of the spiritual meaning of existence; that this is the true prayer of Mother India :

"Ya eko'varno bahudha saktiyogad
Varnan anekan nihitartho dadhati,
Vichaiti chante visvam adau sa devah
Sa no buddhya subhaya samyunaktu.

"He who is one, who is above all colour distinctions, who dispenses the inherent needs of men of all colours, who comprehends all things from their beginning to the end, let Him unite us to one another with wisdom which is the wisdom of goodness."

As the number of contributions is large, it would be difficult to give here a list of all the contributors. They include some men of world-wide reputation. It would be invidious to pick out a few.

The last section in Volume III, namely, that devoted to Literature, contains three papers on Sanskrit Kavya Literature, the Sanskrit Drama, and the spiritual outlook

of Sanskrit Grammar, and a paper on the Origin and Growth of Tamil Literature. We do not know why no paper on Pali literature has been included. As regards modern current vernacular literatures of India, perhaps the exigencies of spaces prevented the inclusion of papers on literatures other than Tamil.

Any detailed criticism of so large a work with such multifarious contents is out of the question. Even if the present writer possessed truly encyclopædic knowledge, which he certainly does not, the time and the space at his disposal would prevent him from attempting any elaborate review of the volumes. The public cannot be sufficiently thankful to the Sri Ramakrishna Centenary Committee for making and publishing such a priceless collection.

We feel that this is a very inadequate notice of a very remarkable achievement. We can only hope that it will induce all who can afford to spend Rs. 20 to buy the volumes and study them at leisure.

BULLETIN NO. 1 OF THE NEW EDUCATION FELLOWSHIP, SANTINIKETAN, BENGAL. *Visva-Bharati Bookshop, 210, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta. Price annas eight.*

This Bulletin contains three papers by Kshitimohan Sen, Nandalal Bose, and Rabindranath Tagore respectively.

In "A Picture of Indigenous Education" Kshitimohan Sen gives a vivid and attractive account of the *Chatuspathis* (Sanskrit seminaries) of Kashi and Bengal, stressing the close and loving relations between the teachers and their families and the pupils. He tells some fascinating anecdotes in this connection. We wish we had space to quote at least some of them. The writer says:

"We must bestir ourselves to free our *Chatuspathis* from the burden of the obstacles that are clogging the progress of our future striving. We must throw open their doors to all seekers after our ancient wisdom, irrespective of sex or caste or social distinctions. For, like light and air and open sky, should not the realm of the spirit be equally accessible to all men?

"Nor do I say that the subjects that used to be taught in our *Chatuspathis* are sufficient even to this day. The course of life has now become the battle of life. The time has come when we cannot afford to neglect any resource that may help us along, be it indigenous or foreign: we must not encourage a suicidal policy of any kind whatsoever. We must bring to our aid every kind of training, scientific or philosophic, historical or artistic, from wheresoever it may be available. We must rid our pursuit of wisdom, our field of endeavour, from the bondage of all narrowness of tradition or superstition; for in bondage is death."

"Our country is poor. It is not possible for the large mass of our people to afford to maintain expensive educators with whose minds their minds have no living connection. If our easily satisfied teachers of the *Chatuspathis* learn of the stores of knowledge in other lands, and yet maintain their own simple way of life and their loving relations with their own people as of old, then only will the problems confronting our cheerless, penurious land find a natural solution.

"Lastly, we must now replace Sanskrit in our *Chatuspathis* with our mother tongues. They must be made the media of the new instruction. Then only as before will our people come into living and enduring relations with the subject matter that is sought to be imparted to them. The purely intellectual relation has to be made vital by sympathy."

"The Place of Art in Education" by Nandalal Bose is a convincing essay. He begins by saying:

"Of the several means devised by man for adding to his knowledge and enjoyment, the most important is language, the vehicle of his literature, science and philosophy. But, as an instrument for receiving and transmitting messages of joy, language has its limitations, and so it has to be supplemented by the arts,—of figuration, music, and dance,—each of which has its own special methods. And, in order to cultivate the understanding and communication of the messages of the outer world through the senses and sensibility of man, it is necessary, for the completion of his education, for him to have a sufficient acquaintance with these different methods of expression. Just as one sense-organ cannot function as another, so also it is not possible for literature alone to do the work of pictures, music and dance. So that, if our ideal of education be a comprehensive one, it must include these latter in its programme, on the same footing in regard to pride of place as the other usual subjects of study."

Rabindranath Tagore's "Making Education our Own" is an impressive appeal to his countrymen to universalize education through the mother-tongues of the learners. Among other things he tells us that at the bottom of his plea for education through our own language lies his own experience.

"Strangely enough, in the days when I was a child, there was an institution in Calcutta in which all branches of knowledge were taught purely through Bengali. In those days, the schools which kept their faces turned towards the portals of the university,—teaching their pupils that the first personal pronoun was "I, by itself I," and making them say by rote "He is up," and such-like interesting sentences,—were mainly intended for boys of aristocratic families. For the rest, side by side with these were the vernacular schools, which aimed at the finishing touch of an institution called the Normal School, which amounted to a vernacular university of lesser dignity.

"As luck would have it, my guardians sent me to this Normal School. All that I learnt there was through the medium of Bengali,—geography, history, mathematics, something of natural science, and the kind of grammar that tried to raise Bengali to the dignity of imitation Sanscrit. The standard, on the whole, was not less than that of the matriculation of those days. This school with its Englishless lessons I attended till my twelfth year, and thereafter when the time came to enter an English school, I played truant for good. Anyhow, as the result, I obtained free access to the storehouse of Bengali lore. What though the store was not large, it was ample for nourshing and stimulating the mind of a boy of the age I then was. I was moreover saved from having, with a half-starved mind, to limp painfully up the steep climb to a foreign language. And because, at every step, learning and understanding did not get their heads grievously knocked together, my early years had not to be spent in an educational hospital.

"I had even more to be grateful for. One of the chief functions of education is the training to express one's thoughts and feelings through language. This give and take between within and without, is necessary for a healthy mental life. But if that has to be done through a foreign language, it becomes like trying to act a play with a mask over one's face. The creation of literature is in no case an easy matter, and to begin to do so in a foreign language has a permanently crippling effect. As for me, I was fortunate to gain the joy of expressing and adorning my sentiments in my own language. That is why it is so clear to me how proficiency in the mother tongue gives later the courage and ability to master and wield a foreign tongue as well. I feel certain that if I have been successful in hiding

from English-knowing people my shortcomings in that language, if I have been able to make good use of such scraps of it as I happened to pick up whilst playing truant, that was because in childhood my mind attained its full development by virtue of the unadulterated fare of my own language, rich in nourishment as well as in the life-giving magic provided by the Creator himself."

CITY OF BIRMINGHAM OFFICIAL HANDBOOK: 1937.

This year as in previous ones we have got the City of Birmingham Official Handbook. It is as well got-up, as fully illustrated and as interesting and informative as its predecessors.

Like every other business undertaking—and a great city of today is no less—Birmingham at intervals reviews its progress. Each year it surveys its development and embodies its findings in the City of Birmingham Handbook.

Within the covers of the publication the vast ramifications of Birmingham's local administration are described in painstaking detail. Birmingham is the birthplace of the principle of public ownership, and numbered among its public servants are staffs of its great municipally-owned public service undertakings.

On its water supply, which brings water from the heart of Wales to every tap, Birmingham has spent over eleven million pounds, and today the annual income of the undertaking is nearly one-tenth of that sum. Upon its electricity undertaking, Birmingham has expended over seventeen million pounds, while gas, the first of the public services to be publicly owned, has cost Birmingham rate-payers nearly six million pounds. The total capital raised for Birmingham's civic needs totals over eighty-six million pounds, of which thirty millions have been repaid, and each of the city's ratepayers is a shareholder in this vast concern. The annual turnover of the City of Birmingham exceeds eighteen million pounds, which amount is greater than that of small European states.

Birmingham's profit-earning ventures have proved sound investments, but civic courage is no less evident in public services which do not produce revenue. In municipal housing for example, Birmingham's 42,000 dwellings accommodate a population equal to that of Birkenhead or Brighton. In public health, vital statistics show consistent progress, in education new schemes for technical education are proceeding; it has already had its university, museums, public libraries and art gallery. It's tram cars and omnibuses are municipal concerns. The newest development, the Airport of Birmingham, proceeds towards completion as the finest airport in the country, and in all directions evidence of virile expansion abounds.

In his Foreword, the Lord Mayor refers to the Birmingham Hospitals Centre scheme, which is due for completion during the present year. The scheme is to cost £ 1,000,000 and already over four-fifths of the amount have been publicly subscribed. This is in addition to the Mental and other Hospitals in existence.

The numerous photographs which illustrate the Handbook add to the absorbing interest of its 300 pages. The progress described in the new publication well maintains Birmingham's reputation for being "the best-governed city in the world," and the Handbook proclaims the reputation with dignity.

THE BELLE OF BALI: *Being impressions of a pleasure cruise to the Dutch East Indies via Cochin, Colombo, Penang and Singapore. By Ardasher Sorabjee N. Wadia, M.A. Sometime Professor of English and History, Elphinstone College, Bombay. Illustrated with twenty-five photographs by the author. J. M. Dent & Sons Ltd., London. 10s. 6d. net.*

The book is beautifully printed in big clear type. Mr. Wadia is a first-rate travel companion, and tells the reader in a pleasant style what he has to say. He tells him of a factory hand's dream and the isle of dreams and describes the religion, the temples, the bazaars, the art-crafts, music, and dances of Bali. He has much to say of a Balinese maiden whom he calls the Belle of Bali. A chapter is devoted to Borobudur and Buitenzorg and another to the Dance of Shiva.

FAITH AND FELLOWSHIP: *Being the proceedings of the World Congress of Faiths held in London, July 3rd to 17th, 1936. Edited by A. Douglas Millard. With a foreword by Sir Francis Younghusband, K.C.S.I. K.C.I.E., Chairman of the Congress. Published for the World Congress of Faiths by J. M. Watkins. 21 Cecil Court, London W. C. 2. 15s. net.*

The volume contains 20 papers, with discussions thereupon, by A. Yusuf Ali, Dr. Diesetz Teitaro Suzuki, Prof. G. P. Malalasekera, Prof. Nicolas Berdiaeff, Prof. Louis Massignon and M. Saurat, Dr. Sir Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan, the late Prof. J. S. Haldane, Prof. S. N. Das Gupta, Sir Abdul Qadir, the Rev. J. S. Whale, Prof. Mahendra Nath Sircar, Dr. Ranji G. Shahani, Dr. W. J. Stein, Mr. S. I. Hsiung, Dr. Judah L. Magnes, M. Jean Schlumberger, the Rev. P. T. R. Kirk, His Eminence Sheikh L. Maraghi and Prof. Emile J. Marcawlt. The titles of the papers are: The Essential Basis of Religion, Ignorance and World Fellowship, An Inspiring Vision, The Brotherhood of Man and the Religions, Love—the Basis of Fellowship, Religion and Religions, Science and Religion, A Hindu View of Religion, Islam and World Fellowship, The City of God, Prayer and Spiritual Experience, A New Pilgrim's Progress, Is World Fellowship Possible in View of the Antagonisms of the World, The Teaching of Confucius and His Followers, The Spirit of Peace and the Spirit of War, Independent Religious Thought, Baha' U'llah's Ground Plan of World Fellowship, The Economic Barriers to Peace, A Constructive Proposal, The Right of the Spirit.

Besides meetings for the reading and discussion of these papers, there were a public welcome meeting, a public meeting for addresses on The Supreme Spiritual Ideal by Canon F. R. Barry, Rabbi Israel Mattuck, Sir S. Radhakrishnan, Dr. Suzuki, Madame Halide Edib, and Mr. Rom Landau, and a Farewell Meeting.

TRANSACTIONS OF THE BOSE RESEARCH INSTITUTE, CALCUTTA: BIOLOGICAL AND PHYSICAL RESEARCHES. *Vol. X. 1934-1935. Edited by Sir J. C. Bose. With 65 illustrations. Longmans Green & Co., London. Price 18s. net.*

In the Introduction Sir J. C. Bose gives a synopsis of various investigations carried out during the year in different branches of biophysics, in anthropology and in advanced physics.

There are twelve original papers on Modifying Effect of Age on the Physiological Activities of the Leaf of *Mimosa Pudica*, The Effects of Continuous and of Intermittent Illuminations on Longitudinal Growth, Investigation on the 'After-Ripening' of the Seed, Effect of Variation of Temperature on the Respiration of Flower (*Helianthus Annuus*), Chemical Examination of the Indian Medicinal Plant *Trichosanthes Dioeca*, Examination of Seeds of Certain Varieties of Meconopsis as Source of Oil and Manure, Chemical and Physiological Investigations on Presence of Vitamin C in Certain Substances in Plants, Human Remains from a Maler Cemetery, The Spectrum of Zinc at Different Stages of Ionisation, Absorption Spectra of the Alkali Halides and Their Constituents in Solution, and Absorption Spectra of Zinc and Cadmium Halides in Vapour State.

The researches were carried out by S. C. Das, M.A., B. K. Palit, B.Sc., B. K. Dutt, B.Sc., A. Guha Thakurta, N. C. Nag, M.A., F.I.C., H. N. Banerjee, M.Sc., Sasanka Sekhar Sarkar, M.Sc., K. C. Mazumdar, M.A., Ph.D. (Harvard), Ph.D. (London), A. K. Dutta, D.Sc., and Sureschandra Deb, D.Sc.

X.

A HISTORY OF PUNJABI LITERATURE. (1100-1932): *By Mohan Singh, M.A., (Cal.), Ph. D., (Cal.). University of the Punjab, Lahore. Rs. 15.*

Dr. Mohan Singh, so well qualified for the writing of the History of Punjabi Literature on account of his academic distinction, deserves the good wishes of all interested in the vernacular literatures of India. The reader finds in the book presented by Dr. Singh much information and much food for thought, the references to other literatures being specially agreeable reading. The materials thus collected should be well used by a scholar competent to synthesise and endowed with gifts for presenting things in their proper perspective.

It is difficult to see why the author begins his account from the eighth century. The tendency to claim for our modern literatures an early descent like that is but too common; but claims should be supported by stronger data than mere supposition. Even about the modern period the writer's statement "the last 70 years have given rise to no big new tendency or movement which, ushering a new era, may dictate the erection of a new chronological milestone," is not strictly tenable—the National movement has brought about new orientation of our literature. The rise of the new literature as such is held by Dr. Singh to be more apparent than real—but the difference of the new medium is pronounced enough. What should count as the most important in determining the chronology or fixing the landmarks is, as the author justly holds, "dated evidence." Why does Dr. Singh create a confusion by describing Chapter VI as the later Mughal Period it is difficult to understand. 'The Rise of the Sikh Power' is the name of a historical book written on the same period and, I am constrained to think, this may apply to the treatment of Punjabi Literature as well. The biographical and bibliographical notes, as well as the selections, are of special interest, and the reader deplores the lack of imaginative construction and the unattractive get-up which are out of all proportion to the price of "Rupees Fifteen"!

KABIR AND THE BHAGTI MOVEMENT. VOL. I: *By Mohan Singh, M.A., (Cal.), Ph.D., (Cal.), D.Litt., (Punjab). Atma Ram & Sons, Lahore. Rs. 2.*

Dr. Mohan Singh, an M.A., and Ph.D., of the University of Calcutta and a D.Litt., of the Punjab University as well, has attempted in this brochure to give an account of the life of the well-known Indian saint with more accuracy than it has been possible yet to secure. He has consulted all available literature in print and in manuscript and has questioned the validity of some of the conclusions hitherto held with regard to Kabirji's life. The *Das* of the epithet *Kabir Das*, the author traces to Buddhistic Asokan influence, because Asoka called himself Priya Dasa (p. 30). This will hardly seem an argument and we take this opportunity to draw the learned writer's attention to it.

It is hoped that the book will be a contribution to the existing literature on the subject and the next two volumes, dealing with the poetry and the doctrine of Kabir, the publication of which in the spring of the current year has been announced, will be awaited with interest by all students of Indian culture.

COMEDY: *By Rai Govind Chandra, M.A., M.R.A.S. Price Re. 1.*

Mr. Chandra examines this particular form of art, the author's attitude towards his characters, the nature of the incongruity which forms the material of comedy; the different elements like the dialogue, action, etc. He discovers that comedy cannot have an universal appeal; because manners fade and become unintelligible to ordinary people. But why, when insisting on the intellectual note as the essence of comedy, exempt the intellect from picking up the requisite information about a by-gone age? Comedies of manners have an appeal for all ages, only the author's intellect calls forth the reader's in the same proportion.

P. R. SEN

THE UNLIMITED COMMUNITY: *By Julius W. Friend and James Feibleman. George Allen & Unwin Ltd. Price 15s. Pages 374.*

Is social science possible? Is the title science given to history, economics, jurisprudence, politics, or sociology a courtesy one, pure and simple? The two authors of the above book tell us that on the methods adopted so far, *viz.*, the empirical, the genetic, and the abstractive, the claims of the social sciences to illustrate the univariant and universal conditions in a particular constellation of existents cannot be maintained. The empirical has ended in description, the genetic in tawtology, and the abstractive in indefiniteness. The authors attempt at reconstructing these methods to restore social disciplines from futility.

The source of energy for the work of reconstruction is the philosophical method of Charles S. Peirce, the founder of Pragmatism. Its real meaning is today being unfortunately lost by the commentaries and refinements of the originator's famous disciples. The following quotation from Peirce's collected papers will give a clue to our author's long-drawn but well-sustained argument. "The very idea of probability and of reasoning rests on the assumption that this number (P. refers to risks and influences) is indefinitely great. We are thus landed in the same difficulty as before, and I can see but one solution of it. It seems to me that we are driven to this, that logicality inexorably requires that our interest shall *not* be limited. They must not stop at our own fate, but must embrace the whole community. This community, again, must not be limited but must extend to all races of beings with whom we can come into immediate or mediate intellectual relation. It must reach, however vaguely, beyond this geological epoch, beyond all bounds. He who would not sacrifice his own soul to save the whole world, is as it seems to me, illogical in all his references, collectively. Logic is rooted in the social principle . . . But all this requires a conceived identification of one's interests with those of an unlimited community." Hence the title of the book.

Obviously, such a point of view involves values having a status of their own, *i.e.*, apart from affects and intellection. The urge towards the expansion of values, which are the Beautiful, the Good, and the Worshipful, comes from the attempt of the historical actuality to approximate towards the ideally-logical through numerous contradictions. The values are to be understood and felt in relation to an ever-widening circle (almost an asymptote) of organisations, which sublate those contradictions. The inner structure of an organization offers the Beautiful, its relation to another organization the Good, and its connexion with the Infinite, which must needs be taken, like the social basis of values, as a necessary factor in all logical endeavour, the quality of the Worshipful. Our authors do give a well-defined place

to mysticism in social thinking. But it is the Western type which is an incentive to action, as opposed to the Eastern, which, in their opinion, is static and negative.

The significance of this volume arises from the fact it has steered clear of the fallacy of the instrumentalist, who, in his leisurely moments, is apt to confuse values with practicabilities. The practical here only 'proves the true, not because the practical is true, but because the true is practical.'

The reviewer has not been convinced either by the authors' distinction of their dialectic from the Hegelian or by their attempt to *measure* values on the basis of one to one relation. Their treatment of economic abstractions is all too summary. The new value of the Worshipful is not properly discussed. The impression that one retains however is that the book is ambitious. Yet, such a book had long remained to be written. The sweep and the sustained quality of the discourse make ample amends for small deficiencies. The book is a genuine contribution to social thought.

DHURJATI MUKHERJI

EARLY LAND REVENUE SYSTEM IN BENGAL AND BIHAR. *Vol. 1: By D. N. Banerjee. Longmans, Green and Co., Ltd. Pp. 228.*

Mr. Banerjee is the Reader of Economics and Politics in the University of Dacca. He has been, for several years past, engaged in studying original documents in the Imperial and Bengal Secretariat Record Offices on the early land revenue policy of the British Government in Bengal and Bihar. He has planned the publication of the results of his investigations in two separate volumes. The first volume is the book under review. It gives us copious information on the subject from 1765 to 1772. The author promises us that in the second volume he will carry the narrative down to 1793.

Early land revenue policy of the British Government in India is a much thrashed out subject. It has been the favourite field of investigation of many competent scholars. It stands however to the credit of Mr. Banerjee that he has found it possible to add details to the picture which was familiar so long mostly in outline. The vacant places in the canvas are now being filled in and when the second volume of the work is placed before the public we may expect to have a finished picture of the land revenue system in Bengal and Bihar as it was developed from 1765 to 1796.

Mr. Banerjee rapidly describes in the introductory chapter of his book the revenue arrangement as it prevailed immediately after the *Diwani* was conferred upon the East India Company. Incidentally he disproves the theory advanced by Mr. R. B. Ramsbotham that Lord Clive in applying to the Emperor of Delhi for the grant of the *Diwani* was prompted solely by Raja Daulat Ram. Mr. Banerjee tells us that the question of making an application to this effect had already been decided upon at Calcutta and the letter had also been drafted. "Lord Clive's visit to the Raja and his seeking of the latter's advice were . . . . more or less formal matters of courtesy."

In the second and third chapters of the book, the author gives us detailed information regarding the appointment of the "Supravisors," the functions they were to carry out and the authority they were to enjoy. Already in the "Burdwan Province," revenue was being collected under the direction and supervision of British Officers. This arrangement had proved to be effective and in a letter dated the 11th November, 1768, the Court of Directors had commended it to their agents at Calcutta. But immediately nothing was done to extend this principle of British supervision to other parts of the Bengal Suba. On the 7th of May, 1769, however, Mr. Richard Becher, Resident at the Durbar (the Court at Moorshidabad), observed in a letter to Mr. Verelst, then President and Governor at Fort William, that necessary steps should immediately be taken "for the relief of the inhabitants, the cultivation of the country, and the benefit of the company." The arrangement of revenue collection then in vogue was apparently, in the opinion of Mr. Becher, undermining the permanent interests of the province and it was time for the Company's authorities to think of a substitute. On the 24th May, in another letter to the Governor, he returned to the subject and graphically describing the plight of the peasants under the existing system of land revenue collection suggested the extension of the Burdwan arrangement to other parts of the two provinces of Bengal and Bihar. This letter of Mr. Becher materially influenced the Select Committee at Calcutta in its decision to appoint 'Supravisors.' Mr. Banerjee acquaints us with the names of the persons actually appointed in this capacity and gives us details as to the duties they were to perform and the powers they were to exercise. It may only be wished that Mr. Banerjee gave us some details also with regard to the antecedents of the European gentlemen appointed as Supravisors. He has stated the reasons for the failure of the supervisor system. But it seems that the want of training on the part of the officers concerned was also an important factor in the failure of the scheme. This would have been fully illustrated if we could have definite information as to the early training of these officers in England and as to the offices they had filled and the experience they had earned in this country.

In the fourth chapter the author describes the formation of the Controlling Committee of Revenue and the Controlling Councils. In the fifth chapter he describes the triennial and quinquennial settlement and in the sixth and last chapter he gives us an idea of the new scheme in operation. The book is boldly printed and beautifully got up.

NARESH CHANDRA ROY

FRANCE TO-DAY: *By Maurice Thorez. Gollancz: London. 5sh.*

FRANCE FACES THE FUTURE: *By Ralph Fox. Lawrence and Wishart: London. 2sh. 6d.*

THE FIERY CROSS: *By Lt. Col. De La Rocque. Lovat Dickson: London. 2sh.*

France today is at an interesting stage of development focussing more forcibly and actively than many countries various currents and cross-currents at work internationally. Moves in France at present and in the period ahead, as such, will be of great and far-reaching significance. The basic issue remains one between conservation fundamentally of a state of economy that has prevailed long with certain external alterations underlining at the same time the ideas of foreign domination of States and imperialism, and the course of democratic development with economic changes giving democracy a new content and scope with implied value to the ideas of colonial emancipation and self-determination.

The volume of Maurice Thorez, an active figure in French politics at present, discusses the dominant economic factors behind a keen struggle in France and treats the forces that have contributed to the growth of the "Popular Front" in the country. He does this with the aid of various important and interesting statistics and with references to impacts of several significant developments, which add to the value of his volume to students of economics and politics. Thorez views the "Popular Front" as an important stage and one in his opinion suited to

aid the line of socialistic advance. Ralph Fox, probably known already to many of the readers in India by his previous publications dealing with a wide variety of topics, some as well with special references to India, in his book on France, covers much the same ground ground as Thorez. The history of the rise of the "Popular Front" is treated at greater length in his volume. Count Colonel de la Rocque is the leader of the Fascist League "Croix de Feu" which has now assumed the less picturesque title of "Social Party." His book is one long chain of drastic denunciations and dogmatic declarations. There is little attempt at holding out any definite programme. In vague terms, rule by a strong band of super-patriots is projected, who will make France—the epithets are greatly common to fascist leaders—strong, happy and respected. Colonel de la Rocque's movement has developed and come to gain much prominence as symbolising a fight against virile forces behind the line of "Popular Front" and the sympathy and support extended to it from influential sections.

The opposing forces in France are passing through an interesting period of trial marked by new changes and contacts conditioned not only by attention to internal circumstances but greatly as well by care to external developments -the most important of these being Soviet Union's move on one side and German military revivalism representing a serious challenge at the same time to Soviet State on the other. The volumes here reviewed indicate that a line of fascist reaction or assertion in France will not be an easy one and that forces against such a course are keen and much awake. The Spanish situation no doubt introduces an important element of complication and the reaction of dominant groups in centres abroad to the trend in Spain is also reflective of concern about the gaining of popular currents in France. The run of affairs in France in the period before will be of wide importance, and for an understanding of it, it is well to know the forces involved, interests concerned and forces implied.

A. C. N.

THE ASOKAN ROCK AT GIRNAR, GAEKWAD ARCHAEOLOGICAL SERIES, No. II: *By Dr. Hiranandu Sastri, M.A., M.O.L., D.Litt. Baroda, 1936. Price Re. 1-1-6.*

This memoir about inscriptions found on a rock at Mt. Girnar. in the Junagadh state, of the Bombay Presidency; from the erudite pen of Dr. H. Sastri, formerly Epigraphist to the Government of India; is the second publication in the newly started Gaekwad Archaeological Series. Personally the present reviewer has high regard for Dr. Sastri's scholarship and learning, but he would be failing in his duty, if he does not record the fact that he is disappointed with the publication under review. The book, as we are informed by the author himself, has been published to make the lay public understand the contents and importance of the epigraphs carved on the rock. We may therefore take it for granted that it is intended to be a sort of 'Guide-Book.' For such a work the size is too large. What is more, Dr. Sastri should have utilized this opportunity in describing briefly the various ancient buildings. That Dr. Sastri is no novice in architecture, we know from his various contributions in *Annual Reports of the Archaeological Survey of India.*

The work has been divided into various sections and sub-sections, the largest of which is devoted to Asoka; his edicts, organization of his empire etc. At the end of the section the text of the thirteen rock edicts are given in Devanagari and Roman character, together with their translations. Dr. Sastri bases his account of the great Maurya Emperor and his administrative system on the work of late Dr. V. A. Smith entitled '*Asoka, The Buddhist Emperor of India.*' It is not understood for what reasons Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar and Dr. R. K. Mukherji's monumental labours on Asoka should have been neglected. Prof. Bhandarkar, however, is lucky enough to be mentioned towards the end of the 'Preface,' but we feel sorry about poor Dr. Mukherji. It is possible that Dr. Mukherji's theories are not acceptable to Dr. Sastri; but that is no reason for suppressing the name of his publication altogether. This is not the proper scientific spirit. A detailed examination of the various theories put forward by the learned author would not only be out of place here, but also needlessly lengthen the present review. But we may be permitted to mention here that, the Buddhist works do not always support the theory of Asoka's toleration of other religions. Thus *Divyavadhana* (p. 427), a Buddhist Sanskrit work records that Asoka put to death several *Nigrantha* (Jaina) ascetics at Pundravardhana.

The note on Rudradaman and his epigraph is too brief. Moreover the author has not mentioned the importance of the inscription due to use of Sanskrit. The same is the case with that of the Gupta Emperor Skandagupta. Since Dr. Sastri for reasons best known to him, has not thought fit to mention various theories about Rudradaman and Skandagupta, and various important events of their reign; he should have done well to give a brief Bibliography, as has been done by Sir John Marshall, in his guide books on the ruins at Sanchi and Taxila. Further such one-sided narration is bound to create dogmatism in popular mind, who in good faith are likely to accept Dr. Sastri's pet theories as established historical truths. One point more. Regarding *Satiyaputa* Dr. Sastri asserts that they have not been identified; what he probably means is that they have not been *correctly* or *satisfactorily* identified; because attempts have been made by several scholars; the most notable of which are those of Prof. Jean Prezyluski and Prof. V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar. The book no doubt has its merit but the impression left by it is that, it is a hasty publication. Those who know Dr. Sastri, can be pardoned for expecting far better standard of work from him. The publication under review should have been left to his worthy assistant Mr. A. S. Gadre.

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY, MYSORE FOR THE YEAR 1932, *Bangalore. 1935. Pp. 1-282, and 26 plates.*

The new series of *Annual Reports* initiated by the present Director, Dr. M. H. Krishna; has set a standard in get up and printing and is equalled only by the publications of the Government of India Press. As usual the present volume is divided into several parts containing an admirable account of the work carried out by the department, during the year 1932.

During the year Dr. Krishna, toured in the several districts of the state, in connection with conservation and systematic study of the extant monuments. He also engaged himself in collecting information about the buildings built in the so-called Chalukyan style, on which he is now engaged in preparing a monograph. The epigraphical assistant was engaged in collecting new inscriptions; while the architectural assistant toured the Hassan district for making drawings of certain Hoysala monuments. Texts of sixty new records have been published in the present volume, the most important of which is a grant of Ganga king Krishnavarmman. It is delightful to learn that the Director continued his important studies on ancient structures of the state; and portions of his notes on the half buried remains at

Talakad, Ikkeri, Kaladi and Harihar have been published in the volume under review. In addition to these the famous temple at Somanathapura has been completely studied. In this respect Dr. Krishna has set a good example to his fellow professionals. When exploration and excavation, two most important branches of archaeology, are stopped on account of financial stringency by governments, the official archaeologists may well devote their forced leisure to study remains that are still extant on the surface, or engage themselves in surface exploration, or in preparing a descriptive list of ruined mounds, which would be extremely helpful to the future explorer. Another most interesting feature is the section dealing with manuscripts, the most important of which is *Vidyaranya-kalajnana.* It is a paper manuscript belonging to the Mysore Oriental Library; containing about 300 folio pages in Telegu characters the bulk of which are taken up by prophecies dealing with history of the Vijayanagara kingdom. Other prophecies are in the form of a dialogue between mythological personages like Siva, Skanda, Nandi, Brahma etc. The rest of the volume are taken up by prophecies by *Virasaiva* saints. These are in Kannada prose. On the whole Dr. H. Krishna is to be congratulated for discharging his heavy responsibilities in such a worthy way. We learn with great regret that excavations at Chandravalli and Brahmagiri had to be stopped by the orders of the Mysore government. It is sincerely hoped that state authorities will soon permit the renewal of this extremely important work at an early date. But Dr. Krishna is a man who never permits such obstacles to stand in his way and it is a pleasure to know that in spite of financial stringency he did carry on some experimental (?) excavations near the stone quarries to the east of Lal-Bagh, Bangalore; which, resulted in the discovery of old potteries and large urns with elephantine legs.

Adris Banerji

INDIAN PICTORIAL ART AS DEVELOPED IN BOOK-ILLUSTRATIONS. (*Gaekwad's Archæological Series No. 1*). *By Hirananda Sastri, M.A., M.O.L., D.Litt., Director of Archæology, Baroda State, and Government Epigraphist for India (Retired).*

His Highness the Gaekwad of Baroda, whose love for and activities in the cause of the history and culture of the country are well-known, deserves the congratulations of all Indologists for the inauguration of a Department of Archæology in his State. The work under review introduces a series of publications which will bring to the notice of the world of scholars the results of the investigations of workers in this newly instituted Department.

The present monograph aims at briefly refuting the view of scholars who hold that "Indian art has never developed book-illustrations as such," that "the illustrations take the form of square panels applied to the page without organic relation to the text" and that "illustrated manuscripts of any kind are very rare" (p. 2). With this end in view Dr. Sastri has drawn attention to a number of illustrated manuscripts, either in his own possession or known to him as belonging to others. The topic dealt with is interesting and it is worth while to carry on a thorough and comprehensive investigation in this line which may reveal the origin and development of the art in its progress through centuries.

A study of the illustrated manuscripts as produced in different parts of the country with a minute observation of the local peculiarities, if any, is essential for this purpose. Considerable help in this matter may be secured from the manuscript libraries of which there are quite a good number here and abroad, and some of which have fine descriptive catalogues. The library of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, for instance, has a handsome small collection of illustrated manuscripts, including a number of Buddhist manuscripts in old Newari characters. Painted book-covers, of which there are beautiful specimens in the Bangiya Sahitya Parishat of Calcutta, might also be taken into consideration in this connection.

Chintaharan Chakravarti

THE YOGA OF SRI AUROBINDO: *By Shuddhananda Bharati. The Bharata Shakti Nilayam, Pondicherry. Pages 202. Price Rs. 2 only.*

How far the *Yoga* of Sri Aurobindo differs from the *Yoga* as understood by ancient thinkers of India and how far this book is an exposition of Sri Aurobindo's *Yoga* only, is probably a question of opinion. The general reader will find that the book practically traverses the entire field of Yoga, —*Hatha*, *Raja*, *Jnana*, etc., and is not confined to the exposition of any special kind of it.

The style is loaded with metaphors and allegories and interjections and exclamations. This makes the book rather difficult reading. To take one sentence at random: we read on page 39,—

"The Super-Nation-Builders, the seers of ancient India, whose utterances were not a mere idea-spinning but all sound-forms of the realities of Self-vision, &c. &c." Language like this leaves one wondering whether this is 'idea spinning' or 'sound-form'!

We have of late been reading a number of books like this and cannot help reflecting on their utility. Like orchids which strike no roots in the soil, a *Yogin* thinks of spiritual enlightenment only when his physical life is the care of others. If the best among us thought only of supra-mundane realities, leaving the world to rascals and swindlers, the fate of humanity would indeed be unenviable. Yet, this is the most tragic circumstance in Indian life that even an I. C. S. politician would end by becoming a *Yogin* who spurns the world in which most of us are condemned to live, and dilates upon hundred other regions of the souls' existence but this. However beneficial spirituality of this kind may be to individuals, it is a question if humanity at large is benefitted by it. The ideal of useful citizenship and the creed that highest morality consisted in service to others, seem to be at a discount now. Many are anxious to save their individual souls leaving the world to darkness and to damnation. Those who have not been placed on the path to supermanhood look agape and ask: What matters it to us if there be a superman among us at our cost? One rich man among a poverty-stricken population is a striking contrast but is no benefit to any. In a society of dark politics and savage morals, the maintenance of one or two supermen is at best a costly luxury!

ADARSHA SADHU—AN IDEAL MONK: *By A. J. Sunavala, B.A., LL.B. University Press, Cambridge. Pages 185. Price Five Shillings net.*

It is the life-history of a Jaina Sadhu or Monk. It has been introduced to the general public with a Prefactory note by F. W. Thomas and a foreword by Sylvain Levi. Persons interested in Jainism will find it pleasant reading and for the general reader it contains much useful information.

U. C. Bhattacharjee

A GEOGRAPHICAL ANALYSIS OF THE KHAIRPUR STATE: *By M. B. Pithawalla, B.A., B.Sc., L.C.P. (Lond.), F.G.S. 1935.*

This brochure gives us a fairly good account of the physiography and human geography of Khairpur State. The maps are not of a sufficiently good quality.

BOMBAY, THE GATEWAY OF INDIA : *Compiled by The Passengers and Traffic Relief Association. Albert Building, Hornby Road, Bombay. Price annas four. Pages 152, 17 plates.*

A remarkably cheap and useful publication. We hope it will prove popular with all tourists to Bombay.

NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE

BENGALI

RAJA RAMMOHAN : *By Ajit Kumar Chakravarti. Published by Abhijit Kumar Chakravorti, 2, College Square, Calcutta. Pages 72. Price annas ten only.*

This is a small collection of essays on the Raja. These were intended as chapters in a projected Life of the Raja, which the author could not complete. The Raja's appearance on the stage of history and his activities are here interpreted as part of a world-movement for spiritual and political freedom, of which the French Revolution was a great manifestation. This new angle of vision adds value to the author's endeavour which, though unfortunately left unfinished, deserves praise.

U. C. BHATTACHARJEE

HINDI

KANGRESS KE ITIHAS MEN KASHI KA STHAN : *By Kamalapati Tripathi. Published by the Town Congress Committee, Benares. Pages 62.*

This booklet on the work of the Indian National Congress in Benares was compiled on occasion of the golden jubilee of the Congress.

BHUMI : *By Chandhari Mukhtyar Sing Vakil. Published by the author from Meerut. Pages 191. Price Re. 1-8.*

The author, who is the Manager of the Sugar Works at Daurala, has complied this general handbook on agriculture as the first book of a series on the same science. He has touched all the various sides of the subject, including agricultural chemistry. There are some illustrations. The profit will be utiized for rural uplift.

JUJUTSU : *By Professor Narayan Rao. Pages 53. Price annas eight.*

This is a well-illustrated booklet on the well-known Japanese art of self-defence. The author uses Hindi names for the feats. It will be found useful and should be in the libraries of schools.

RAMES BASU

GUJARATI

TAWARIKH NI TEJ CHHAYA : *By Gunavantray Acharya, published by the Saurashtra Karyalay, Ranpur Kathiawad. Paper cover. Pp. 111. Price Re. 0-8-0 (1935)*

The Lights and Shades of History Part I, consists o a well executed translation of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's letters on the history of the world written from jail to his daughter Indira. The translation maintains very admirably the spirit of the original.

1. ADHYATMATATTWALOK : *By Maharaj Shri Nyaya Vijeyji.*
2. STRI JIVAN NI VIKAS DASHA : *By the same author.*
3. JAIN DARSHANA : *By the same author.*
4. JAINATWA : *By Ramnik V. Shah.*

The above four books are connected with Jain Philosophy and Social Life : The first is not a recent production. The second gives advice to women how to live a clean life. The third and fourth descant on Jain philosophy and elements of Jain religion. There is nothing special or new about them.

APANG NI PRATIBHA : *By Muganbhai Parbhubhai Desai. Published by the Navjivan Prakshan Mandir, Ahmedabad. Paper Cover. Pages 204. Price annas twelve (1936).*

The Story of My Life by the blind American lady Helen Keller is an entrancing book showing how she successfully battled against her physical disability—blindness—and was able to live a life better and more enjoyable than that of those who can see. There are two Forewords, one by Pandit Sukhlal, himself suffering from defective eyesight and still a distinguished scholar, and Kaka Kalelkar, who has as usual poetised the subject. The translation is so well rendered that it reads like an original book *The Story of My Life* is continued by Helen Keller as *The Midstream*. We are sure that it would be translated at no distant date.

SHRIMAD BHAGVAD GITA : *By Rajvaidya Jivram Kalidas Shastri of Gondal. Printed at the Rasa Shala Electric Printing Press, Gondal. Cloth Bound. Pages 145+190. Price Rs. 4 (1936).*

Vaidyaraj Jivram is a well-known medical man and is conducting a drug factory and a hospital at Gondal. He is at the same time a Sanskrit scholar. In his collection of five thousand Sanskrit manuscripts he has got sixteen different versions of the Gita handwritten at different times. One of them is a Manuscript written in Vikram Samvat 1235 : it is a novel work. It contains 21 more slokas than the text of the ordinary work, and variants at 250 places. Those variants in Shastri's opinion are more apposite than the ordinarily received text, as they make the relative situations clear and lucid. The order of the slokas is different also. Though in the present publication it is made to conform to the usual sequence. A very good translation into Gujarati appears along with the Sanskrit text and a *tippani* (commentary) called *Siddhi Datri* also rendered into Gujarati. One finds that it is a labour of love of Gita on the part of the writer, and betrays his deep study of the subject.

K. M. J.

TROUBLE ON THE NORTH-WEST FRONTIER AND AFTER

By JOGESH C. BAGAL

The Policy of "Peaceful Penetration"

Disquieting news of trouble on the North-West Frontier are pouring in daily. The people are looking askance and pondering when it would come to an end. Meanwhile, the Government have amassed thirty thousand troops and two squadrons of the Royal Air Force in the Waziristan area and a sparrow whispers that they are contemplating air action. *The Statesman* of Calcutta has been advocating air action for the last few weeks. Trouble on the Frontier seems to be never-ending, and it is but time that the public should be acquainted with the causes that serve to perpetuate it.

Sir Aubrey Metcalfe, army secretary to the Government of India, gave two statements to the Legislative Assembly at Delhi on March 7 and 8 last in which he dealt with the policy of the Government with regard to the tribes on the frontier. He presented the members with three alternatives, *viz.*, (1) the policy of leaving the tribes alone, (2) the policy of advancing to the Durand Line and disarming the tribes, and (3) the policy of peaceful economic penetration. The Government's policy is the third alternative and they have been following it for the last few years. What is this 'peaceful penetration' policy? I can do no better than quote such an authority on Indian military questions as Lieut.-General Sir George MacMunn, K.C.B., K.C.S.I. He writes in *The Sphere* of February 6, 1937 :

> "In the early nineties the two countries (*viz.*, India and Afghanistan) settled between them the Durand Line or frontier. Within that line, across the Indus, it was for the British Government to settle the matter their own way. But annexation and administration meant fierce wars, assassinations, rebellions, all in a country that could pay no revenue and all at the expense of the Indian tax-prayer. It could not be done. The tribes were thus left alone, but grew stronger and more reckless in their raiding, and at long last in 1921 the British decided that a big cantonment in the heart of Waziristan and more and more roads for lorries, tanks, trade or troops, with such amenities as travelling dispensaries, would slowly bring about some measure of civilization."

This policy, according to Sir Metcalfe, has been strictly pursued for the last thirteen years. Roads have been built, 'bus service has been introduced, schools have been started and thus money and culture have been brought to the doors of the tribesmen. This rosy picture of Sir Metcalfe does not tally with the actual facts, and those who had the temerity of questioning his statements were bluntly told that the Government would persist in this policy until it was proved finally that it was altogether unavailing.

The Genesis of the Trouble

The Government policy, that of 'peaceful penetration,' has rendered the tribes people more bold and fanatical than before. These latter have come face to face with modern civilization. With the communications being easy they have imported modern arms and weapons as fast as they can. The tribesmen are said to be proverbially religious fanatics. Whatever movements go on in the plains find their echo in the hills. And as the communication has been easier, interested propagandists can easily make their way to their haven and inflame them. Sir Aubrey Metcalfe narrated on the floor of the Assembly three demands * made by the Waziris under the guidance of the Faqir of Ipi. These are formulated on purely communal basis, and their precise nature presupposes the fact that they have been done by some interested parties working among them from the plains. They perhaps think that all the pressure in the plains being unavailing, the frontier people would succeed in extracting satisfaction of the demands from the Government. And the import of these people into the territory has been as easy and as profuse as the import of arms. So, even *The Statesman* of April 19 last was forced to admit that the reasons for the present trouble were "more political than economic or religious." The tribesmen are proverbially poor. They understand one thing, *i.e.*, loot, and are after it in season and out of season. How can they be so easily incited when they find that they have no prospect of getting money out of the fulfilment of the demands? Here comes in another contributory cause. Why are these tribes at daggers drawn with the Hindus and Sikhs? We

* (1) Restoration of the girl they had kidnapped last year, (2) restoration of the Shahidganj Mosque, and (3) a promise on the part of the Government not to interfere with religion.

have already found in the extract, quoted above, that establishing cantonments and stationing troops in the heart of Waziristan is part of the present "penetration" policy. As a result of this the tribes find their long-cherished independence at stake. The report goes there that the tribes occasionally suffer indignities at the hands of the troops. And these are mostly non-Muslims, Hindus and Sikhs, the policy of the Government being to station them, and not the Muslims, in that area. This naturally has ignited their ire and they are prone to wreak vengeance at the earliest opportunity and on the flimsiest plea. And the recent happenings have supplied both. Though there are only nine per cent Hindus and Sikhs at present in the Frontier, their number must have been augmented of late with the progress of the British policy. They are mostly traders and money-lenders and have settled there as such. But the inherent defects of the policy have exposed these peace-loving people to extreme suffering.

The Hindus' Plight

Responsible Indian news agencies, such as, the A. P. and the U. P., are not perhaps allowed entrance to the places of occurrence. They report either from New Delhi, or Simla or at farthest from Rawalpindi. Only one item of news was telegraphed from Bannu, the westernmost town of the British administered frontier, on April 15 last. This says :

> "In view of the disturbed condition and a possibility of attacks by the raiders, the city defence committee of the Hindu-Sikh Sabha has passed a resolution urging the Government to grant arms licences liberally to Hindus and Sikhs and to distribute arms unstintingly for self defence."

This news is not only expressive but alarming too. The poor neighbouring tribesmen are well equipped with arms and weapons *en masse*, and no restriction has ever been put on their having them, whereas the rich and well-to-do Hindu and Sikh residents and traders are unarmed and defenceless. No stretch of imagination is required to gauge the plight of the Hindus and the Sikhs. Everybody knows the result. Had the Hindus and the Sikhs been powerful enough to resist the armed people, none of them, not to speak of the fair sex only, could have been kidnapped. The British army of thirty thousand strong has not been able to recover the men kidnapped only a few days ago. Their houses are being raided and burnt and their cattle forcibly taken away. Though there was a news that a Muslim had also fallen a victim, the vast majority of the sufferers are reported to be the unarmed Hindus and the Sikhs. *The Statesman* of April 23, an erstwhile champion of the Muslims, wrote :

> "A surprising feature of the recent kidnapping of Hindus near tribal territory is the absence of any comment in the nationalist press."

But all this is due to the Government's pursuing "a hide and seek" policy on the Frontier. The idea of peaceful penetration has attracted the Hindu traders from outside, but the tribesmen have been left to be as fierce as before, with the result that they are becoming civilized looters. The Hindus should be armed, at least temporarily, to resist their onslaught. But that alone will not suggest the way out.

The Way Out

The Government policy of peaceful penetration into the tribal area of the North-West Frontier had been subjected to severe criticism from the Opposition on the floor of the Assembly last month. But after that they seem to have gone to sleep over the question. The Government policy has also been criticized by the London *Times* in a leading article. Under the *nom-de-plume* of "Experientia Docet," an important authority on Frontier matters, in a letter to *The Times* (over which it wrote the leading article) declares :

> "Our political administration in Waziristan is a failure. Road-building contracts and allowances are not going to control hot-heads, and so long as the universal carrying of arms is recognized as a right in the Administered Areas, so long must bloodshed be the inevitable result.
>
> "Maliks and headmen receiving Government allowances for keeping young men in order and afraid to expose their own weakness, hide the real state of things and ask the Government to send 'a Peace Column of Troops.' Hence, unseasoned troops set out on a flag march at 8 O'clock in the morning and are fighting for their lives two hours later.
>
> "The disarming of villagers is being gradually carried out in Afghanistan. Was it more difficult for us and would it not be cheaper in men and money ?"

Everybody believes, as also the experts admit, that the present frontier policy of the Government has been a failure, and if further persisted in, might be fraught with untoward consequences. The tribesmen, specially the younger section, have twisted everything to their own advantage, and now appear more powerful than before. They have grown more fanatical too. But the most needed thing has not been allowed to find a ready soil. No effort has been made to replace the tribal feeling by Indian

nationalism, which is the only soldering element to bring these tribes under effective control. The separatist tendency of the Indian Muslims has not a little been responsible for the prevention of its growth. But the Government, if faithful to their policy, ought to have provided opportunity for this purpose. Contrary to this, they have banished the enlightened Pathans from their country and placed every possible obstacle against those who could mix closely with the tribes and preach to them the blessings of Indian nationalism instead of harping on tribal independence. The fanatics of the plains however were not debarred from going there and inflaming their wrath to fight against the Hindus and Sikhs and the Government. None of the authorities have ever approached them as their equals and with sympathy and love. The late Major B. D. Basu, the eminent historian and author of *Rise of the Christian Power in India, India under the British Crown*, etc., used to say that, while employed as a major in the military service, he often went straight into the Pathan villages alone and unarmed, talked with them in their own language Pustu and earned their love and sympathy. The Pathan tribes are a brave people. They have all along resisted those who have sought to bring them under control. But they are not devoid of the "milk of human kindness." If they are treated properly, they can turn our best ally. The present policy of the Government has been a failure when judged from this angle.

One thing more. "Experientia Docet" has suggested disarming of the people as is being done on the Afghan side. Whether disarming the tribes is at all beneficial so far as Indian defence is concerned is a moot point. But that it is not feasible at present is obvious. The much-talked of Durand Line, so called after Sir Mortimer Durand, has divided the Waziris, Afridis, Mohmands and other frontier tribes into two parts, the major portion on the Indian side and the minor on the Afghan. When you try to punish the people, they very easily find shelter among their kith and kin in Afghanistan. Arms and weapons will also not fail to come that way. Hence either for disarming or for bringing the tribes under control, Government must revise the frontier boundary at once. Dr. Nanda Lal Chatterjee has written thus in *The Hindustan Review* (April, 1937):

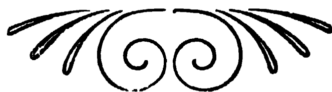
> "The problem of defence and administration on the North-West Frontier cannot be simplified unless the imperfections of the Durand Line are fully realized, and remedied in consultation with the Afghan Government. How far the actual political circumstances will permit a revision of the Durand agreement is difficult to say, but the fact remains that the Durand Line is one of the unsoundest frontiers that India could be saddled with."

Indian public men and publicists should now join hands to demand an early ending of the trouble on the frontier, which has become almost chronic all these years and which is costing the life and property of the people. The defects of the present policy should be exposed in plain language. The Hindus and the Sikhs have got special reason to do so, as their brethren on the Frontier are the worst sufferers in the game, and that under British protection! The Government, instead of laying down and carrying out a policy from the Olympian heights, should come down to the plains, consult the leaders about it and save the people from the heavy burden they are bearing for this fruitless affair.

Addendum

A Press *Communiqué* states from Simla that since April 22 last, Sir John Coleridge, General Officer Commanding-in-Chief, Northern Command, has assumed political control of Waziristan and of the tribal areas on the Waziristan border which were hitherto under the control of the Deputy Commissioner of Bannu and Dera Ismail Khan. A commentary on this *Communiqué* has also been issued to the effect that this does not mean that martial law has been declared in the area. All the same, the military now is the supreme Arbiter of the tribesmen, and what will happen in consequence it is not very difficult to imagine.

April 24, 1937.



THE DISCRETIONARY POWERS OF THE GOVERNOR IN THE NEW CONSTITUTION

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A DISTINCTIVE feature of the new Constitution is the right of the Governor to exercise a number of important powers and functions *in his sole discretion.* This special right is not to be confused with the equally extraordinary authority of the Governor to act *in his individual judgment,* because in the latter case he may ask for the advice of his Council of Ministers, but is in no way bound by it, whereas in matters wherein the Governor is authorized by the Act to exercise his discretion, he need not consult his Ministers at all. These special discretionary powers of the Governor have acquired an embittered prominence of late owing to the refusal of the Congress to accept office without their virtual suspension.

That these powers are enormous is vaguely asserted, but the exact extent thereof is not generally known to the public. The Act nowhere specifies such powers collectively. These are scattered under different sections; hence, unless all the sections were analysed and studied in detail, it would be difficult to form an idea of their cumulative effect. It is necessary to add at the outset that there are apparently two classes of discretionary powers under the Act. In one class can be assigned those powers and functions which the Governor is to exercise absolutely in his own discretion. Practically all the discretionary powers specified in the Act belong to this class. In the exercise of these, the Governor need not ask for his Ministers' advice, and he may act on his own initiative. There is another class of powers the number of which is very negligible, in the exercise of which the Governor will act in his discretion after consultation with his Ministers, or the President of the Legislature.

The question arises as to why such discretionary powers have been granted at all. ' It has nowhere been definitely answered, but it is not difficult to guess the reasons from a study of the official speeches and reports. The explanation offered by the Indian Nationalists is that it is a clear distrust of the democratic movement in India, which is responsible for the executive safeguards in the Constitution. This is, of course, a matter of opinion, and obviously does not explain the official view-point fully. The official justification may be thus analysed.

Firstly, it is assumed that the Scheme of Provincial Autonomy envisaged in the Act of 1935 is immediately no more than an experiment, hence the Governor has been invested with powers to enable him to carry on the King's Government effectively in a period of necessary transition.

Secondly, in the absence of Dyarchy and the corresponding reservation of subjects, it has been thought advisable to entrust sufficient discretionary authority to the Governor as a safeguard against the possible breakdown of the administrative machinery.

Thirdly, the existence of communal and racial jealousies and antagonisms has been regarded as another justification for the grant of discretionary powers to the Governor for enabling him to safeguard the legitimate interests of the various communities entrusted to his care.

Fourthly, the substantial relaxation of control from the Government of India and the Secretary of State is another consideration which accounts for the inclusion of special discretionary powers of the Governor who may require them as the representative of the King and of the Parliament.

Lastly, it has been considered necessary to confer the necessary discretionary powers in view of the fact that the Governor is charged with certain Special Responsibilities specified in the Act.*

Let us now proceed to analyse in detail the variuos matters which under the Act have been left to the absolute discretion of the Governor.

1. COUNCIL OF MINISTERS

The formation of the Ministry is one of the most important matters within the discretion of the Governor. Under Section 51, the

* This analysis of "the official justification" goes to support Indian nationalist opinion.—*Ed., M. R.*

latter in his discretion is to choose, summon, and dismiss the Ministers, and is also to determine their salary until the same is decided by the Provincial Legislature. Under Section 50, the Governor may preside at meetings of the Council of Ministers. Section 59 confers on the Governor the power to make in his discretion after consultation with the Ministers rules, firstly, for authentication of the Orders and other Instruments made and executed in his name, secondly, for the more convenient transaction of the business of the Government, thirdly, for the allocation of work among the Ministers, fourthly for including in these rules provisions requiring Ministers and Secretaries to transmit to him all such information with respect to the business of the Provincial Government as may be specified in the rules, or as he may otherwise require to be so transmitted, and in particular requiring a Minister to bring to his notice any matter under consideration by him which involves, or appears likely to involve any of his Special Responsibilities.

2. Legislature

The Governor is authorised to exercise his discretion in various matters relating to the Legislature. Under Section 62, he may summon the Legislature at such time and place as he thinks fit, prorogue the Chamber or Chambers, or dissolve the Legislative Assembly. Under Section 63, he may address the Assembly, or either Chamber of a bicameral Legislature, and require the attendance of members, and also may send messages with respect to a bill under consideration, or for any other purpose. Under Section 69, he may remove the disqualification for a person to be a member of the Legislature, resulting from failure to lodge the return of election expenses within the specified time. Under Section 74, he may summon the Chambers to meet in a joint sitting for consideration of a bill which appears to him to relate to Finance, or affects the discharge of any of his Special Responsibilities notwithstanding that the specified period of twelve months may not have elapsed. Under Section 75, he may assent to any bill, withhold assent therefrom, reserve it for the consideration of the Governor-General, or return it for reconsideration and recommend any amendments in his message. Under Section 84, the Governor, after consultation with the Speaker or the President, as the case may be, shall in his discretion make rules, firstly, for the discharge of the functions to be exercised in his discretion, or in his individual judgment, secondly, for the timely completion of financial business, thirdly, for the discussion of, or the asking of questions on, any matter concerning an Indian State, fourthly, for the discussion of, or the asking of questions on matters connected with any Foreign State, tribal, and excluded areas, and the personal conduct of an Indian Ruler or his family, and lastly, for regulating the procedure at joint meetings in relation to the preceding purposes. Under Section 86, he may stop any bill, clause, or amendment, if its discussion is likely to affect the peace and tranquillity of the Province, or any part thereof. Under Section 108, unless the Governor in his discretion gives previous sanction, no bill or amendment can be introduced, or moved which affects any of his Acts, or Ordinances promulgated in his discretion, or any Act relating to any Police Force.

3. Finance & Revenue

Under Section 78, the Governor shall decide in his discretion whether any proposed expenditure falls within a class of expenditure charged on the revenues of the Province, which is not subject to the vote of the Legislature. Under Section 226, without his previous sanction granted in his discretion, no bill or amendment can be introduced granting a High Court Original Jurisdiction regarding the collection of revenue according to the usage and practice of the country.

4. Extraordinary Legislation

Under Section 89, the Governor is authorised to promulgate Ordinances at any time to discharge the functions entrusted to his sole discretion, or regarding which he has to exercise his individual judgment. Such Ordinances can evidently be issued whether or not the Legislature is in session. Again, under Section 90, he can, if necessary for exercising the aforesaid functions, enact Acts of his own in consultation with the Governor-General.

5. Services

Under Section 242, the Governor may direct that no person not already attached to the High Court shall be appointed to any office connected with the Court, except after consultation with the Provincial Public Service Commission. Under Section 265, he may appoint the Chairman and other members of the Provincial Public Service Commission, and regulate the number of the members, their tenure of office, their conditions of service, and their staff. Under Sec-

tion 266, he may by special regulations make certain appointments without consulting the Public Service Commission. Under Section 267, no bill or amendment for the purpose of providing additional functions to be exercised by the Public Service Commission shall be introduced or moved without his previous sanction granted in his discretion. Under Section 270, no proceedings civil or criminal shall be instituted against anyone in respect of anything done as a servant of the Crown except with his consent to be given in his discretion. Under Section 271, no bill or amendment to abolish or restrict the protection accorded to certain servants of the Crown under the Codes of Civil and Criminal Procedure shall be introduced or moved without the previous sanction of the Governor in his discretion. Under Section 305, he can appoint his own secretarial staff, and determine the salaries and allowances, the office accommodation and other facilities to be provided for them, and the whole expenditure shall be charged on the revenues of the Province.

6. Defence and Terrorism

The Governor-General may direct a Governor to discharge as his agent such functions in relation to defence, external affairs, or ecclesiastical affairs as may be specified in the direction. Under Section 123, the latter shall act in his discretion in the discharge of such functions. Under Section 57, when required to combat terrorism he may direct that some of the functions specified in the direction shall be exercised by him in his discretion; and while any such direction is in force, he may authorise any official to speak in and otherwise take part in the proceedings of the Legislature. Under Section 58, he may by special rules prevent the sources of information relating to terrorism from being disclosed except in accordance with his directions.

7. Discrimination

Under Section 119, no bill or amendment which by prescribing professional and technical qualifications imposes any disability, restriction, or condition in regard to the practising of any profession or carrying on any occupation, trade, or business, or the holding of any office in British India, shall be introduced or moved without the Governor's sanction in his discretion. Under Section 111, he may by public notification certify that the provision prohibiting discrimination against British subjects domiciled in the United Kingdom should be wholly or partially suspended for the prevention of any grave menace to peace and tranquillity.

8. Excluded Area

Under Section 92, the Governor may issue Regulations for the peace and good government of any area in a Province, which for the time being is an excluded area, or a partially excluded area. Such Regulations to have effect must be assented to by the Governor-General in his discretion.

9. Constitution

If any dispute arises whether any matter is, or is not, one in which the Governor is required to act in his discretion or to exercise his individual judgment, his decision, under Section 50, shall be final. Under Section 93, he may in his discretion, subject only to the concurrence of the Governor-General and the Secretary of State, suspend the Constitution except the portion relating to the High Court. Under Section 308, the Governor shall forward in his discretion to the Secretary of State a resolution or address passed in the Legislature recommending any amendment of the Act, or of an Order in Council with his opinion thereon and that of the minority affected thereby.

The cumulative effect of the discretionary powers will thus be very great, and may finally determine the evolution of constitutionalism in India. In the first place, the Ministers will have no influence on a considerable part of the executive actions of the Governor. In the second place, some part of his legislative work also will be beyond control of the Ministers or the Legislature. In the third place, the Ministers may be dominated by the Governor in every vital matter concerning the maintenance of law and order. In the fourth place, the Governor will far from being a constitutional head of the Government tend to become the real controller of the executive machinery. Lastly, the growth of the convention of parliamentary supremacy over the executive may be retarded. The success of Provincial Autonomy will depend largely on the tact and sympathy of the Governors, and will be determined by the manner and extent of their exercise of the discretionary powers.

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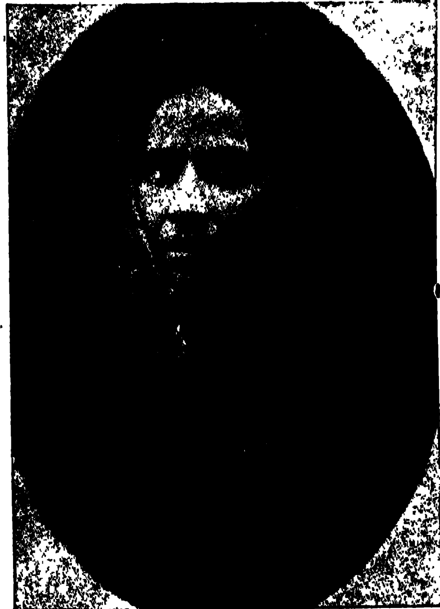


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Member, Madras Legislative Assembly

Designs for official Coronation medals at the Mint

A LAYMAN'S APPRECIATION OF SHAKESPEARE

By C. L. R. SASTRI

'Not marble nor the gilded monuments
Of princes shall outlive this powerful rhyme.'

I

I AM perfectly aware that it is the 'very sea-mark of the utmost sail' of impertinence to attempt to write on Shakespeare at this time of day. One is stricken dumb at the sight of the huge mass of Shakespearean criticism; and still it goes on and on without any hope of respite. No wonder that, before it, 'gorgons and hydras and chimeras dire' lose somewhat of their quality of frightfulness. Even to peruse a list of the volumes that deal, directly or indirectly, with that master-mind is enough to drive one mad. What a progeny he has indeed! He himself was careless of fame to a degree; and after finishing his plays was sublimely indifferent as to what happened to them afterwards. He had a job to do, and he did it. It was no business of his to rack his brains over the probable nature of their appeal to posterity. That consideration, apparently, did not weigh with him in the least. His concern, rather, was wholly with the present: that is to say, with *his* 'bank and shoal of time.' No author, we are compelled to ruminate, could have been so little vain. Those who ply the pen are not, usually, given to such a philosophic disdain in regard to their productions: they do bestow an amount of thought upon their likely reception by the public—both the immediate public and the remote—that, at whiles, appears as the apex, apogee and apotheosis of absurdity. One is led to exclaim: 'Have they no sense of proportion?' Their incessant care is about their own work: the likelihood or otherwise of its popularity, of its permanence. Perhaps their dreams also are mainly of these. Nor is this, let me suggest, very unreasonable. Your literary man is a sort of creator: yes, even if he is only a critic and an essayist and a writer on miscellaneous subjects. His every sentence, if he is a scrupulous artist, is 'one entire and perfect chrysolite. It admits of no interference at the hands of anybody. It was not jerked off lazily, and deserves to be respected on that account alone. It requires some more than common talent to cultivate your own manner of writing out of the rubbish heap of words that is lying about for everybody's use. This is the first step in the process. The second is to make that chosen instrument of yours so distinguished and so much a part of yourself that discerning readers can at once find it out to be yours wherever it is seen. Your professional author is, therefore, naturally a trifle self-conscious with reference to his work; and his eyes see far into the future. But Shakspeare did not suffer from this last infirmity of noble minds. Beyond a shrewd guess that he was such a lord of utterance as 'never was on sea or land,' that not marble nor the gilded monuments of princes would outlive his powerful rhyme, he did not ponder painfully over questions relating to his probable place among the world's singers. That itself is, I submit, highly suggestive. Your true Olympians have a non-chalance about themselves that puts to shame the idle pomposities of the lesser rabble of mortals.

II

I have remarked that the number of commentaries on Shakespeare that have achieved print is well-nigh legion. He has been surveyed from every possible point of view: except, may be, from the point of view of having been a woman, as Samuel ('Erewhon') Butler profoundly prognosticated about Homer. There are those who would like to foist his work on Bacon. There are those that argue that he was a crusted conservative—the late Mr. Charles Whibley, a gifted writer, was chief of these—and those that are equally vehement that he was a fiery radical. There are those that hold him as a thing 'ensky'd and sainted,' as Lucio says of Isabella in *Measure for Measure* (there are many passages in his plays that are peerless for moral excellence and for philosophic penetration); and there are those again—and the late Mr. Lytton Strachey was the leader of these—that taunt him for words and phrases, for 'the ithyphallic fun,' as Mr. Logan Pearsall Smith calls it, that would meet with short shrift at the hands of the censor even in our notoriously slack times. There are those that regard him as having been a model of sanity and those

that will have nothing to do with this theory. Now, is there much sanity in these words that he puts into the mouth of Othello, when he raves that he will never flinch from his determination to punish Desdemona :

'Never Iago. Like to the Pontic sea,
Whose icy current and compulsive course
Ne'er feels retiring ebb, but keeps due on
To the Propontic and the Hellespont :
Even so my bloody thoughts, with violent pace,
Shall ne'er look back, ne'er ebb to humble love
Till that a capable and wide revenge
Swallow them up.—Now, by yond marble heaven,
In the due reverence of a sacred vow
I here engage my words.'

As for his capacity of wringing tears from our eyes,—why, he has no equal. *King Richard II* is compact of pathos. One cannot read it without a lump in the throat. King Richard's :

'. . . of comfort, no man speak :
Let's talk of graves, of worms, and epitaphs:
Make dust our paper, and with rainy eyes
Write sorrow on the bosom of the earth . . .
For God's sake let us sit upon the ground.
And tell sad stories of the death of kings;'

his parting words to the Queen his wife :

'Join not with grief; fair woman, do not so,
To make my end too sudden : learn, good soul.
To think our former state a happy dream :
From which awak'd, the truth of what we are
Shows us but this : I am sworn brother, sweet,
To grim Necessity; and he and I
Will keep a league till death;'

and the most shattering lines of them all :

'Part us, Northumberland; I towards the north,
Where shivering cold and sickness pines the clime;
My wife to France, from whence, set forth in pomp,
She came adorned hither like sweet May,
Sent back like Hallowmas or short'st of day;'

are these not unequalled sobstuff? And the scene between Arthur and Hubert in *King John*? Is it not a pendant to these? And Constance's outbursts of grief?

III

There is, unfortunately, a strain of jingoism in our bard which cannot be but matter for our sorrow. His partiality for that ne'er-do-well, King Henry V, is too palpable; and old John of Gaunt's rhapsody about England, 'this royal throne of kings, this sceptred isle,' etc., in *King Richard II*, which every school-boy knows, and the equally chauvinistic vaunt of the Bastrad Falconbridge, in *King John* :

'. . . nought shall make us rue,
If England to itself do rest but true,'

are sickening in the extreme. As for his wit and humour, the two parts of *King Henry IV* are replete with them. Take Falstaff away and how poor does Shakespeare become! And then look at those tragedies. Any *one* of them would have assured immortality of fame to an author. And how to choose among them? *Hamlet*, of course, is the prime favourite. But is *King Lear* below it in grandeur? And is *Macbeth*? And is *Othello*? And is *Antony and Cleopatra*? To me each one of them is more or less equally good. One quality is pre-eminent in one, and another in another. For sheer intellectuality, *Hamlet* does bear away the bell : for pathos, *King Lear* : for a sort of macabre splendour, *Macbeth* : for that green-eyed monster, jealousy, *Othello* : and for verbal fireworks' *Antony and Cleopatra*. I have quoted from *King Richard II*. What about these lines from *King Lear* in the matter of the utter breaking down of one's feelings? Lear is saying to Cordelia :

'No, no, no, no! Come, let's away to prison :
We two alone will sing like birds in the cage :
When thou dost ask me blessing I'll kneel down
And ask of thee forgiveness : so we'll live,
And pray, and sing, and tell old tales and laugh
At gilded butterflies, and hear poor rogues
Talk of court news; . . .'

There is a kind of cut-and-come-again glory about these tragedies that is a perpetual wonder. Read them for the hundredth time and not a jot or a tittle of their beauty is abated. And let us give up comparisons. I like even the three parts of *King Henry VI* : I have read *Titus Andronicus* and am not visibly the worse for the experience. There is not much of Shakespeare there, it is true, but what of that? If he has merely looked over a sheet of blackened paper,—blackened, that is, with writing,—then that moment it takes on a prettiness of its own. He is free, indeed—though others abide our question; and he is really not of an age, but for all time. Speaking for myself, I have long since ceased to regard him as a mortal, flesh of our flesh and bone of our bone. Rather should he be described as a demi-god, one who lives in the suburbs of Paradise and was born into this world just to instruct us in the art of adding word to word in such a way as to bring forth, finally, an inimitable verbal orchestration. Anyhow, it is certain that there was a divinity that shaped his language—rough-hew it how he would, on occasion. It may be remarked about his utterance that it

'. . . robs the Hybla bees,
And leaves them honeyless,'

as he himself caused it to be said of Antony's. His command of words was, to put it at the

lowest, not of this earth. It came 'from afar'; and was 'aparell'd in celestial light.' Who can sing his glory,—that glory which he defines in the *First Part of King Henry VI*, as being like

'. . . a circle in the water,
Which never ceaseth to enlarge itself
Till by broad spreading it disperses to nought?'

IV

His pen can range the whole gamut of human experience with a sureness of touch that would be incredible if we had not the proof of it by our side. Wherefrom he acquired that knowledge, and wherefrom he picked up that vocabulary, it is not for the likes of me to suggest; and perhaps even acknowledged scholars may be hard put to it to explain adequately, either to themselves or to others. He was a man-about-town and could be, in his own fashion, very busy. He had his theatre to attend to and his plays to be written; and, besides, there were the hours to be spent in carousing in the Mermaid Tavern and in breaking a dialectical lance with glorious 'Ben.' What says Fuller?

'Many were the wit combats between Shakespeare and Ben Jonson which two I beheld like a Spanish great galleon and an English man-of-war. Master Jonson, like the former, was built far higher in learning, solid but slow in his performance. Shakespeare, like the English man-of-war, lesser in bulk, but higher in sailing, could turn with all tides, tack about, and take advantage of all winds, by the quickness of his wit and invention.'

It is true that he was not under any tyrannical necessity of inventing plots, because he was not too nice in the matter of filching them from the older authors—especially from Plutarch. Plutarch's *Lives* was a veritable mine of information for him. He was content—nay, supremely content—to reap where he did not sow, and to let that ancient Greek do the journeyman's work for him. Probably, Enobarbus's famous description of Cleopatra's barge (wherein she first met Mark Antony on the river Cydnus) is nothing but pure Plutarch in metrical form. Where detail was concerned Shakespeare was—let the horrible truth be confessed—often enough, a most 'omnipotent' pirate, even as Poins was an 'omnipotent' villain, according to the worthy testimony of Falstaff: though, to be sure, it is not to be denied that when he was in the mood he could riot in detail as well as the next man. Here is Mistress Quickly, for instance, facing up to Falstaff anent his proposal of marriage to her:

'Thou didst swear to me upon a parcel-gilt goblet, sitting in my Dolphin-chamber, at the round table, by a sea-coal fire, upon Wednesday in whitsun-week, when the prince broke thy head for liking his father to a singing-man of Windsor; thou didst swear to me then, as I was washing thy wound, to marry me, and make me my lady thy wife. Canst thou deny it? Did not goodwife Keech, the butcher's wife come in then and call me gossip Quickly? Coming in to borrow a mess of vinegar; telling us she had a good dish of prawns; whereby thou didst desire to eat some; whereby I told thee they were ill for a green wound? And didst thou not, when she was gone down stairs, desire me to be no more so familiar with such poor people; saying that ere long they should call me madam? And didst thou not kiss me, and bid me fetch thee thirty shillings? I put thee now to thy book-oath: deny it, if thou canst.' (*The Second Part of King Henry IV*).

V

This is, certainly, circumstantial evidence gone crazy. Our bard, then, could be inventive when he was so minded. But, for the most part, he did not, so far as the piling on of such items is concerned, scruple to borrow right and left: he must have been indolent to a degree. The fact to be borne in mind, however, is that he never let the process stop there: he could always be relied upon to transform that base metal into gold of the finest. His real *forte* lay in converting the raw material to hand into the immortal stuff of poetry. Shakespeare, in short, was a magician with words: with his Prospero's wand he could summon them, as it were, out of the vasty deep. He had 'the poet's eye, in a fine frenzy rolling'; and thus could give:

'. . . to airy nothing
A local habitation and a name.
Such tricks hath strong imagination,
That, if it would but apprehend some joy,
It comprehends some bringer of that joy;
Or in the night, imagining some fear,
How easy is a bush suppos'd a bear!'
(*A Midsummer-Night's Dream*).

That he had a strong imagination is easily proved. Imagination is of two kinds. That which we commonly meet with is the imagination of, if I may call it so, incidents; and for the highest of that kind we have to go to the detective novelists and fiction-writers generally. The other kind is the imagination of, again if I may call it so, ideas. In this latter kind Shakespeare was supreme. In his teeming brain one idea begat another, and that one another still, and so on till we have a mosaic of ideas that had for its starting point that first idea,—or, contrarywise, we have, not the mosaic of ideas just now spoken of, but the self-same idea distended to its furthest dimension, the self-same idea on which, in the process of development, 'the light that never was on sea or land' is focussed. The 'to be, or not to be' soliloquy of Hamlet is, I think, an ideal example of the

former kind. Of the latter kind there are any number of instances. What about this in *Macbeth?* Macbeth is asking the Physician to cure his lady of her 'thick-coming fancies':

'Cure her of that.
Canst thou not minister to a mind diseased,
Pluck from the memory a rooted sorrow;
Raze out the written troubles of the brain,
And with some sweet oblivious antidote
Cleanse the stuff'd bosom of that perilous stuff
Which weighs upon the heart?'

Note how the same idea has been expressed in several different ways. Quotation is really difficult because the text of Shakespeare's plays is full of this kind of thing; and that, too, both in prose and in poetry. The chief trouble with him is, indeed, this of quotation: quotations come, not single spies, but in battalions. Almost every alternate passage clamours to be quoted; and this, not only in the more celebrated plays, but even in the less. Sometimes one cannot see the wood for the trees. What about this, again, from *Antony and Cleopatra*? Cleopatra is 'expanding' her notion of Antony's noble nature 'to the measure of her intention':

'His legs bestrid the ocean: his rear'd arm
Crested the world: his voice was propertied
As all the tuned spheres, and that to friends;
But when he meant to quail and shake the orb,
He was as rattling thunder. For his bounty,
There was no winter in't; an autumn 'twas
That grew the more by reaping: his delights
Were dolphin-like; they show'd his back above
The element they lived in: in his livery
Walked crowns and crownets; realms and islands were
As plates dropp'd from his pocket.'

VI

On looking back, I find that there is still a lot more to be written and that there is no space to write it in. I have not said anything about Shakespeare's heroines, and that beautiful play, *Twelfth Night*, has not been so much as mentioned. I have passed by *Troilus and Cressida* and *Romeo and Juliet* and *The Tempest* and, that favourite of my own, *Measure for Measure*. The famous *Merchant* has gone the same way of non-recognition. It cannot be helped. It is not easy to do justice to every point within this small compass. Shakespeare is a tun of an author, as Falstaff was a tun of a man, and he cannot be adequately treated inside a few pages. My article is in the nature of a sincere tribute and should be taken as such and as nothing else. I am not a scholar and now can never hope to be: nor have I ever been brought up to literary criticism as 'to the manner born.' Hence this is only a *layman's* appreciation of Shakespeare. My sole excuse is that I admire him 'this side idolatry.' I have spent many happy hours in his company; and the more I read of him the more he rises in my estimation. I am, as a rule, an enthusiast of English prose rather than of English poetry. But when Shakespeare and Wordsworth are 'in the caste' the matter becomes entirely different. I am sorry that much attention has not been paid to Shakespeare's *prose*. Well, it is as good as his poetry. He makes Falstaff not merely witty but spout glorious prose. The prose passages in *Hamlet* are every whit on the same level as the poetic ones.

But let me stop here; and conclude, as several others have concluded before me, that Shakespeare is, and ever will be, "the noblest Roman of them all," and that, for the perfect utterance of beautiful words, his is, in Mr. Maurice Baring's phrase in another connection, the Pillars of Hercules of mortal achievement.



FOREIGN PERIODICALS

China and Industrialization

While Japan has made remarkable progress in adopting the Western methods of manufacture, transport and defence in a comparatively brief period of contact with the West, China, with a longer contact, has remained indifferent to the Western industrial system. Writing in the *Political Science Quarterly*, John E. Orchard attempts to explain this contrast:

An antagonism to things foreign and a preference for things Chinese have made difficult any wide acceptance of new products or of new methods of manufacture.

Railroads and mines, particularly, have been opposed as possible disturbers of *feng shui*, the geomancy of a locality.

Then there was the general passive opposition of the Chinese people, and the lack of interest in the Western methods and institutions. This was in marked contrast with the Japanese attitude:

Equally isolated for centuries and equally averse to all foreign contacts, Japan, once the opening of the country had been forced, quickly recognized the source of the strength of the West and hastened by every means possible to adopt Western technique and methods in defense, in communications and in industry. There were a few Chinese who were aware of the Japanese interest in Western science and who seemed to recognize the implications of that interest. Most of the Chinese, however, remained hostile or at least indifferent to innovation, an attitude illustrated by the complacent "What's the good?" with which they met some of the early attempts to introduce European methods of reeling silk. Though the machine reeling of silk was introduced into China ten years before it reached Japan, the early filatures were closed almost immediately, and by 1900 the industry in Japan had made much greater progress in modernization. In 1902 and again in 1909, requests of the Silk Association of America to adopt a uniform method of reeling were ignored by the Chinese producers at a time when the standardized silk from the Japanese factories was overtaking and passing the Chinese silk in the world export trade.

China's indifference to the machine may be explained by the possession of a self-sufficient economic system:

It had served the country for centuries, and it faced no such breakdown as did the economic system of Japan. It had supplied the needs for food and manufactures and had made China practically self-sufficient. As Sir Robert Hart wrote many years later, "China needs neither import nor export, and can do without foreign intercourse . . . Chinese have the best food in the world, rice; the best drink, tea; and the best clothing, cotton, silk and fur. Possessing these staples, and their innumerable native adjuncts, they do not need to buy a penny's worth elsewhere; while their Empire is in itself so great and they themselves so numerous that sales to each other make up an enormous and sufficient trade, and export to foreign contries is unnecessary."

Through most of the nineteenth century, this faith in things Chinese continued. The economic system, though it was by no means running smoothly, was not in danger of immediate breakdown. There were some Chinese who realized that reform was necessary, but to them reform meant the return to the virtues of some previous golden age.

Another major obstacle has been the scarcity of industrial capital:

It is a shortage that may be traced in part to the struggle for subsistence and in part to official discouragement of great fortunes among the merchants. Life in China for the great mass of the people has been too close to the margin to permit the accumulation of a surplus to be used as an agent of production at some later date. The basic occupation has been agriculture on a very small scale with a part of the population engaged in handicraft industries or in transport, always in small units. There has been no development of commerce and fishing, as there was in both England and New England sufficient to accumulate indigenous capital in the hands of an investing public for the later building of the factory system.

Even in the cases where the Chinese government did give encouragement to new industries or new means of communication, the merchants who possessed an accumulation of capital were slow to come forward with their support. . . . The Imperial Edict of December 7, 1895 gave permission to the rich merchants of the provinces concerned to form a company for the construction of the Peking-Hankow Railway, but in 1898 the Director General of Railways, Sheng Kung-Pao, in answering a charge of dilatoriness, in the building of the railway, observed that the Chinese merchants would not take shares in the railway until it was finished and they could see their way to profit. . . . It was because of the failure of the merchants to subscribe the necessary funds for the completion of the Peking-Hankow line that a loan was negotiated with a Belgian company. . . . Further evidence of a shortage of capital is to be found in the consistent record of failure that has attended Chinese efforts throughout the modern period of industrialization. Too often there has been insufficient capital to operate a plant after its construction and the purchase of machinery. Numerous cotton mills and flour mills have reverted wholly or in part to the foreign importers, because the Chinese owners have been unable to meet payments on equipment . . . Many mills,

bcause of too limited capital, have been organized on a scale too small for economical operation.

Small Industries of Japan

Japan has a large number of small-scale industries which are not, unlike those in western countries, small units of a potentially large-scale industry; they are units of industry which though small in size are fully developed and have come to stay in its present form. These afford a lesson for India, and an account of them is reproduced here from the *Asia*. Barnard Ellinger writes:

The chief small-scale industries are weaving of cotton, rayon and woollen goods (there is also a large-scale weaving industry of these textiles), making of electric light lamps, bicycles, enamelled ironware, rubber goods, preparing of food, wood working, printing and book-binding and cement manufacture.

It was estimated in 1930, the last year for which figures are available, that about 70 per cent of the total number of labourers employed in industry found their occupation in small-scale factories employing not more than 50 persons, nearly 60 per cent in factories employing less than 10 persons, and over half of the total factory-working population was engaged in small workshops which employed fewer than 5 persons but in which some form of processing was undertaken before the goods were sold to the consumer.

Ever since the Tokugawa era farmers in Japan have found it necessary to supplement the meagre income which they derive from agriculture In the past they relied largely on producing charcoal and on sericulture. The growth of rayon has seriously affected sericulture, and it is hoped that the gap thus created may be made up by some of the newer industries which are being brought to the rural districts. Some of the workers in these districts continue to live in their homes, journeying every day to the small factories in which they work. In other cases they work in the factories or go into the larger towns only during those months when their labour is not required on the farms; and, in the case of the very small workshops, the shop is part of the farmer's house.

Not all the small-scale industries, however, owe their origin to the necessity of meeting the needs of the agriculturists:

The small-scale woollen industry originated because the scale is peculiarly suitable to satisfy the need of the consumer, for the Japanese home demand requires a multitude of patterns. Every one wants something different from his neighbour. Lengths varying from 24 to 72 yards only are often made to one design, and in the case of women's kimonos perhaps no more than 12 yards to a pattern is woven. Quantities of this description are obviously quite unsuitable for the large-scale woollen weaving industry, which consequently devotes itself either to plain cloths or to cloths required for the export trade. The small-scale bicycle industry, on the other hand, has become possible not only owing to the standardisation of parts, but because the traditional skill of the Japanese metal workers who formerly made guns and swords for the army before it was westernised, was still available and could be turned on to the manufacture of bicycle parts. The Japanese turned their swords not into ploughshares but into bicycles. The cause of the growth of the small-scale electric lamp industry is most interesting. These lamps are not made in rural districts but in the labourers' quarters of large industrial towns, either by hand or by second-hand automatic machines. The workers are mainly skilled labourers who were thrown out of work by the large factories on the introduction of automatic machines and who set to work to make small lamps for decorative purposes and flash bulbs for which no machinery was necessary, the lamps being made by hand, often with the aid of only one gas burner in the house.

The small-scale industry plays an important part in the export trade of Japan:

It has been estimated that nearly two-thirds of the export of manufactured goods from Japan originates from small-scale plants, and even in industries which have also a large-scale production, like the cotton trade, the exports manufactured in small factories form a considerable proportion of the whole volume of goods which is sent abroad— of woven cotton goods, 45 per cent of the total quantity of yards exported is accounted for by small-scale production. The rapidity with which this small-scale export trade has grown, the wild rush from market to market, and the extremely low prices at which the goods are sold, have resulted in considerable disturbance and dislocation in importing and competing countries.

Training of the German Youth

After quoting authorities to show that the present youth movement in Germany seeks neither to undermine the authority of the parents, nor to dispense with religious influences, Wilhelm Utermann explains in an article contributed to the *Westermann's Monatshefte* the plan of the movement which is based on the principle of selection of such leaders as are endowed with a personality:

The youth remains for four years in the German Youngsters Organisation (*Deutsches Jungvolk=DJ.*) and for another four years in the organisation called the Hitler Youth (*Hitler Jugend=HJ*). Since 1926, the system of training has been aiming at formation of character and developing in the boys and girls the national socialistic way of thinking and acting, so that there will remain no vestige of class distinction in the minds of the young children and that the son of a wealthy person, working in company with the son of a minor, will see and realise for the rest of his life, how difficult it is for the latter to buy the merest piece of his uniform without having to keep on saving his little money for months together.

In general, the first year of the youngsters is occupied with the study of the life of the Leader, Adolf Hitler, and consequent appreciation of the movement of National Socialism. In the second year the young boy or girl learns to appreciate the beauty and greatness of his motherland, as he travels to different places of historical importance and observes the mainsprings of German life. In the third year he is made aware of the greatness of Germany by developing in his mind a sense of unity with the Germans in foreign lands. The fourth year familiarises him with the history of the Nazi movement. Hand in hand with this cultivation of the mind goes the physical training of the youth, thus avoiding the mistakes of liberal pedagogics in nourishing the spirit at the cost of the body or vice versa. This consists of various kinds



Signor Mussolini and Marshal Balbo, Governor-General, arriving at a Moslem mosque in Libya



Natives of Libya with a banner of welcome, waiting to receive Mussolini



Mussolini seen saluting, from the Naval base, during his Libyian visit



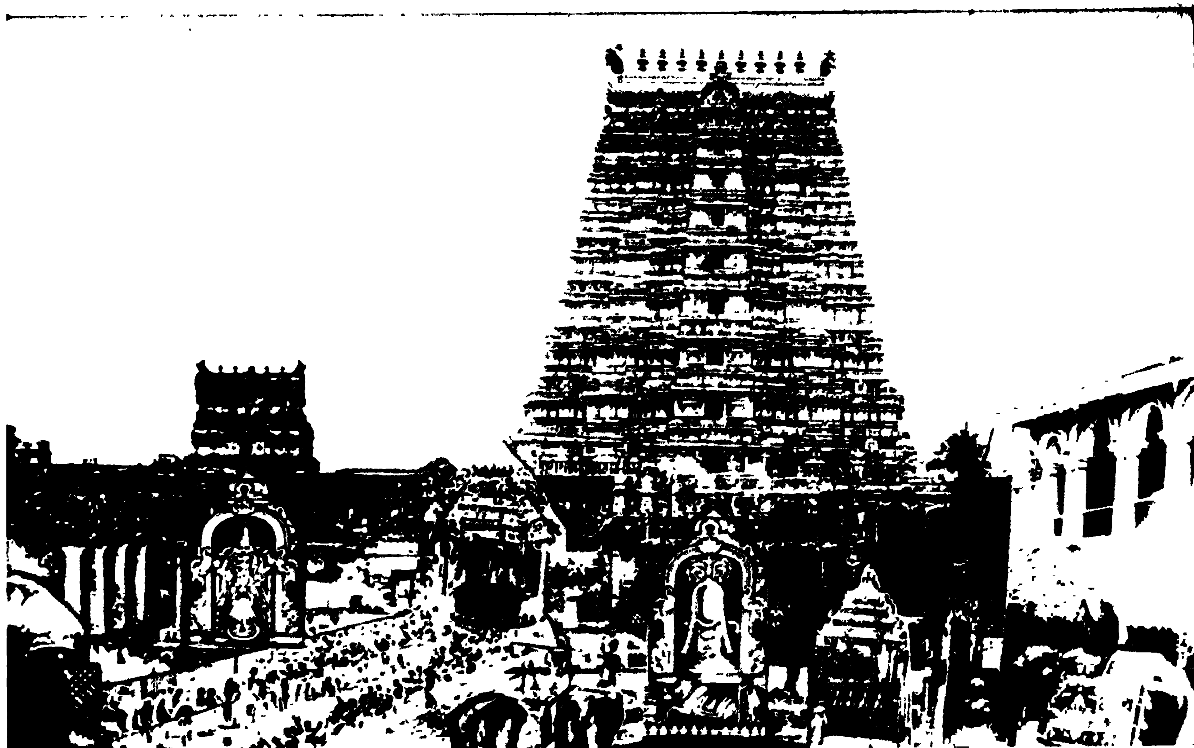
Italian Ambassador presents credentials to general Franco



Then and Now: a procession of the Spanish youth to celebrate the inauguration of the Spanish Republic



Bombing of Madrid



Rameswaram, the famous Hindu *tirtha* attracted a record crowd of pilgrims on the Shivaratri day

The thousand-pillared Mandapam at Rameswaram

of athletic exercises and swimming, shooting, camping etc. The youth, who has gone successfully through all the stages of this training for four years in the DJ is taken up in the HJ after he has completed his fourteenth year.

The subjects studied during the succeeding four years' training in the HJ are: (1) The Leader, Fight for Land, Fight for Preservation of Race; (2) German Social Life, the Leader's Task of Reconstruction, Germany and the World, National Socialism; (3) and (4) a deeper study of these problems. Satisfactory progress is to be shown in running race, long-jump, club-throwing, swimming, marching, map-reading, estimation of distances, observation, shooting etc., before the final testimonial is granted.

On the 19th November of each year these youngsters of eighteen are admitted to the Party and its working organizations. The principle of selecting the leaders, who is regarded as "the first among his equals" is followed even in the preliminary stages of these youth organisations. All kinds of materials and week-end training courses are made available to these leaders.

Now the recently established Imperial Academies at Munich and Braunschweig have started imparting one year's training to the most carefully selected leaders who are destined for the highest posts in the German youth organisations after they have served for six months in foreign countries and then in the Labour and Defence Services.

J. W. Tate gives in the *Morning Post* an account of the German boarding schools for picked boys, which are under the direct control of a Special Party department. These schools, the writer points out, set the tone for the youth organisations, many of whose leaders are recruited from them.

The selection of boys for these schools must be strictly on merit.

Each year, from a vast number of applications, a certain number of boys from nine to ten years old are provisionally chosen, and these have to undergo a two weeks' probationary test by living in the school under ordinary conditions, attention being paid perhaps more to physique and character than to mental ability. About one-third are finally admitted, and the fees arranged according to the means of the parents.

Life in these schools is characterised by a strongly marked political *motif* and an extensive use of military forms. There is a special uniform, the various schools being distinguished only by the colour of the shoulder strap.

School work, including gymnastics, is confined to the morning, and except for an hour and a half's preparation the afternoon and evening are devoted to a fixed programme of sport, in which swimming, boxing, shooting and handball are the chief items, with instruction in riding, motorcycling and cardriving for the senior boys.

Many features of life in these schools show that the boys are being encouraged to hold themselves ready for a future war:

In the school work much of the subject matter is connected with modern warfare. Problems connected with shooting and flying are a prominent feature of the physics and mathematics syllabus, while the chemistry textbook has a short compulsory appendix on the chemistry of attack and defence in modern warfare. In the English and German lessons a favourite textbook is a collection of war stories. The National Socialist Faith finds expression throughout the curriculum. The syllabus—not only in German history and religion, but of every subject has been carefully arranged to develop understanding for the spiritual, historical and practical basis of the Third Reich.

In the study of their own language stress is laid on folk legends and poetry and the literature of the prophets of the Third Reich, with a vigorous expurgation of borrowed words. Biology receives special attention from the racial and economic standpoint. In the upper forms the boy is led from a study of the facts of inheritance in his own family to Mendel's laws and the phenomena of cell-division, and thence to a consideration of their social and racial implications.

The school instruction is supplemented by practical contact with the life of the German people:

The wish to cultivate a sense of companionship between all Germans, of whatever rank or profession, sends the school out into the neighbourhood to take part in sometimes to provide—a *Feier* held in public, and this is combined with free and easy social intercourse with the people of all classes.

Censorship of Literature in Germany

Norman Hapgood writes editorially in *The Christian Register*:

The process of making the intellectual life of the Germans easy, by removing all the complications that free people have to meet, goes steadily on. A list has been published of one hundred and twenty books approved for the library of every grammar school. The young people in these schools, out of the hundred and twenty books, find twenty-five on the subject of Nazi-ism; twenty-two are military; seven have to do with Germany's foreign colonies; this leaves sixty-six books for all the other subjects in the world. A little pure literature is admitted. Robinson Crusoe gets in, for example, and even Grimm's Fairy Tales. As a matter of course there is no religious book, which lets out the Bible, The Pilgrim's Progress, and much else of the world's greatest literature.

Naturally there is nothing of Heinrich Heine. Report has it, indeed, what whenever the Lorelei is listed in any German publication it is marked "Author Unknown." But it is not only Heine who is thrown out on the ground that no Jew could write even a lyric worthy to be read, but Goethe and Schiller go out also. It is true that Schiller had an intense love of liberty, and it is true that the vast mind and universal taste of Goethe found certain things of value in countries not his own. Still, it will be embarassing twenty or thirty years from now when the Germans have recovered from their attack of insanity, to have a whole generation brought up to know nothing of the greatest writers the country has produced. A dispatch that has come over here says nothing about Lessing, but certainly the authorities would not permit the school children to be contaminated with the mind that could write Nathan the Wise, since Nathan was a Jew.

Whither Islam?

In reviewing *Moslem Women Enter a New World,* a study by Ruth F. Woodsmall, I. M. Dickinson observes in *The Catholic Citizen*:

Women of the West may be tempted to envy the apparent ease with which the Eastern women are attaining a political status which they themselves have struggled so long to reach. But it should be remembered that political status is not all, and that the average Moslem woman outside Turkey is not yet a member of a unified society. The fact that a few days ago Indian women went to vote for the Provincial Legislatures enveloped in their burgas to booths reserved for purdah nashins is a simple illustration of this. Except in Turkey only a minority of privileged women have crossed the threshold into a world in which men and women meet under normal wholesome conditions. The veil, whether as a symbol of the evils of polygamy, divorce, temporary marriage, or as a real material barrier to education and a healthy life for women and children, still covers the heads of the vast majority of the Moslem women of Africa and Asia. How difficult then is the position of the privileged few who are called to be leaders; not only must they make in their own lifetime a change of centuries in the teeth of bitter opposition from the older generation; but they must be the interpretors of the new freedom, both in word and deed, to the dumb submerged multitude—the fellaheen women of the mud villages of Egypt, the purdah nashins in the crowded slums of Indian cities, the workers of the carpet factories of Iran, the peasant drudges of Asia and Africa, all of whom would say as a fellaheen woman said, "What should we know of change? We're just women." To distinguish between change and true progress is another problem these educated women have to solve; they have to choose whether their Nationalism shall express itself as in Egypt within the spirit of the Law of Islam retaining all that is good in the old culture, or whether they follow Turkey in saying: "We have only one goal progress. We recognize no relationship between religion and progress, since social progress is blocked if contingent on religion." Words of a leader in the Turkish Parliament. The fate of Islamic civilization will be largely settled by this choice as it is to Istanbul and Cairo that Moslem women throughout the East look for guidance and inspiration.

Nationalism which has put back the clock of woman's advance in the West has had the opposite effect in the East:

The rulers of Iran and Iraq follow Ataturk in recognising that a strong nation cannot be built without the co-operation of an educated and healthy womanhood. It is by appeal of patriotism that women have been awakened to the realisation of their responsibility for service to the Nation. The heroic part played by Turkish women and the leadership of Halide Edib in the War of Independence, the protest of the women of Iran who threw off their veils and exhorted their men to uphold the liberty of their country during the revolution of 1911, the protest made against Zionism in 1929 by the group of unveiled women at the High Commissioners are only a few of the occasions on which Nationalistic fervour has triumphed over conservatism. The way in which so many of the Moslem women of India have joined in the National movement is among the most significant of these events.

Why the Bengal Muhammadans are more backward in Education ?

Writing in the March number of the *Teaching*, the Quarterly Journal for Teachers published by the Oxford University Press, Jatindra Mohan Datta discusses the Relative Educational Progress of the Hindus and the Muhammadans in Bengal.

In Bengal in spite of higher grants to *Maktabs* and *Madrassahs*, special scholarships for Mohammedans and every form of encouragement, the percentage of Mohammedans in the different stages of university and school instruction is always less than that for Hindus in the same stages of instruction, and tends to remain constant over a length of time. Further, the higher the stage of instruction the lesser is the relative percentage. The following table gives the percentage of Mohammedan males in the different stages of instruction during the ten years from 1921-22 to 1931-32.

Years	University Arts Colleges	Higher stage	Middle stage	Primary stage
1921-22	12.8	17.1	20.9	49.5
1926-27	14.2	15.5	19.3	51.4
1931-32	13.3	18.7	24.7	54.5
Average	13.4	17.1	21.6	51.8

During the same period the enrolment of Mohammedan boys in the different stages of instruction increased very considerably, as the figures given in the following table show:

NUMBER OF MOHAMMEDANS IN THE DIFFERENT STAGES OF INSTRUCTION

Years	University Arts Colleges	Higher stage	Middle stage	Primary stage
1921-22	2,175	15,715	16,047	784,874
1926-27	3,419	16,049	18,567	994,855
1931-32	2,883	24,118	30,299	1,258,503
Increase in Percentage	32.5	53.4	89.4	60.3

According to the figures supplied by the writer, the Muhammadan boys form 60.1 per cent. of the total enrolment in Class I, but 16.9 per cent only in Class XI; and 12.8 per cent in the fourth year class of the Collegiate stage.

The average annual difference in the relative percentages is thus 4.1 or 4.32 during the school period. This difference is a more or less permanent feature of Mohammedan enrolment in the schools of Bengal, and seems to be based on fundamental differences between Hindus and the Mohammedans, namely, the greater inherent inability of Mohammedans to profit by literary education.

The Hindus and the Mohammedans in Bengal are growing at different rates. The Mohammedans are increasing faster than the Hindus by 4.4 per cent. The close correspondence between this 4.4 per cent and the average annual difference in the relative percentages of enrolment of 4.1 or 4.32 per cent seems to us to be more than accidental. We think it to be fundamental and basic.

Herbert Spencer says: "organisms multiply in inverse ratio to the dignity and worth of individual life." And he gives an a priori proof of his argument thus:

Every generative product is a deduction from parental life, and to diminish life is to diminish the ability to preserve life. The portion thrown off is organized matter, vital force has been expended in the organization of it, which vital force, had no such portion been thrown off, would have been available for the increase except at the expense of the other; in other words, individuation and reproduction are antagonistic.

INDIAN PERIODICALS

The Parliament of Religions

The study of comparative religions with a spirit of love and tolerance is the only remedy against the jarring notes of clash in the realm of religion. Observes Swami Maithilyananda, the editor, in the *Prabuddha Bharata* :

If sectarianism has to go, religionists must find out the fundamental unity of all religions. The proof of one religion depends on the proof of all the rest. If one religion is true, all others must be true. Men have to realize that there are differences in non-essentials, but in essentials they are one. In this connection, it may be interesting to note that Mahatma Gandhi sent a question through Acharya Kalelkar to the Parliament of Religions. The full text of the question runs as follows : "You are going to the Dharma Sabha, the Parliament of Religions. It is associated with the holy name of a personality like Ramakrishna Paramahamsa. I do hope that the Sabha will do something that will give a lead—will guide the followers of all faiths. What will the Parliament say in respect of all the religions ? Are all the religions equal, as we hold or is any particular religion in the sole possession of truth and the rest either untrue or a mixture of truth and errors as many believe ? The opinion of the Parliament in such matters must prove a helpful guidance." Sir Francis Younghusband, who had come into a very close contact with the people of diverse faiths, with Moslems in Central Asia, with Buddhists and Confucianites in China and Tibet, and with Hindus in India, observed in answer to the question that he had discovered a fundamental unity among all those religions. That had been their main impression at the World Congress of Faiths and that, he thought, would be the result of the present Congress too. Each would be advocating his own religion but still each at the same time would feel that there was a fundamental unity keeping them together. It was this fundamental unity which Sir Francis desired the Parliament of Religions to realize and make permanent and abiding.

If we analyse all the religions of the world, we find that the truths embodied in them are the results of the experiences of particular persons. These persons are called the founders or teachers of the religions which they preached and which they built upon direct experience. All of them laid stress on the spiritual nature of the human being and showed that religion is a constitutional necessity of the human mind. They all emphasised the point that there is something in man, which does not change like his body. They all admitted that every man must develop his spiritual nature, so that he may know that which does not change or die. They all appealed very strongly to their followers for extending love and charitable feelings to fellow-brethren and all beings in the world. They all pointed out that the goal of human life is far higher than the enjoyment of earthly pleasures and that it consists in realizing the ultimate truth that lies latent in every man. All religions founded by them contain the ways and methods of developing character and imbibing the virtues of purity and charity. No true adherents of any religion can say that their religion consists only in its doctrines, dogmas and rituals. All religions aim at the finding out of the ultimate truth. There may be a thousand different radii, but there is no doubt that they all converge to the one and the same centre.

Opportunities for Serving our People

In the course of his address at the National Convention published in *The Students' Tribune* Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru says :

Many of you are eager and desirous of doing some thing to relieve the burdens of our masses, to help the peasant and the worker and the vast numbers of middle-class unemployed. Who does not want to do that? No one likes conflict and obstruction, and we have hungered so long for real opportunities for serving our people through constructive effort. They cry aloud for succour, these unhappy millions of our countrymen, and even when their voices are silent, their dumb eyes are eloquent with appeal. It is difficult to live in this country surrounded by this human desolation and misery, unspoken often and the harder to bear because of that. We talk of Swaraj and independence, but in human terms it means relief to the masses from their unutterable sorrow and misery. Ultimately all that we work for resolves itself into that. And if we have a chance to give such relief even in a small measure, we cannot reject it.

But that relief must be for the millions, not for a few odd individuals. And if we think in terms of those millions, what relief does this new Constitution offer ? I have read its relevant clauses again and again, ever with a growing astonishment at the audacity of those who have framed it and thrust it on us, protecting all those who needed no protection, confirming their privileged position as exploiters, binding us hand and foot not to touch them in any way, and leaving the masses of India to sink deeper in the quicksands of poverty. We cannot give adequate relief to the masses within the scope of this Constitution; that is a demonstrable impossibility. We cannot build any new social structure so long as special privileges and vested interests surround us and suffocate us. We cannot carry out any policy, political, economic, social, educational or any other, when the whole executive agency and civil service is not subject to our control, and we may not touch the major part of the revenues. The "special powers and responsibilities" of the Governors and the Governor-General apart, the Act by itself is more than sufficient to disable any minister.

"Interim Ministry"

The Indian Review writes editorially :

It is difficult to know what an 'Interim Ministry' means. Why do they call it by that name instead of

calling it the formation of the 'Ministry'? The phrase seems to the lay mind to indicate a recognition of some kind of impropriety in the course taken. Some have characterised it as *illegal*. The matter is apparently outside the sphere of 'legality'. It is really a question of *Constitutional propriety*.

So far as the Act is concerned, the relevant provisions are said to be:

Section 50(1): There shall be a council of ministers to aid and advise the Governor in the exercise of his functions. . . .

Section 51 (1): The Governor's ministers shall be chosen and summoned by him, shall be sworn as members of Council and shall hold office during his pleasure.

Clause VIII of the Instrument of Instructions runs as follows:

In making appointments to the Council of his ministers our Governor shall use his best endeavours to select his ministers in the following manner, that is to say, in consultation with the person who, in his judgment, is likely to command *a stable majority* in the legislature to apoint those persons including, so far as practicable, members of important minority communities who will best be in a position to command the *confidence of the legislature*. But in so acting he shall bear constantly in mind the need for fostering a joint sense of responsibility among his ministers.

Clause IX runs as follows:

In all matters within the scope of the executive authority of the province our Governor shall in the exercise of the powers conferred upon him be guided by the advice of his ministers.

The spirit of the instructions above given is that *confidence of the legislature* and a *stable majority* are essential to the government of the provinces and therefore to the ministry.

In a fairly balanced representation of parties in the legislature it is possible to invite one party and then another to form the ministry in hopes of securing a majority. Both in Madras and in Bombay, after making a first endeavour to select the ministry in consultation with one who had secured a stable majority at the polls, and after making a second endeavour to form it with the assistance of one who, the Governors believed, might be acceptable to the country, the Governors have at last invited the members of the party overthrown at the polls to form the ministry. That the persons invited from the ranks of the party overthrown prefer to speak of themselves as individuals and not as members of that party does not conceal the flagrant violation of the spirit of the Act and of the Instrument of Instructions in the constitution of this new ministry. The majority party being of the strength that it is, the overthrow of the ministry at the first meeting of the Council is so certain that it can be maintained in power only by postponing the summoning of the Council. The conversion of a minority in rout into a majority in the legislature is a forlorn hope. The postponement of a meeting for six months in furtherance of this forlorn hope is highly objectionable. It is *interim* ministry, only because the Governor intends to make it last until a *legitimate* ministry is formed.

How to Raise the Standard of Living

Sir M. Visveswaraya, in the course of his Convocation address at the Benares Hindu University published in the *Financial Times* under the caption of "Industrialise or Perish," says:

In view of mass poverty and unemployment, our first thought should be for the poor, and any ameliorative measures taken should be to raise their standard of living and arrest their further degradation. Life's necessities, that is, the goods and services need to maintain a normal existence, fall under six heads, namely, food, clothing, housing, education, expenses on social functions, and recreation, amusements, etc., to occupy leisure. We have with us an ignorant, ill-nourished and under-fed population. With an income of Rs. 2 to 3 per head per month, the living conditions of the majority of our peasant and wage-earning classes cannot but be regarded as precarious in the extreme.

The area under cultivation in British India is not more than one acre per head of the total population. The yearly income from produce at current prices cannot be very different from Rs. 15 to 25 per acre. There is little scope for any substantial growth of income from this source. Industries and trades are the real want. These common truths should become widely known. The Universities should take a hand in propaganda work to open the eyes of the people to the need of this great change in their outlook.

At the same time correct healthy ideals should be impressed upon the common people by means of mass education and by propaganda for citizenship training.

The basis of sound programme for securing a higher standard of living is a steadily rising total production of goods and services. The standard of living in a city, town or village and the purchasing power of its population will be conditioned by its production and service. It is necessary that statistics of production and service should be maintained, as far as it is possible to obtain them, for every residential area (village, town or city) and the production and consumption in each area estimated and checked from time to time to see whether the area is getting richer or proper.

He adds that the people should be free to plan as they will.

In European countries, two great measures have been adopted since the close of the War, mainly for economic safety, namely, (1) a 'National Economic Council' and (2) a 'Development Plan.' The plan adopted is usually a Five-year Plan, and its working under the control of the Economic Council is regulated by the changing conditions of international politics and trade. These two measures, or some others having a like purpose, are urgently needed in India. If their operation is placed under the control of trusted leaders, they will prove of incalculable value for increasing the volume of national production and service.

Hindu Architecture and Art in Angkor

The ruins in the Province of Cambodia are the remains of a great epoch in Indian civilization. The story has to be deciphered from the monuments and inscriptions found in them. This scholarly work has been done almost exclusively by French savants. C. Jinarajadasa tells briefly the story, narrated by the scholars, in the *Triveni*:

There is really no historical record when Indian migration first began towards Cambodia and Sumatra and Java. It is not known how many waves of migration there were, nor how many centuries before the Christian era the first wave too, place. So far as the traditions go.

the first wave to Cambodia was about the first century after Christ. A Brahmin, Kaundinya by name, is said to have founded the kingdom of Founan on the lower reaches of the river Mekong. It appears, though the point is not certain, that he took for wife some princess of the land by name Soma. From Kaundinya arose a dynasty of kings. But their history disappears, till the kingdom of Founan is conquered by another kingdom further north, founded about 400 A.D. by a Hindu named Kambu. His greatness as a ruler and conqueror is attested by the fact that he was called Kambu Svayambhuva, in imitation of the well-known name of the Hindu Manu. It is after Kambu that his descendants were called Kambuja, the people of Kambu. Tradition says that Kambu took for wife the Apsaras Mera, which probably is an euphemistic way of saying that he took for wife one of the non-Hindu women of the land. It is from the word Kambuja that we have the modern word Cambodia.

The Character of Indian Art

Indian art as a whole, is known to us through archæological discoveries. The ancient Indian art has its own canons, measure and melody. Writes Adris Banerji in *The Calcutta Review* :

The ancient Indian art first springs before our eyes in the chalcolithic age. But it is not the beginning. The variety of antiquities of the Indus Valley Civilization and their craftsmanship clearly indicate that the beginning of this art is probably to be sought in the forgotten ruins of palaeolithic and neolithic periods of our culture. The majestic *Brahmani* Bull, the ferocious rhinoceros, the cute monkeys and the humble buffalo with a feeling of cheery comradeship, prove that they were produced by men with centuries of artistic traditions behind. The merit of the artists of the Indus Valley lies in their ability to portray an amazingly realistic and picturesque impression of contemporary life. There is little order in the composition in which all sorts of natural and mythical animals and human beings are herded together at random without any thought of perspective or order. Nevertheless, they show a wonderful ability at portraiture by faithful observation of nature, and sense of rhythm and effect. The figures (both animal and human) are saturated with vitality and dynamic energy. The animals are represented as superior to human beings, and though powerfully modelled are invariably represented as inactive. This art does not end here, it persists down the ages.

The next chapter of Indian art opens in the 5th or the 4th century B.C. A gulf of several centuries separates the Indus art with its successor. During this period of darkness, a complete change in the cultural and ethnical character of the population had taken place. The deluge in the shape of the conquest of the country by a fair-haired and fair-skinned people swept away much of the older civilization. During the long hiatus that separates the chalcolithic age from the dawn of the historical period, the process of absorption and assimilation between the conqueror and the conquered must have been in progress; but we can only assume this, there is no definite evidence. With the rising of the curtain, we find India a disorganized collection of peoples, divided into small states—republican and monarchical. The art of the historical period is not completely disassociated from its prehistoric predecessor. Attempts have been made to bridge the gulf and to find survival of motifs and plastic traditions. But it has to be admitted, that the evidence is too meagre to warrant any definite hypothesis.

In the beginning art was merely a language, a means of expressing thought and sentiments, an instrument of communion between men. Artist the creator used his own life, his knowledge as his materials. Therefore to understand his products, we must turn back on his literature, faith and social life. In the literature of the ancient Indians, from the eternal *Vedas* down to the later *kavyas* or Bhavabhuti we meet with tender humanism and nature sympathies. It is these characteristics, an attempt to represent the various aspects and elements of nature sympathetically and realistically, that runs through the whole gamut of Indian art. When Ruskin wrote that Indians were never able to render nature faithfully, the glories of Bharhu, Sanchi and Ajanta must have been unknown. Moreover, ideals of people differ. In ancient Greece the perfect human animal was considered as gifted with divine grace. Therefore the figure of an athlete was considered the best model for the sculptor and the painter. On the other hand, the Indians had traditional horror for the anthropomorphical representation of their gods. They knew that their gods were universal, eternal and infinite. Hindu philosophy and canons of art (of a later date), recognize the absurdity of attempting to give practical shape to the perfect divine form. The artists of the Buddhistic faith, which was started as a protest against the bloody rituals of later Vedic-Brahmanism, also recognized this implicitly. It was not until they came in contact with the Greeks that they dared to carve figures of Gautama-Buddha in stone or stucco.

When the ancient Indians reached this stage, the canons laid down that the artists should try to visualise the divine form by concentration of his thoughts (*yoga*). He should rather depend on his spiritual force than on visible objects. Therefore we find that the ancient Indian sculptors and painters have tried to represent in a milder or symbolical way the idea of divine beings.

Jatak Literature of the Buddhists

The Jatak literature, besides being a powerfur means of popularising the teachings of Buddhism, is very important as revealing the social and moral condition of the people of ancient India. K. A. Padhye, the editor, writes in *The Buddha-Prabha* :

Jatak literally means "Relating to Birth." Jatak Kathas or Tales have a special meaning in Buddhistic literature. They mean "Birth Stories of Lord Buddha with reference to his previous lives." The scriptural literature of the Buddhists is divided into three main parts (1) Sutta-Pitaka, (2) Vinaya-Pitaka and (3) Abhi-Dhamma-Pitaka. Pitaka means a basket. Sutta-Pitaka contains discourses of Lord Buddha which he had with his disciples from time to time. Vinaya-Pitaka contains rules and regulations for maintaining discipline among the Bhikkhus. Abhi-Dhamma-Pitaka contains valuable discussions bearing on metaphysics and moral philosophy as conceived by the Buddhists.

Sutta-Pitaka consists of five divisions: (1) Digha-Nikaya meaning collection of long discourses (2) Majima-Nikaya meaning collection of discourses of middle or moderate length, (3) Samyutta-Nikaya consists of discourses held by Lord Buddha with his various disciples on one subject only. (4) Anguttara-Nikaya consists of discussions by Lord Buddha in the form of Aphorisms on

the subject of metaphysics and moral philosophy and (5) Khudaka-Nikaya consists of short discourses. This Khudaka-Nikaya is again divided into 15 parts. Of these (1) Dhamma-pada, (2) Jatak and (3) Charia-Pitak are considered to be the most important.

Lord Buddha had deep insight into human nature. He knew very well that religious and moral instructions in abstract form made very little effect or impression upon the minds of the people for whom they were intended. He, therefore, decided to convey religious and moral Truths to the public at large by means of popular stories which were skilfully prepared to suit the popular taste and at the same time to secure his object. For this purpose he had not to invent new stories.

The folk-lore tales existing at that time supplied Buddha with abundant materials.

He invariably adopted the frame-work of the existing tales and shaped them skilfully so as to serve his purpose. There are 547 Jataks, each containing an account of the Life of Goutama Buddha during some incarnation in one of his previous existences as a Bodhisatva or being destined to enlightenment, before he became a Buddha,—The Enlightened One. This number does not correspond to exactly 547 stories, because some of the tales occur more than once in a different setting or in a variant version and occasionally several stories are included in one birth. Each separate story is embedded in a frame-work which forms the story of the Present. This is generally an account of some incident in the life of the historic Buddha, such as an act of disobedience or folly among the Brethren of the Order, the discussion of a problem of ethics or an instance of pre-eminent virtue. Lord Buddha then tells a story of the Past, an event in one of his previous existences which explains the present incident as a repetition of the former one or as a parallel case and shews the moral consequences. To adapt such an ancient tale was generally a simple matter, as in that case there was no necessity to make the actors Buddhists. The tale might be told of a past time when there was no Buddha in existence, and which incorporated the ideas of Hinduism.

The one feature necessary for the *Story* is that the Bodhisatva in some character should appear.

When the Tale itself contained no instance of a wise person who could play the part of Bodhisatva, modification was necessary, though this is often done by making the Bodhisatva a divinity or a sage who witnesseth the event and recites the Gathas, the verses with which the Tale concludes. Some of the stories of the past are evidently manufactured by adapting the circumstances in the Story of the present, and building up a Story of the past out of it. Verses occur in all the births. The verses are generally canonical in their nature.

Buddhism took over the Hindu doctrine of re-birth and Karma; but moralised it.

Re-birth in heaven is no longer due to performing animal sacrifices or the infliction of self-torture, but to practising the virtues emphasised by Lord Buddha, such as, alms-giving, truth-speaking, forgiveness of enemies &c.

Benfey, the well-known western scholar, had popularised the view that Indian folk-tales originated with the Buddhists. But this view is no longer tenable after the publication of the Jatak stories which clearly reveal the fact that so far from Buddhism being the original source of folk-tales, the bulk of those appearing in the Jatak are pre-Buddhistic and are merely adaptations of Indian tales. Dr. Hertol who has edited and translated Tantrakhya-yika, an earlier form of Panchatantra, has proved that the work was purely Brahmanistic and without any Buddhist features. Owing to the close resemblance of beast fables in Panchatantra to those of Aesop, Benfey is of opinion that the former had their origin in the latter and that this work could not have been composed earlier than 200 B.C. But in the Jatak stories we now possess evidence for putting the existence of such fables in India much earlier. On several Buddhist Stupas in India such as those at Sanchi, Barhut &c., are carved representations of scenes in some of the Jatak tales and fables. The earliest and most important of these monuments is the Stupa of Barhut—a village 120 miles south-west of Allahabad. Carved in relief on the railings are a number of scenes of Jatak tales and fables with their titles. Twenty-eight have been identified, several so-called Aesopic fables being among them. The date of the Stupa is put on epigraphical grounds between 250 and 200 B.C. Hence we can assert the existence of Jatak tales as early as Fourth century B.C., while the tales and fables which Buddhism adopted must be much older.

A Hundred Years of Indian Literature

Amaranatha Jha in the course of his brief review of a hundred years of Indian literature in *The Twentieth Century* observes :

If in the year 1837 an Indian had been asked who the leading writers in Indian history were whose works deserved to be studied, the answer would inevitably have been a reference to the prominent Sanskrit men of letters. The major portion of the literate population still read Sanskrit; those connected with the State in administrative posts read Persian also. But it would not have occurred to any one to mention Sur Das or Tulsi Das or Vidyapati or Chandidas or Wali or Mir.

Today, except among professed scholars, Sanskrit and Persian have been almost completely supplanted by the vernaculars. Until quite recently, our Universities insisted on a certain amount of knowledge of a classical language on the part of all students in the Arts Faculty. The forces of utilitarian barbarism, however, have not only made this unnecessary, but a knowledge of the classics is now a decided handicap, and in every possible way their study is being discouraged. For this sad state the credit or discredit goes to two circumstances—the growth of faith in the miraculous power of scientific knowledge, and the claims of the vernaculars to occupy a prominent place in every scheme of higher education.

Whereas Hindi, Urdu and Bengali were spoken and written by large numbers a hundred years ago, they were not considered to be serious rivals to Sanskrit or Persian. Vernacular poetry was written mostly for the edification and moral uplift of the illiterate masses; ancient legends, religious truths, devotional songs—these were the main themes and forms of vernacular literature. Here and there a semi-lettered person might celebrate in rude verse a famine or a battle, but for the most part the vernaculars occupied a position of insignificance and subordination.

To the study of English, to the movements for religious reform, to the growth of national consciousness, and to a rising political sense must be traced the remarkable development of the vernacular literatures of India. Except the rich flowering of the German literary genius during the period dominated by Goethe, I am not aware of any other phase in literary history which can compare with the wonderful progress achieved by our vernaculars during this short period. Vernacular prose in special is the product solely of this age. Vernacular fiction too owes its origin to this period; to this period

belong also the short story, the essay, criticism, history and the other branches of literature. Much of vernacular poetry- that portion at least which is most admired by the present generation—was also produced during this period.

The novels of Bankim Chatterji, Romesh Dutt, Rabindranath Tagore, Sarat Chatterji, the short stories of Tagore and Naresh Sen-Gupta; the poetry of Michael Madhusudan Dutt, Nabin Sen, Rabindranath, Atul Prasad Sen, Chittaranjan Das, Nazrul Islam; the dramas of D. L. Roy, Girish Ghose, Amritalal Bose, in Bengali; the poetry of Ghalib, Hali, Iqbal, Chakbast, Akbar; the novels of Ruswa and Sarshar; the essays of Azad and Shibli; the journalistic work represented by the 'Oudh Punch,' the 'Zamana,' the 'Nigar,' and other magazines; the verse-experiments made during recent years—in Urdu; the poetry of Harischandra. Ayodhyasingh, Sumitranandan, Nirala, Maithilisaran and the younger writers; the novels of Premchand and Bhagwati Charan; the short stories of Sudarshan and Kaushik; the essays of Mahabir Prasad Dwivedi; the critical writings of the Misra Brothers, Shyamsundar Das, Padmasinha Sharma - all these bear the stamp of the circumstances I have mentioned above. Without English education and the growth of a spirit of nationalism these literatures would have been different. They might have been better or worse; they could not have been what they are.

A Satirist's Apologia

Miss Stella Gibbons is the authoress of *Cold Comfort, Bassett, Miss Linsey and Pa.* The clear satiric vein that runs through her writings and a sincere love for her fellowmen make her style and stories lively and tender. The *Satirist's Apologia* in *The Aryan Path* unveils the philosophy of Miss Gibbons :

This article, which must deal with ideas, will sound adolescently simple, though it does not deal with simple issues. Yet I feel that life is simpler than we dare to believe. It has the complex simplicity of a raindrop. The late G. K. Chesterton, one of my heroes, was a champion of this theory, though he did not express his belief in simplicity in a simple manner except in his poetry. To say that life is simpler than we dare to believe sounds like the remark of a fool, and therefore it takes courage to say it; no one enjoys being thought a shallow optimist. Yet I do say it, because I believe it, and in this article I want to say what I believe.

When I was a very young woman I found Pantheism completely satisfying. I can say, with truth, that I knew God. Now He is no longer there, and only the longing for Him is left. I believe in Him, but I cannot feel His presence.

I believe that I can no longer feel God's presence because I am so flinchingly conscious, day and night, ceaselessly, of the sufferings, in this world, of the innocent.

This is perhaps the most common, foolish and oldest reason for failing to find God, but I cannot, because of that, deny that it is my reason. It would be more interesting if I had some *chic* and entirely original reason for my failure to feel God, but I am trying not to be *chic* and original, but to tell the truth, which is a difficult task.

So far as I am concerned, the sufferings of innocence are the one blot upon God's scheme. I accept pain, death, and the unbroken sleep in darkness which I believe that death is, but the sufferings of innocence I cannot accept. Like millions before me, I can only say that God is Inscrutable.

Man's folly affects different people in different ways. It makes some people want to weep, others to pray; some would like to see every one psycho-analyzed at the age of three, others would like to see large numbers of persons put against walls and shot. Some want the foolish and the wicked to be treated as though they were ill; some think that if every one had enough to eat, all vice and folly would cease; others think that if we had a world ruled by benevolent tyrants, a Dictator of the State, the fools and the wicked could be dragooned into good behaviour.

But the satirist, who is different as one type can be from another to the cynic, thinks that the best way to deal with wicked fools is by laughing angrily at them, in a kind of white-heat of common sense, and that is what he does. A great satirist like Pope or Swift hates humanity because it falls so far short of what it might be; a minor satirist like myself gets impatient with humanity, but cannot help loving it, all the same, because, in the grotesque glory of these creatures, each exulting in its own wormishness, I see the hand of God who made them, and who am I that I should hate His creatures? Two sayings, like themes of music, run through all my writing and thinking. One is the rueful, gleeful cry of Puck—"*Lord! what fools these mortals be!*" The other is the grave Eastern saying, solemn as the muezzin's cry—

Praise be to Allah for the diversity of His Creatures.

Because I love humanity, I only want to knock it with the flat of my sword, not, as Swift did, to sweep its head off. Because I know how strong my love for my fellow creatures is, I get very angry when reviewers call me "cruel"—as though the only way in which love could be shown was through a solemn sloppiness, a "divine compassion" from which the person who feels it gets a number-one sized kick and the person for whom it is felt gets no kick at all, but goes away feeling that they want to behave worse than ever.

The Writer in a Changing World

We reproduce from *The New Outlook* portions of an address delivered by Upton Sinclair at the Western Writers' Congress held in San Francisco :

I have been asked to talk about the writers in a changing world. Well, the world never has changed so fast as it is changing now. It is changing by a series of explosions, and each one is very disturbing and unsettling to a writer. It is not only that the markets are interfered with, and the publishers are changed—the whole order of march is different.

I am reading Joseph Freeman's autobiography, *An American Testament*, a very interesting and enlightening book : He discusses the vexing problem of art *versus* propaganda, about which, as you know, I have written a four hundred-page book : *Mammonart.* He has endorsed the thesis of my book, that art is what you are used to, and propaganda is anything new and disturbing.

You smile, as people always do, when that proposition is put before them; but take it seriously for a moment. You are a writer, writing a dialogue between two characters and it is a literal fact that if they are discussing things the reader takes for granted, it may be art. But if they are discussing things that are new and disturbing, immediately the reader's suspicions are aroused; he is not sure any such characters ever existed and he thinks the writer has invented them to make him believe as the writer wants him to believe.

Freeman points out the difference between being a writer in the Soviet Union and in the United States. All the things which they put into their plays and novels,

which they take for granted, we call 'propaganda' in the United States. All the characters in my novels discuss social problems; so in the United States I am a 'journalist,' while in the Soviet Union I am a great novelist.

I think that conversations about social justice are very much needed in novels and dramas in the United States. I go on writing them, but cannot get many to read the novels—and nobody will produce the dramas I have written a dozen plays and had them produced by workers' playhouses in various countries, but never a Broadway production, no commercial theatre except two small stock companies, where the manager took a risk—and one went into bankruptcy soon after! The only time I ever had a motion picture produced was when I wrote a novel that did not deal with social justice—that was *The Wet Parade*, and Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer made a beautiful picture out of it. Tomorrow, if I were willing to write a novel which was not 'socialistic,' I might be able to pay all my debts.

But if you write a motion picture story in which the characters strive under rules of the profit system—in which the hero succeeds and marries the boss' daughter—there will be no 'propaganda' about that. If you have imagination and humour and a sense of drama, you can sell that for a good price: it is what they call an 'original' story! But if your hero comes into conflict with the profit system, and fails to make money, and if the boss' daughter plays with him and turns him down and humiliates him—all of which can happen, as you may know from personal experience—then that is 'propaganda,' and there you have it plain and flat.

Of course, that means a very serious handicap to all of us writers, because we need food, shelter, and clothing, and how to get them is a perpetual problem with us, as it is for all other workers of the world. Competition in the writing job is ferocious.

Karl Pearson

Professor Karl Pearson leaves behind him a school endowed with his gifts and inspiration. Probably the majority of the leading teachers and investigators in the field of statistics in Great Britain and America have been his pupils. *The Mysore Economic Journal* publishes the following communication by the Secretariat of the League of Red Cross Societies :

The sudden death of Professor Karl Pearson in his 80th year has reminded those who survive him that, as one of his biographers has truly said of him, "No Englishman of science of the last fifty years has more profoundly influenced the thought of his time." His influence was so revolutionary that he was attacked on all sides. B i o l o g i s t s resented the application of mathematical methods to their subject, doctors resented his trenchant attacks on their neglect of statistical methods, and philanthropists objected to him because of his excessive scorn of environmental betterment.

Yet in the end his influence on all, doctors in particular, was almost wholly good. They have learnt that when things can be measured and counted they should be measured and counted, and that even in medical science things can be measured and counted, much more often than we used to think.

Karl Pearson, the son of William Pearson, barrister and K.C., was educated at University College School and at King's College, Cambridge. In 1879, he took a first-class in honours in mathematics. Then he studied abroad in Heidelberg and Berlin. For a time, he studied law in London where he was called to the Bar, but he soon returned to his scientific studies. In 1885, he was appointed Professor of Applied Mathematics at University College, London. Here he settled down for the rest of his life. The publication by Pearson in the early nineties of his *Grammar of Science* brought him world-wide fame.

The main idea of that revolutionary book is that we ought to discard the usual notion of cause and effect and replace it by the more scientific conception of correlation.

When two phenomena appear simultaneously or successively, they may be independent of each other, or one may have acted on the other, or they may both depend on a third factor. The only way to express this scientifically is to say that a correlation exists between these two phenomena. Pearson taught us to calculate this correlation, and by doing so introduced in science a most valuable new method, which has been used widely, if not always wisely. When he opened the biometric campaign, he had to face the fact that statistical methods were almost unknown in the medical profession. The statistical methods in use some 40 years ago were primitive, and Pearson found little sympathy among brother mathematicians with his zeal to make mathematical methods available to those who had not been mathematically trained. He found even less readiness among doctors to welcome mathematical methods.

By sheer force of personality and intellect, Pearson won his battle almost single-handed.

For many years he continued to apply mathematical methods to the study of biological problems, and to teach applied mathematics. Only after his appointment in 1911 to the Chair of Eugenics endowed under Galton's will was Pearson able to devote himself wholly to his favourite studies. He plunged into them with the fervour of a zealot and the combativeness of a gladiator. Gifted with a magnificent physique and with the finely cut features of the typical Greek athlete, he possessed an arresting personality.

In addition to *The Grammar of Science*, Pearson contributed a brilliantly written biography of his revered predecessor, Francis Galton (*Life and Letters of Francis Galton*). He also wrote several volumes of essays whose literary quality was on a par with their scientific value.

No young man came under his influence without realizing the truth of Helmholz's remark that contact with a great investigator alters one's whole scale of values.



Mahatma Gandhi delivering the inaugural address to the All-India Hindi Sahitya Sammelan, Madras



Srimati Kasturiblai Gandhi arriving



Mahatma Gandhi and other leader at the Sammelan

Anti-constitution demonstration at Chowpatti, Bombay, on April 1.
Mr. K. F. Nariman is seen speaking



An Afridi turning out rifles with the aid of simple and crude tools [Courtesy : *Asia*

Notes

Two Kinds of Constitutions

The word constitution means the fundamental organic law or principles of government of a nation, state, society, or other organized body of men, embodied in written documents, or implied in the institutions or customs of the country or society. It also means a written instrument embodying such organic law, and laying down fundamental rules and principles for the conduct of affairs. Applied to countries or states, constitutions may be generally spoken of as being of two kinds. The British constitution and the United States constitution may be taken as typifying the two. The British constitution belongs to what are called customary, or unwritten, constitutions and any part of it may be modified by an ordinary act of Parliament. Parts may be, as many of them have been, modified, changed, or amplified by the growth of conventions. The constitution of the United States of America belongs to what are often called rigid constitutions, all parts of which are written, none being customary. The United States constitution cannot be modified in its express terms, except through such processes as the constitution itself ordains. Gradual and essentially unconscious changes take place in the effect given to both customary and written constitutions through the development of the law by the judiciary.

The above is mainly a dictionary description of constitutions.

Though the constitution of India belongs to the class of written constitutions, it may be considered unique or *sui generis,* and that for various reasons. It has been made, not by the people of India, but by an alien people, and has been imposed on the former by the latter. Britishers want to enforce it, though the people of India have all along condemned it and declared it to be unacceptable, and though the recent general elections in the provinces as a whole have resulted in a victory for the Congress, which is the largest and best organized representative political body in the country. It is true that some Indians were invited by the British Government, not elected by the people of India, to take part in the deliberations preparatory to the drawing up of the constitution, but every proposal or suggestion made by even the most moderate and "loyal" among these Indian nominees of the British Government was turned down by the framers of the Constitution Act, none being embodied therein.

A distinguishing feature of this unique constitution is that it pretends to give autonomy to the people of India, but gives autonomy, not to the people's representatives, but to the Secretary of State for India in London, the Governor-General of India and the provincial Governors in varying measures. The people's representatives have not been given final powers in any thing. The Governor-General and the Governors are said to be servants of the British Crown. This constitution is different from all other constitutions that are or have ever been in this that under it these servants possess greater powers than their master. The British King cannot by himself make any laws for Great Britain and Northern Ireland or for the self-governing Dominions or other colonies. It may be argued that the inhabitants of these countries being free peoples, the British King cannot behave like a despot, with regard to them. The people of India are, however, a subject people, and the British King having been made their emperor by the British Parliament, that legislative body might have given that monarch the power to make laws for India unaided and unchecked by anybody else. But he does not possess any such power. But his servants, the Governor-General of India and the provincial Governors, can individually make laws unaided or unhindered by Ministers or Members of Legislative bodies.

Another distinguishing feature of the Indian Constitution is that it does not recognize the

existence of any Indian nation or people—it recognises only sex groups, racial groups, religious groups, caste groups, occupational economic groups and academic groups. It is anti-national and undemocratic. It recognises and safeguards vested interests—particularly the vested interests of Britishers, and of Muhammadans as their cat's-paws.

There is no constitution in the world which does not make the promotion of the economic interests of the country or state whose affairs it regulates its sole or exclusive or at any rate its primary concern. The Indian constitution is unique in this respect that its primary concern is to safeguard British interests, and Indian interests can be suffered to be promoted only if thereby British interests can also be promoted or if thereby British interests are not injured or adversely affected. Any attempt to promote Indian interests without duly safeguarding British interests has been given the opprobrious name of 'discrimination'!

All this is a repetition of what has been said again and again. Other details need not be repeated. It is necessary only to add that in the central and the provincial parts of the constitution, the power of the purse belongs to the Governor-General and the provincial Governors. The greater part of the revenues is non-votable, and even what is votable is practically under the control of the Governor-General or the Governors.

Modification of Constitutions

Any part of the British constitution, which is a customary or unwritten constitution, may be modified by an ordinary act of the British Parliament. Any part of the United States constitution, which is a written constitution, can be modified in its express terms through such processes as that constitution itself ordains.

The Indian constitution is unique in this respect that it cannot be modified by the Indian Central and provincial legislatures. It can be modified only by a foreign legislature, namely, the British Parliament.

It has been stated in the previous note that gradual and essentially unconscious changes take place in the effect given to both customary and written constitutions through the development of the law by the judiciary. Whether this will be the case or not with the Indian constitution cannot be predicted now. The statement of Sir B. L. Mitter, the Government of India's Advocate-General, on the subject of the functions of the Federal Court, does not throw light on the subject.

Conventions and Constitutions

The British constitution being customary and unwritten, the growth of conventions has played a greater part in its development than in that of written constitutions. In the drawing up of new constitutions, it is statesmanlike and wise to embody in written constitutions the good conventions in unwritten ones which have been the result of development through centuries. Much time and struggle are saved thereby. In all spheres of human activity men avail themselves of the results of previous experience either in their own country or abroad. Hence in the Government of India Act of 1935, useful British conventions should have been embodied in some sections or other. Theoretically it may no doubt be said, as British bureaucrats or autocrats are wont to say, that just as conventions grew up in Britain, so they may and should grow up in India. But there is no reason why India should take as many centuries to develop these conventions as Britain took. In exploiting India's natural resources neither Britishers nor Indians use machinery of a bygone age, but go in for the latest inventions. There nobody swears by the process of evolution. But in the sphere of government, we Indians alone must evolve through centuries! Many comparatively recent constitutions have been framed in various countries in which both the written and the unwritten customary and conventional parts of previous constitutions which were considered suitable have been embodied in sections thereof. India also would have done so, if she had been in a position to act according to her will. But with regard to many a good feature of the British constitution which India would like to have in hers, she is told to evolve conventions!

It has to be noted that it is easier for a convention to grow up in Britain than in India. Britishers are a free people who can voice their opinions freely. They have freedom of speech and association and a free press. Hence public opinion there is strong. They are a literate people, and hence the volume of public opinion there is large. In Britain the legislature, the executive and the judiciary have to consider only the interests and welfare of Britain in determining whether a particular convention would be beneficial and useful or otherwise. In India, on the contrary, the people are neither free, nor

literate. There is no freedom of speech, freedom of association and freedom of the press. Hence public opinion is neither strong nor appreciably large in volume. That stands in the way of the growth of useful and beneficial conventions. Moreover, those in India (not *of* India!) who have the power to allow or not to allow the growth of a particular convention, must always consider whether the convention in question will, directly or indirectly, make for the perpetuation or prolongation of British dominance in India. And a convention agreed upon at one time may not be quite safe in their hands, if it be found to clash with British interests.

The worst of it is this that, if Indians are for ever to depend upon outsiders for broadening the bases of their freedom by means of conventions to be agreed upon by the latter, that cannot but make the chances of the attainment of freedom precarious and the whole process extremely humiliating.

Perhaps the idea of the growth of conventions appeals to British autocrats and bureaucrats for the very reason that it leaves Indians at their mercy.

Whose Autonomy ?

The current number of *The Asiatic Review*, which is a quarterly, contains two articles in the titles of which the blessed word 'autonomy' occurs. The one on "South India on the eve of autonomy" is by Diwan Bahadur Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar, Member of the Indian Council, and the other, on "India on the eve of autonomy," is by Mr. John Coatman. It is not our object to discuss the contents of either. No one but a Britisher or one who has been or desires to be favoured by Britishers can speak of the imposed constitution of India as having conferred autonomy on the whole or any part of the country. As we have shown repeatedly in previous issues, as also to some extent in the first note in this issue, the autonomy which the Government of India Act of 1935 contemplates is, not the autonomy of the people or their representatives, but the autonomy of the rulers. Those, therefore, who believe or profess to believe that the new constitution has conferred autonomy on India, only deceive themselves and, consciously or unconsciously seek to deceive others also.

Vain Quest for Security and Peace

The Month, an English magazine published by Longmans, Green & Co., Ltd., writes editorially :

The impartial observer regarding things in their only true light cannot fail to note how each great Power professes its entire blamelessness, now and in the past, whilst complaining of the injustice, in act or design, of this or that rival. Has a nation ever owned itself to have been in the wrong? Can such an emotion as repentance for past misdeeds ever enter into a corporate consciousness? Even the effort is rarely made. National histories are often but one long boast that "we are not as other men," whilst leaders of public opinion must continue to flatter those on whose votes depends their tenure of office. The result is that sacrifice and compromise which are of the essence of human agreements seldom figure in diplomatic talks. This time last year the chancellories of Europe were buzzing with "Peace Plans," and we believe that peace *pourparlers* are still going on in their usual leisurely fashion. But the only visible international activity discernible is a feverish competition in armaments, the ultimate result of which is a greater risk of the very warfare they are meant to prevent, and is meanwhile a terrible burden on national prosperity. It is reckoned that Europe's annual arms-bill has increased threefold in the last four years: £1,000,000,000 in 1932 and £3,000,000,000 today. And the regrettable fact is that the Government, calling for a loan of £400,000,000, is yet making no effort to implement the modest suggestions of its own Armament Commission and to take the profit-motive, as much as possible, out of the deadly business. It depends so much on the good will of the munition makers that it dare not offend them and is seemingly content to carry through its rearmament programme very largely on their conditions.

Militarism in the Cradle

The same paper writes :

Instead of the coming generation being sedulously taught the one lesson of 1914-1918, *viz.*, that civilization cannot afford another war, and that therefore cultural progress demands the cultivation of peace, in three great States the idea that warfare is not a regrettable relic of barbarism but something noble and elevating and practically inevitable is being impressed upon the minds of the young, as soon as ever they become impressionable. Russia the other day decreed the militarization of children from the age of eight, Italy has already gone one step worse by drilling babies of six, whilst Nazi Germany is so far content with sweeping children of ten into her war-machine. What hope can there be for the future of peace while this marked relapse into savagery has been made by powerful States a national ideal.

Foreign Help for Frontier Tribesmen

In the fight that has been going on in Waziristan it is not improbable that those who are fighting the forces sent against them by the British Government are receiving help from abroad. The following paragraph from *The Hindu Outlook* of Delhi would seem to support such a conjecture :

A reliable Frontier Hindu from Peshawar writes: The Ex-King Ammanullah's Agents are helping the Frontier Tribesmen in their revolt against the British Government. The situation on the Frontier is expected to assume the nature of the Spanish trouble. The mysterious hand of adventurous nations like Italians, Germans and Russians is becoming visible on the N.-W. F. of India. Some of the young men of these nations are

reported to have established their firms in the cities of Afghanistan, and the tribesmen, instead of looking to India for food supply, ammunitions and sinews of war, are fetching all these things from Afghanistan side. It is not only the Indian Muslims who are feeling for their coreligionists on the N.-W. Frontier of India, but the Muslims of Afghanistan, Persia and other Muslim countries also who are doing business in India are of opinion that, in the event of any international conference being convened, the Muslim powers like Afghanistan, Turkey, Persia, etc., are bound to bring to the front the question of the North-West Frontier of India.

Seth Jugal Kishore Birla's Donation for Chinese Hall

Seth Jugal Kishore Birla, who is ever ready to encourage all endeavours to promote genuine Indian culture in India and abroad, has given Rs. 5,000 for the Chinese Hall at Santiniketan. It is stated in Rabindranath Tagore's detailed biography in Bengali by Prabhat Kumar Mukhopadhyaya, which is indispensable for a knowledge of the poet's life and works, that Seth Jugal Kishore gave Rs. 10,000 for the expenses of some of the poet's companions in his travels in China and another ten thousand for a similar purpose when he went to see Java, Bali and other parts of Greater India.

Grievances of Hindus in the Nizam's State

The Hindu Outlook writes :

A deputation of the Hindus, headed by Mr. Kashinath Rao Vaidya, waited upon Sir Akbar Hyderi and placed before him the grievances of the Hindus with regard to their representation in the Hyderabad State services.

The deputationists submitted a lengthy memorial reiterating the disabilities of the Hindus in Hyderabad State and requesting that at least fifty per cent of services of all grades under the Government, especially in the Judiciary, should be allotted to the Hindus, and that a scheme should be drawn up so that the proportion may be reached within the next few years.

The deputationists also pointed out that in the Judiciary of the State, while there were 173 Muslims, the number of Hindus was only 17.

Sir Akbar Hyderi gave a patient hearing and, it is understood, assured the deputationists that the State Government would try to give, within three years, the Hindu population of the State their due share in the public services. It is further understood that a communique giving the policy of the State in this respect will be issued within a short time.

Indian Mussalmans insist upon having at least as large a proportion of the appointments in the public services as their numerical strength, not their educational standing, would entitle them to, as they think. Now, in Hyderabad, out of a total population of 14,436,148, the number of Hindus is 9,699,615. And the Hindus in India are not less educated than the Mussalmans. So the Hindus in Hyderabad ought not to be discriminated against in the public services, as they have hitherto been.

Another serious grievance of the Hindus there is cultural. In Hyderabad State those whose mother-tongue is Telugu number 6,972,534, those whose mother-tongue is Marathi number 3,786,639, and those whose mother-tongue is Western Hindi or Urdu is 1,573,630. But the medium of instruction and examination in the Osmania University, the State University of Hyderabad, is Urdu. Neither Telugu nor Marathi receives any encouragement in the University. And in secondary and primary education, too, they do not receive their due share of encouragement. And all this in spite of the fact that Telugu and Marathi are languages with a rich ancient and modern literature.

Child Marriage Restraint Act in French India

We in Bengal know that some self-styled Sanatanist Hindus get their sons and daughters, below the ages of 18 and 14 respectively, married at French Chandernagore and thus evade the Child Marriage Restraint Act, popularly known as the Sarda Act. Such evasion is practised in South India also. This will not be easy now, as the following paragraph from *The Guardian* would show :

The French authorities in India deserve the gratitude of British India for their help in endorsing the Child Marraige Restraint Act. It may be recalled that at the opening of the extraordinary Session of the French India Legislative Assembly, M. Crocicchia, the Governor, in the opening speech, made mention of a proposal to fix the marriageable age limit for boys and girls in French India. This was to put an end to the celebration of a number of child-marriages in the French Settlements in India, especially in Yanam, by British Indian residents who evaded the penalties of the Sarda Act in force in British India. More than a hundred such marriages have been celebrated annually in French India since the Sarda Act came into force. The matter was the subject of correspondence between the Government of Madras and the French Indian Government.

Without much discussion, 18 and 14 were laid down as the marriageable ages of boys and girls respectively in French India, during the recent sessions of the Assembly held at Pondicherry. The law is based on the legislation in British India.

Royal Message on the First of April

The following has appeared in *The Gazette of India* Extraordinary, dated New Delhi, April 1, 1937.

No. 1.—The following is His Majesty the King Emperor's message to India to be published on 1st April, 1937 :—

"Today the first part of those constitutional reforms upon which Indians and British alike have bestowed

so much thought and work comes into operation. I cannot let the day pass without assuring my Indian subjects that my thoughts and good wishes are with them on this occasion.

A new chapter is thus opening and it is my fervent hope and prayer that opportunities now available to them will be used wisely and generously for lasting benefit of all my Indian people. GEORGE R. I."

J. G. LAITHWAITE,
Secretary to the Governor-General.

This formal message is a child of the British Ministry. It is known to the British cabinet that nothing in the Government of India Act of 1935 is the brain-work and handiwork of Indians. Therefore no part of the 'constitutional reforms' embodied in that Act stands to the credit or discredit of Indians.

Bombay Ministry's Programme

A statement has been published in the press containing the outlines of the programme of the Bombay ministry, of which the following are the main items :

(1) Release of political prisoners and detenus.
(2) Free compulsory primary education all over the presidency.
(3) Remission of assessment in proportion to fall in the prices of agricultural produce, cultivation of fallow land and relief of indebtedness.
(4) Extension of the co-operative movement.
(5) Road development.
(6) Improvement in irrigation.
(7) Gradual prohibition.
(8) Relief to industrial and other labourers, maintaining of industrial peace, growth of industry, healthy Trade Union movement, mitigation of unemployment.
(9) Solution of housing problems in big cities and other municipal areas.

Similarly, Mr. A. K. Fazlal Huq, Chief Minister in Bengal, has promised to introduce free and compulsory universal elementary education.

No good work that anybody may do can be unacceptable. But promise is not performance.

It should be borne in mind that all these promises are due, indirectly, to the influence of Congress and other nationalist organizations, and that the materialization of such promises would depend upon the good graces of the provincial governors. This is not autonomy. When the representatives of the people can carry out the mandates of the people for their welfare without any outsider having the power to say nay, that will be autonomy.

The Anti-"Phooka" Agitation

Recently several meetings have been held in Calcutta for enforcing and stiffening the law against the practice of the "Phooka" process in milking. We accord our whole-hearted support to this movement. "Phooka" means blowing. The actual process is unnatural, revolting and painful to the she-buffaloes and cows operated upon. It is obscene. But in order to make public its revolting character we are constrained to print the following extract from the speech of Mrs. F. Stanley, secretary and superintendent, Calcutta Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, which appeared in the proceedings of that society's first general meeting of 1935.

"The subject is frequently mentioned but I doubt if any member present has any realization of what it means. Heavy penalties are laid down for the punishment of offenders when caught. The Calcutta Society employs four plain clothes officers for the detection of the offence. I have always been told that evidence is greatly exaggerated, and the process, which is the result of superstition, is not in many cases serious. Through the courtesy of an Indian gentleman, I was quite recently given an opportunity of seeing for myself what 'Phooka' really means, and at the risk of shocking you all, I am going to tell you exactly what I saw. As you know, the Phooka process of milking is resorted to when the lactation period of a cow or she-buffalo is coming to an end, with the idea that the flow of milk can be stimulated for a further period. It was a she-buffalo I saw being operated upon. I was taken to a house where the lower windows at the back looked right into a very large cowshed, having its frontage in another street. The animal in question was in a secluded place at the back of the shed, not visible from the road, but immediately under the window at which I was stationed, with the wooden shutters closed, allowing just a small space through which I could see clearly without being seen. The she-buffalo was first tied firmly to posts by all four feet, one or two men holding her while this was done. The milkman then seized the animal's tail by the hairy end, and with the greatest possible violence, thrust this, together with his hand and arm up to the shoulder, inside the vagina of the animal. By the movements of the man's arm, one could see that he was inserting the hairy portion of the tail right inside the uterus. The animal was obviously in agony, coughing and groaning. Having held the tail in this position for a few minutes, the man withdrew his arm, leaving the tail fixed inside the animal for the whole length. After very casually dipping his hand in a tub of water, he then began to milk the buffalo-cow. Having seen enough and feeling physically sick with the sight, I left the place, and our officers fetched a posse of police to help them raid the shed and arrest the offenders. I gave evidence at the hearing in Court, and I am glad to say the Magistrate convicted, sentencing the culprits to a fine of Rs. 50 each and six weeks' rigorous imprisonment.

"Now this torture is going on in every cow-shed throughout the length and breadth of India, and I want to make a very urgent appeal to all Societies to take active measures to detect and secure punishment for this hideous offence. Not only are the animals tortured by this practice, but the result is that after months of this treatment, the cow is rendered sterile and is then sold to a butcher. In this way good milch cattle are being ruined and destroyed to the very great detriment of the breed throughout the country.

"The method I have described is used on the

buffaloes only. For cows, a metal or wooden pipe is used which is forced into the uterus and is then blown into till the uterus is distended to its utmost capacity, causing the same symptoms of agony and distress as those I have described."

"Phooka" ought to be put down without the least delay. The fact that it is unnatural, revolting and painful to the animals ought to be sufficient justification for taking vigorous action against those who practise it. There are additional sanitary, hygienic and economic reasons. The milk obtained by this unnatural process cannot but be unwholesome. And it leads to the sterilization and slaughter of large numbers of good milch cattle.

It must not be supposed that the evil is confined to Bengal. It exists elsewhere, too. And therefore, it is a fit subject for both provincial and All-India legislation. There ought to be a publicity campaign through the medium of the vernaculars of the regions where the evil exists.

Creation of Portfolio of Communications

The following *Communiqué* has been issued :

The Government of India announced their acceptance of the principle that the various branches of activity in the Central Government relating to communications be combined to form a single portfolio of Communications. The Governor-General has now decided to effect a re-distribution of the portfolios for this purpose.

Minor details of distribution and consequent departmental arrangements are now under consideration but the main features of the re-distribution will be as follows :—

The portfolio of Communications, which it is intended to assign to Sir Thomas Stewart, will include Railways, Posts and Telegraphs, Aviation, Roads, Broadcasting and Ports, and possibly some other cognate subjects.

The Industries and Labour portfolio, comprising a majority of the subjects dealt with in the Industries and Labour Department, with practically all the subjects, other than Ports, now coming under the Commerce Department, will be designated as the portfolio of Commerce and Labour and assigned to Sir Mohammad Zafrullah Khan.

The changes will necessitate considerable re-adjustments of staff, office accommodation, etc., and will come into effect when the Government of India move in autumn next from Simla to New Delhi.

Division of labour is necessary. But was it necessary to create another highly paid job, with minor subsidiary jobs? For a poor country like India, the administration was already too costly, and with the introduction of the 'reforms,' it is being made more expensive still.

There is another thing to be said in relation to the creation of the new portfolio. Commerce and Industry cannot be promoted without facilities of communication. And it is superfluous to add that Labour cannot do without commerce and industry and commerce and industry cannot do without Labour. So commerce, industry, labour, and Communications are interrelated. If Communications, and Commerce and Industry are placed under the charge of independent authorities, the man in charge of Communications (that is, of Railways, Post and Telegraphs, Aviation, Roads, Ports, and Broadcasting) can so work his department as to help or hinder the work of the department of commerce and industry. The work of the department of Commerce and Industry should be to promote the commercial and industrial activities of Indians—though we know in actual practice an Indian commerce member has to promote British interests. Similarly the department of communications ought to be administered in Indian interests—though it may be safely assumed that it will be worked primarily in British interests.

The placing of an Indian man in charge of the Commerce and Industries department and a British man in charge of the Communications department may have this inner significance that, if the Indian man be a bit of a patriot at heart, he will be indirectly controlled by the British man. For the Indian man cannot adequately encourage his countrymen's commercial and industrial enterprises without the cordial co-operation of the British man in charge of communications. And it would be always practicable for the British man to thwart the Indian man. But the division of work has been so cleverly made that the Indian man can scarcely thwart the British man.

It would be a temporary and precarious palliative if both the high officers were Indian and patriotic, too. But the real and radical remedy lies in the attainment of full Swaraj.

An Indian Professor to Attend International Congresses

LUCKNOW, APRIL 15.

Dr. Radha Kamal Mukerjee, Professor of Economics and Sociology, Lucknow University, is leaving for Europe today being invited to attend the International Congress of Population, the International Conference of the Social Sciences and the International Congress of Sociology at Paris.

The University of Cambridge has also invited him to deliver lectures on some aspects of population theory in May, and he is also giving lectures at the Institute of Sociology, London.

Dr. Radha Kamal has also received invitations from the University of Amsterdam, Berlin, Rome, Geneva and other centres, and several universities in the U. S. A., where he is participating in the Summer School programme.

The first volume of the symposium on Economic Problems of Modern India, which comprises contributions

of about a dozen distinguished economists and officials, and which he is editing is expected to be published before long from London.

Dr. Radha Kamal Mukerjee is the first Indian to be conferred this honour. He sails from Bombay on Saturday April 17.—*A. P. I.*

Why the Philanthropic British Won't Leave India

Mr. Edwyn Bevan writes in *The Times* of London:

LONDON, APRIL 17.

"Anyone who knows the present temper of the British people and who considers the actions of our country in the recent years knows that it is quite absurd to suppose, as Mr. Gandhi still seems to suppose, that our people are unwilling to relinquish control to another people simply for the pleasure or price of exercising dominion. We have withdrawn from Egypt. We withdrew from Irak too hastily, it has been proved, since the withdrawl has been followed by the massacre of the Assyrians to whom we were under an obligation.

"It is quite true that our people are not willing to withdraw at once from India. That is not because Indians are inferior in character, intelligence or culture to the Egyptians or Mesopotamians, far from it, but because no country aspiring to be a single country is so divided by antagonisms of race, creed and caste as India."—*Reuter.*

It is not our intention just now to investigate the causes or degree of Britain's "withdrawal" from Egypt or Iraq. Mr. Bevan says that it is absurd to suppose that the British people are unwilling to relinquish control over India simply for the pleasure or price of exercising dominion. Let us leave aside "the pleasure," which may be an elusive subjective condition. Let us consider the "price" obtained by dominion. Do not Britishers get from India large sums in the shape of salaries, allowances, pensions, etc.? Are they willing to forgo these? Don't they make huge profits by trading in and with India and from their concessions in India and what are practically their monopolies? Is not imperial preference by means of the Ottawa Pact and similar devices a means adopted to safeguard these profits? Is not the chapter on Discrimination in the Constitution Act meant to safeguard Britishers' huge commercial, industrial and professional profiteering in India? Are not the best paid civil and military jobs preserves for Britishers? Does not British shipping make huge profits by carrying goods and passengers to and from India? And is not that a reason why every effort has been made all along to prevent Indian ships having a foothold even in coastal traffic, which is a national monopoly in a good many progressive countries? Can Mr. Bevan honestly say that all the material advantages mentioned above are not a reason for Britain's keeping control over India?

Did not Britain acquire her vast empire largely by using Indian money and India's man-power, and is not the possession of India still indispensably necessary for maintaining Britain's position among nations?

Mr. Bevan says Britain does not leave India because India is divided by antagonisms of race, creed and caste. If Britain were really philanthropic, as Mr. Bevan claims she is, then Britishers would have done their best to root out these antagonisms. We ask Mr. Bevan to point out the provisions in the Government of India Act of 1935 which make for the eradication of any antagonism, real or supposed. There is not a single provision of that kind. Great efforts have been made to keep up and strengthen distinctions of race, creed, caste, language, etc.

It is not necessary to discuss here what antagonisms existed before British rule and what have arisen and grown during the last century and a half.

The Home Member of the Government of India said some time ago that during the last 25 years there have been greater racial and communal dissensions, conflicts and bitterness than ever before. It may be that our cussedness has baffled the best endeavours of the philanthropic British people to stamp out our antagonisms. Why not then give up a hopeless job and leave us to our fate?

Proposed Military College at Aligarh

The director, publicity bureau, Aligarh University, writes:

In a signed article in this week's issue of the Muslim University Gazette, Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad, Vice-Chancellor, has given a comprehensive programme of work that lies before the Muslim University and has indicated the lines on which the work has been done so far under each head. The first place in this programme is that of the establishment of a military college at the Muslim University, for which a scheme has already been drafted and presented to the court of the Muslim University. This scheme, he says, is not a new one and was first contemplated by Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk and emphasized later by his successors in office. The changed conditions in the country and *the establishment of the military college by the sister community* has brought the need for it to the fore, and we cannot afford to defer it any longer. This college when established will first train young men on the lines of the Prince of Wales' Military College and will later arrange their training for careers in aviation, navigation and other technical military requirements. On the completion of the course, students will be free to join either the military or the police force and, failing both, they may return to usual academic studies for university degrees. The college will be run under expert military officers.

So, Dr. B. S. Moonje can claim credit not only for establishing a military school but also for giving a fillip to Moslem military education!

Political Prisoners

The Bombay ministry have promised to release political prisoners. Bengal's chief minister made a similar promise when he had not yet been elected. These promises may or may not be fulfilled. The provincial ministers may not have the power to do what they have promised to do. But cannot they do an easier thing? Cannot they ensure civilized and humane treatment for political prisoners in jails and detention camps? Cannot they provide the families of the detenus with the bare necessaries of life?

Bengal Civil Liberties Union

The Bengal Civil Liberties Union has been doing much to enlighten the public as to the actual condition of many detenus and their families. Many of the details published by it are harrowing. Funds are urgently needed for carrying on the work of publicity and for giving relief to the families of some of the detenus.

The Bengal ministers can justify their existence by making it unnecessary to a great extent for the Civil Liberties Union to carry on its work.

Poet's Warning to Sind United Party against Acceptance of Office

KARACHI, APRIL 25.

"Office acceptance is only the outward temptation and not the real need, particularly of the Hindus, who must realize that that is not the time for hankering after offices," says the Poet Rabindranath Tagore in a message to Sind just released by the Secretary of the United Party. The message adds: "We are today living under strange circumstances and it is sad that Sind is betraying the country. Sind may have Hindu-Muslim friction, but you must realize you are being duped into the glitter that is being shown to you. Office is the show to entangle us and we must rise above this. The urgency of time requires that we should rise above this, otherwise it will be a betrayal to the country. If we succumbed, every Indian should be aware of the present pontical situation so that he is not duped into temptation of office and won over. Sind will play into the hands of the powers, inasmuch as every M. L. A. appears to hanker after job. Evidently right people are not there."

Date of Independence for Philippines Advanced

WASHINGTON, MARCH 19.

President Quezon and the United States officials have agreed to the terms of the proposal to advance the date of complete independence of the Philippines from 1946 to 1938-39.

A committee of experts will be appointed to work out the details of revision of the independence programme.—*Reuter.*

There is a famous song by Tagore of which one line runs:

"দিন আগত ঐ, ভারত তবু কই,"

"Yonder is the Day come; yet where is Bharata?"

Bengal's Next Governor

With reference to the appointment of Lord Brabourne, Bombay's present governor, to the governorship of Bengal, *The Indian Social Reformer* writes:

His experience of Bombay will not only be of no use but will be a positive handicap in his new sphere.

Our contemporary then proceeds to point out the differences between Bengal and Bombay.

There are no two provinces which differ more from each other in every respect, social, economic and political, than Bombay and Bengal. This difference extends to the temper of the two peoples. The Bengalee is an idealist. He believes in ideas which the average Bombay man despises and is prepared to go any length in seeking expression for his emotions. That is why Bengal has produced the greatest reformers, poets and artists of our time and also the violent revolutionaries, the desperate devotees of the bomb and the pistol, boys and girls who faced certain death or imprisonment with or without trial for long years, with a smile on their faces and flowers in their hair. Bengal has also given British India great legislators and administrators.

A description follows of how the Bombay Governor and his wife have to spend much of their time:

With the separation of Sind and Aden and the earlier transfer of Western India States to the Central Government, Bombay Presidency is now a shadow of her former proud self. Much of the time and activities of the Governor and his devoted wife are nowadays taken up by catering to the constant stream of tourists. There might have been some justification for adding to the gubernatorial functions that of a glorified inkeeper in the days when Bombay had no hotels. But now it is a kind of unfair competition with private trade for Government House to receive guests who should go to hotels. It is hardly a reason that it affords a few men and their wives the gratification of reading their names in the morning paper as having had the honour of being invited to dine with His Excellency. The nuisance may not be so great in Calcutta as in the Gateway of India.

The Bombay weekly then refers again to Bengal and Bengalis.

Bengal is a greater charge and for a Governor who can sympathise with ideas, a land of great opportunity. Bengalees, too, are highly responsive to gestures, as when they crowded in their thousands round the carriage of the late King George when he ordered his escort to fall back and let the people approach him on the great maidan. And this during the days of the bitter partition agitation.

Whatever might have been the behaviour of the crowd in those days, "gestures" will not do now.

Our contemporary dwells on Lord Brabourne's personal qualities in the course of the following sentences:

> Lord Brabourne's career in Bombay admitted only of a personal success which he has amply achieved. The financial position of the once wealthy Presidency and Ministers of whom the best thing to say is to say nothing, left him but little scope for constructive statesmanship. In Bengal, too, he has the legacy of five years' resolute rule of Sir John Anderson to liquidate. It is high time that a man with a different training and outlook tried his hand at the task of bringing peace to the province. Lord Brabourne has many of the qualities needed for it, and we have every hope that Bengal wll find in him the pacificator whom she sorely needs.

But though Bengal may not fail to *duly* appreciate the personal qualities of a Governor, these cannot improve the situation. A system of Government and a policy very different from those hitherto prevalent and financial justice to Bengal are indispensably necessary to satisfy this province. "Resolute rule" must fail even in Bengal, however despised this province may be. A "strong" ruler, armed with ample autocratic powers, may be able to crush a generation or even a few generations—though that is doubtful, but ideals and aspirations persist and human babies of the future are sure to imbibe them somehow and, when grown-up, begin indomitably to act under their influence.

Horrors of the Spanish War

The horrors of the Spanish war continue unabated, whole towns being reduced to ruins. Women and children are not spared.

Jute Mills Strikes

Workers in Bengal jute mills numbering more than two hundred thousand are now on strike, and the number of strikers is increasing daily. The member of the Bengal ministry in charge of labour delivered a speech before a meeting of the strikers telling them that strikes were no longer necessary and that hereafter all grievances of the workers would be listened to and remedied by the Government. After that he has gone to the cool and humid heights of the Himalayas at Darjeeling, leaving section 144 and the police to do their work. Arrests and shooting have already taken place.

The situation is very serious. On the one hand there are the poor and hungry workers, on the other the capitalists, mostly the kith and kin of the rulers. Considering this fact, the labour minister should not have made the speech that he did. He should have been satisfied with drawing his salary. The public should give the strikers all possible material and moral support.

Languages Recognized by All-India Oriental Conference

The next session of the All-India Oriental Conference will be held at Trivandrum in December this year. It has been notified that the following languages will be recognized by and at the Conference: English, Sanskrit, Persian, Arabic, Hindi, Urdu, Tamil and Malayalam. If any delegate wishes to use any other language, he will have to obtain the permission of the authorities.

As the conference will be held in Travancore, the audience will perhaps have a majority of men and women whose mother-tongue is Tamil or Malayalam. So the recognition of these two vernaculars is only natural. Sanskrit, Persian and Arabic have been recognized as classical languages. English is the cultural lingua franca of the intelligentsia, and hence has deserved recognition. The Indian National Congress wants to make Hindi and Urdu the common inter-provincial language of India. It has been recognized for that reason. For the number of Hindustani-speakers at Trivandrum cannot be large. Though Hindustani is used for purposes of ordinary daily talk or trade by a larger number of men than, say, Marathi, Gujarati or Bengali, as a cultural medium it is not yet superior to any of the latter. As the percentage of literacy among the speakers of Hindustani (*i.e.*, among the inhabitants of the U. P., Bihar and C. P.) is rather low, it is not used for cultural purposes by a larger number or proportion of men than, say, Bengali. We do not, therefore, see any reason why a *cultural* body like the conference should not of its own accord recognize some other advanced vernaculars of India. Bengali, for example, is understood, not only by Bengalis, but also by large numbers of educated non-Bengalis in Orissa, Assam, Manipur, Chota-Nagpur, Bihar and the United Provinces.

Governor-General, "Due Place Among Dominions," and Permanent Settlement

The Instrument of Instructions to the Governor-General contained in the Letters Patent published in a *Gazette of India Extraordinary* includes the following directions:

> The Governor-General should so exercise the Trust reposed in him that the partnership between India and the United Kingdom within the empire may be furthered

to the end that India may attain its due place among the Dominions.

PERMANENT SETTLEMENT

Among the classes of Bills which the Governor-General shall not assent to but shall reserve for signification, is specified any Bill passed by the provincial legislatures and reserved for his consideration which would alter the character of the Permanent Settlement.

Before the passing of the Government of India Act of 1935, Dominion Status had been promised to India by British sovereigns and Viceroys of India, members of the British cabinet and other British statesmen. But during the debate on the Government of India Bill it was said authoritatively, without any contradiction, both in the house of commons and in the house of lords that all the promises and pledges holding out hopes of Dominion Status were *ultra vires* and that no one, not even the British sovereign, except the British Parliament had the power to make such a promise—Parliament not being bound by anybody else's promise. Moreover, in the Government of India Act of 1935, there is nowhere any mention of Dominion Status or even the remotest hint that it is India's political goal towards which the chief executive officer of the British Crown in India should work. So let not the Instrument of Instructions to the Governor-General delude any gullible Indian into the fond belief or hope that it has made an effective promise of Dominion Status.

Moreover, the clever wording of the first sentence quoted above should be noted. The Governor-General is to so exercise his trust that "India may attain its due place among the Dominions"—not that India may itself become a Dominion. Helots had their due place among the citizens of ancient Greece—they were not citizens themselves. Similarly, India has its place among the Dominions as a subject country which Dominion citizens may garrison as soldiers and military officer, may govern as I. C. S. men, may exploit as men of business or professional men, and so forth, without Indians having similar full rights in the Dominions.

The first sentence uses the word *Trust*. All Indian nationalists and all impartial foreigners deny that India is Britain's trust, that Britain is or has acted as India's trustee. As regards "partnership" between India and the United Kingdom, how shall we describe the reality behind these words? Perhaps we need not make the attempt.

One word about the Permanent Settlement. We are neither landholders nor tenants. But as publicists we note that Indian socialists and members of the U. P. Kishan party and Bengal Praja party and similar parties elsewhere will have to reckon with this mandate to the Governor-General not to assent to any Bill passed by the provincial legislatures which would alter the character of the Permanent Settlement.

"Education in India in 1934-35"

The Educational Commissioner with the Government of India annually publishes a report on education in India. We dare not call it a belated annual performance. For, in India aeroplanes are meant for N.-W. Frontier operations and for carrying Imperial mails. All other civil, *i.e.*, non-police and non-military, activities of the Government may preferably have the leisurely speed of the bullock cart. Hence it is nothing unusual that the report on "Education in India in 1934-35" has been published on the 24th April, 1937. It is emphatically not a piece of antiquarian research.

"What is Wrong with Education" in India

The comment with which the officiating educational commissioner with the Government of India practically begins his report on education in India in 1934-35 is as follows:

"Commissions and Reports there have been in planty, from the Calcutta University Commission to the Hartog Committee. What is wrong with education has been pointed out time and again and the necessary steps to put it right indicated, but these steps are not taken. No provincial ministry since Education became a transferred subject has had the courage to tackle the evils fundamentally. They could not reorganize and readjust in the higher stages of the educational system as there are too many vested interests to antagonize, while in the lower stages they are helpless to stem waste and extravagance."

Pace the officiating Educational Commissioner with the Government of India, there were educational commissions, committees and reports before the Calcutta University Commission and the Hartog Committee.

He blames the provincial ministries since education became a transferred subject for not tackling the evils fundamentally. But provincial ministries are almost things of yesterday, whereas British rule began about two centuries ago. May we ask, what the heaven-born white men in charge of education had been doing before provincial ministries ever came into existence? Did not these evils originate when white men held charge and could do what they liked? Why did they not tackle the evils?

We hold no brief for the provincial ministers. If and when they did not make good

use of their powers, if they had any final powers in anything, they were certainly to blame. But they were mere underlings of the provincial governors and, having little power, were afraid even of their I. C. S. secretaries and their directors of public instruction (usually white men), who had the ear of the governors.

Moreover, they were not given sufficient money for education. The reserved-subject-walas took as much money as they required and left some crumbs for the so-called nation-building departments.

As for waste and extravagance, it is only ignoramuses and purveyors of falsehood who can say that in India expenditure on education from public funds is extravagant compared with the needs of India and with educational expenditure in civilized foreign countries. We have exposed such brazen falsehoods before and may do so again.

As for waste, if a project is not proceeded with sufficiently far, the initial expenditure must necessarily mean waste. If one lays only the foundations of a house but does not build the walls, or, if having erected the walls, he does not build the roof, the money spent on the foundations or the walls must be considered as having been thrown away.

Those pupils, boys and girls, who join the lowest class of a primary school, should be enabled to proceed up to the highest class. The State should see to it that the material condition of the parents does not stand in the way of their children finishing their primary course. This is indispensably necessary in a poor country like India. Those who have finished the primary course should be enabled to proceed to the secondary course, and so on. This may not be practicable in a large number of cases. There may be vocational, technical, industrial, or arts and crafts courses and classes for such pupils. In any case, those who have become literate should not be allowed to lapse back into illiteracy. There is no reason why the State, the District, Local and Union Boards and Municipalities should not provide or help in providing free libraries and reading rooms for adults and children even in small villages.

If the State be really and sincerely interested in the spread and improvement of education, there is no obstacle, real or fancied, which cannot be overcome. But if educational officers make it their business to find out excuses for standing pat or going backwards, why waste money even on drawing up and publishing reports? And the previous question is, why have educational directors and other officers at all? Education-detractors are not educational directors.

"The New Phase in India" According to Winston Churchill

Mr. Winston Churchill has contributed to *The Evening Standard* an article with the above heading, in which he dwells upon the situation created by the Congress victory in the elections and the refusal of Congressmen to accept office without assurances from the Governors of non-interference with the constitutional activities of the Congress ministries. Some Englishmen and some others, Mr. Churchill says, are appealing to England to give Congressmen the assurances they want. He interprets the reasons for these appeals in his own way in the following sentences, and then indulges in some sabre-rattling to frighten "the Indian political classes," as he calls them :

> The Congress, it is said, gained their majority by making large promises to the electors.
>
> To fulfil these promises would split their party. To refuse to take office and throw the blame for all disappointed hopes upon the wicked English and their "bogus Constitution," keeps the party united and their electorate behind them, and thus builds up the forces which will be required in the impending struggle.
>
> To frustrate these schemes, it is said, the remedy is to force the Congress men, as they are now called, to assume the responsibility of office. The Constitution therefore must be so interpreted that the reserve powers, on which Parliament, even in its most facile mood, insisted, should be allowed to lapse.
>
> But it is to a different England or Britain that these appeals are now directed.
>
> Here is an England which feels in all conscience that it has done its best for the Indian political classes. It will stand by its word in spirit and in letter; but it will go no further. It will enter upon no new slippery slope. Britain has done her best. Others now must make their sincere contribution.
>
> Besides all this, we are in a different climate of opinion. The dangerous slothfulness of two or three years ago has passed. The mood of pacifism is gone.
>
> Britain is arming on a gigantic scale. The gravity of the European situation presses upon men's minds. There is sterner temper in the air.

But why does Mr. Winston Churchill ignore the fact that Congress has not built any expectations upon England's pacifism? Congressmen know and have had experience upon their own and their brethren's and sisters' persons the material strength of England. The struggle of Congress is a non-violent struggle, and therefore it does not matter to Congress whether England is armed cap-à-pie or to any lesser extent.

Mr. Churchill refers to the gravity of the European situation to explain why "there is a sterner temper in the air" in England and to

suggest that Indians must beware of this sterner temper. All this is similar to the reference to the "tiger qualities" of the British race in certain Anglo-Indian papers during some past periods of agitation in India, in order to frighten the Indian agitators.

The reference to the European situation does not frighten Congressmen or other Indians. The European situation ought rather to lead Britishers to consider whether they can afford to alienate Indians still further by hectoring and autocracy—Britain has not too many friends.

In conclusion, in order to still further frighten the "Indian political classes" Mr. Churchill refers to "the storm of Pathan inroad and foray" on the N.-W. Frontier.

> Meanwhile, as if to strike a note of realism to Pandits, Mahatmas and those who now claim to speak for the helpless Indian masses, the Frontier is astir; and British officers and soldiers are giving their lives to hold back from the cities and peace-time wealth of India the storm of Pathan inroad and foray.

Mr. Churchill and men of his type may ask themselves who are responsible for this "storm" and for making "the Indian masses" helpless. The Frontier non-Pathans were not helpless in the days of Hari Singh Nalua. And now, left to themselves, the Mahatmas and the Pandits would be quite capable of coming to a friendly understanding with the Pathans.

British officers and soldiers—and more than they, Indian officers and soldiers—are giving their lives primarily in defence of British rule in India. Indians are being kidnapped in spite of the might of British arms. That, of course, is a matter of secondary importance to the British.

What ought to make the British anxious is the probability, if not certainty, of there being others behind the Pathans to back them.

"Calcutta Municipal Gazette" Health Number

The annual health number of the *Calcutta Municipal Gazette*, recently published, is beautifully got-up and as full of useful contents as its predecessors. The Calcutta Corporation has been rendering a distinct service to the community by enabling the editor of the Gazette to issue these sumptuous and valuable special numbers.

Mr. S. M. Bose Appointed Member of Public Service Commission

Mr. Sudhansu Mohan Bose, M.A., LL.B. (CANTAB), BARRISTER-AT-LAW, eldest son of the late Mr. Ananda Mohan Bose, has been appointed a member of the Public Service Commission, Bengal. We understand that the appointment has received public approbation. He was member of the first reformed Council in Bengal in 1919 and again a member of the Bengal Legislative Council from 1929 till its dissolution last March. He was a member of the select committee on the Calcutta Municipal Bill, 1923, and member of all the important select committees of the Bengal Council during his connection with it. He was chairman of the South Dum Dum Municipality for 10 years. He was also a member of the Provincial Franchise Committee and of the Provincial Delimitation Committee. A sound lawyer, he is a well-known authority on constitutional law and usage, and author of the "Working Constitution in India," of which a second edition, dealing with the Government of India Act of 1935, will be shortly published by the Oxford University Press. He has been prominently connected with the women's education movement, and with education in general. He is a Liberal in politics.

Congress Working Committee Insists on Governor's Assurance

At its Allahabad sittings the Congress Working Committee adopted the following resolution *re* the impending constitutional deadlock after 28 hours' deliberation on the 26th, 27th and 28th April :

> "The Working Committee approves of and endorses the action that leaders of Congress Parliamentary Parties in the provinces took in pursuance of the resolution of the All-India Congress Committee of March 18, on being invited by the Governors in their respective provinces to help them in the formation of Ministries.
>
> "In view of the fact that it is contended by British Ministers that it is not competent for Governors, without an amendment of the Act, to give the assurances required by the Congress for enabling Congress leaders to form Ministries, the Committee wishes to make it clear that the resolution of the All-India Congress Committee did not contemplate any amendment of the Act for the purpose of the required assurances.
>
> "The Working Committee moreover is advised by eminent jurists that such assurances can be given strictly within the Constitution.
>
> "The Working Committee considers that the pronouncements of the policy of the British Government made by the Marquess of Zetland and Mr. R. A. Butler are utterly inadequate to meet the requirements of the Congress, are misleading and misinterpret the Congress attitude. Further the manner and setting in which such pronouncements have been made are discourteous to the Congress.
>
> "The past record of the British Government as well as its present attitude show that without specific assurances as required by the Congress, popular Ministries will be unable to function properly and without irritating interference. The assurances do not contemplate an

abrogation of the right of the Governor to dismiss the Ministry or dissolve the Provincial Assembly when serious differences of opinion arise between the Governor and his Ministers. But this Committee has grave objection to the Ministers having to submit to interference by the Governor with the alternative of themselves having to resign their office instead of the Governors taking the responsibility of dismissing them."—(*A. P. & U. P.*)

The dignified tone of this resolution is quite in keeping with the position of the Congress.

Lord Zetland had, in his long speech in relation to the demand of the Congress for Governor's assurance of non-interference and the Governors' refusal to give the same, supported the Governors. He could not do less, as the latter had simply carried out his mandate. He had adopted in his speech a high and mighty tone and told the Congress in effect to take the Act or leave it. He had also said that if, on finding out their mistake, Mr. Gandhi or some other Congress leader wanted to see the Viceroy, the latter would approach the request and consider it. That sort of speech did not please even some British lords and commoners and some British newspapers. Even Indian Liberals like Sir T. B. Sapru found it disappointing. As for Lord Zetland's suggestion that Congress leaders should penitently petition the Viceroy to grant them an interview, Mahatma Gandhi and some other leaders have said with due dignity that if Government wanted a conference the initiative must come from the Government, and that the proper person to be invited was the Congress President. Mahatmaji has said that he has no status.

LONDON, APRIL 26.

In the House of Commons Mr. Butler replying to Mr. Thomas Williams said that the proposal for an arbitration tribunal had been considered by the Government. 'They are unable to accept the suggestion, that it is for such tribunal to decide whether the Governor can or cannot consistently with the Act and his instructions divest himself of the duties imposed upon him in specific terms by Parliament through those documents.'

Congress Working Committee and Zanzibar Indians

The Congress Working Committee has in its recent Allahabad sittings passed the following resolution on the anti-Indian Draft Bills published by the Zanzibar Government:

The Working Committee feels deeply concerned over the publication of recent draft Bills by the Zanzibar Government perpetuating the complete internal and external monopoly of dealing in cloves in the hands of a clove Corporation, practically excluding the Indians therefrom and depriving them of all means of recovering their just and legitimate due from the clove-growers and inflicting a deathblow upon the vital economic interests of the Indian people in Zanzibar. The passing of these decrees is sure to create a grave situation in Zanzibar and this committee is informed that the exasperated Indian community may have to resort to passive resistance for the restoration and preservation of their legitimate rights.

In the opinion of this Committee these measures are in direct violation of the past rights of the Indians and of Zanzibar treaties of 1886 and 1898, which guarantee the security of property for Indians and prohibit the establishment of a clove monopoly.

It is the further considered opinion of this Committee that this legislation, though ostensibly designed to benefit Arab clove-growers, is really intended to assist British capitalists, denying the just claims of Indians who have raised Zanzibar to its present prosperous and stable agricultural position.

This Committee assures our countrymen overseas in Zanzibar of its sympathy in their present situation, extends its support in their struggle and is of opinion that retaliatory measures should be taken forthwith by the Indian Government.

Congress Working Committee on Italian Savagery and Tyranny in Abyssinia

The Congress Working Committee has in its recent sittings in Allahabad passed the following resolutions on the massacre of peaceful masses of Ethiopians by the Italian intruders and Italy's forcible closing of the Mahomed Ali Stores in Abyssinia:

The Working Committee expresses its abhorrence at the brutal massacre of peaceful masses of Ethiopians by the Italian intruders and offers its sympathy to the victims of Fascist Imperialism.

The Working Committee takes a strong exception to the closing of the Mahomed Ali Stores in Abyssinia and regards this as an act of grave injustice. The Committee is of opinion that the Italian Government should withdraw this ban and grant adequate compensation to the owners of the stores.

Popularity of Subhas Chandra Bose

In spite of his shattered health and though advised by eminent physicians to take complete rest for months, for which he has left Calcutta for Dalhousie, he will have to accept a reception at Batala and address a public meeting at Lahore. The students of Allahabad adopted a novel method for getting him to be present at a public meeting so that they might see him.

ALLAHABAD, APRIL 28.

A forceful case for intervention by the Congress President in regard to the conduct of Sj. Subhas Chandra Bose, who has been persistently refusing, of course on grounds of health, to attend any of the public meetings organised here during the last three days, thereby depriving a vast number of people of this city and suburbs of having his 'darsan,' was made out in a resolution containing the signatures of over 2000 persons, which was handed over to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru at Anand Bhawan this morning. Panditji took official notice of this requisition and requested Sj. Bose to yield to this overwhelming demand by attending to-night's public meeting at Purshottamdas Park. Sj. Bose, it is understood, has agreed to obey the President's command. Thus, by resorting to this novel device, the students of Allahabad

have gained their objective while all their personal entreaties and representations to Sj. Bose proved abortive.—(*United Press*)

The popularity of Mr. Bose is not inexplicable or undeserved. Quite the contrary. But it must be said that the students of Allahabad—and others elsewhere who want him to resume his public activities before he is physically fit to do so—love him only too well but not wisely.

Indian Delegates to Tokyo World Education Conference

BOMBAY, APRIL 28.

Miss Kapila Khandwalla (Leader), Prof. Seshadri, Mrs. Lila Khandwala, Miss Naju Wadia, Mrs. Lilawati, Dr. Miss Jyoti Master, Mrs. Yodh, Miss Mistry, Mrs. Chari (members) of the Indian delegation to the 7th World Educational Conference to be held in Japan from the 1st to the 7th of August next sailed today for Japan by S. S. "Conte Biacamana." The Conference will be presided over by Dr. Munro of the Columbia University and Mr. Nagata of the Tokio University is the Chairman of the Reception Committee.—*United Press.*

Professor Kalidas Nag is expected to represent Bengal at this Conference. The preponderance of ladies in the Indian delegation is noteworthy.

Maithili asks for Independent Recognition

The claim of Maithili to be recognized as an independent language was admitted by the Calcutta University years ago. Candidates can pass the M.A. examination of this University in Maithili. Those whose mother-tongue it is have been trying to get recognition for it in their home province.

MAITHILI SAHITYA PARISHAD

A special session of the Maithili Sahitya Parishad was held on March 23 at village Sarisab near Manigachi station (B. N. W. Ry.) under the presidentship of Pandit Girindra Mohan Mishra. M.A., B.L., Kavyateerth, assistant chief Manager, Raj Durbhanga. Almost all men of light and leading of Mithila were present.

At the very outset the president took the opportunity of clearing away certain misconceptions which were still prevailing in the opposition camp. Continuing, he said that 20 years back the Maithils had demanded that Maithili should be made the medium of instruction in primary schools instead of Hindi, but he moved a resolution contradicting that demand from the pulpit of the 4th session of the All-India Hindi Sahitya Sammelan, Bhagalpur. By gradual experience and later studies, the president said, he had learnt that Maithili was not a part of Hindi and its recognition was very urgent and necessary. Dealing at some length with the origin and development of Maithili, he considered the question of recognition from various points of view and proved its propriety beyond doubt.

MAITHILI AND PATNA UNIVERSITY: DR. GANGANATH JHA'S PLEA FOR ITS RECOGNITION

Then Dr. Ganganatha Jha, moving the resolution on the recognition of Maithili by the Patna University, said that the speakers of Maithili wanted for their mother-tongue at least the same place that had recently been given to Santhali even. Continuing, the learned doctor said that neither was their number less than those of Santhals nor was their literature so poor as theirs, nor were the Maithils less civilized than the Santhals! How then could the Patna University, asked the distinguished speaker, deny that place to Maithili and defend itself in frustrating the just demand of Maithili for the last 15 or 20 years. In these days, however, he added, when things were decided by a majority of votes, the demand of Maithilis must remain a cry in the wilderness at least as long as the Government themselves did not take the matter in their own hands as they had recently done in the case of Santhali or the Maithils were adequately represented in the various bodies of the university.

The resolution, being supported by Kumar Gayanand Singh, M.A., was unanimously passed.

Two other important resolutions were passed the one relating to the recognition of Maithili by the Sanskrit Association of Bihar which had recently appointed a sub-committee to consider and report about the propriety of recognition within June next and requesting the members of the said sub-committee to expedite the matter and the other congratulating the Bihar Provincial Hindi Sahitya Sammelan upon its resolution passed at Begusarai expressing sympathy with the Parishad.

What is the Chief Mother-tongue of the Panjab?

Recently a distinguished Mussalman gentleman of the Panjab has said—not having his speech before us we are unable to quote his exact words—that neither Hindi nor Urdu but Panjabi is the mother-tongue of the Panjab. Judging by the figures given in the census report for 1931, his pronouncement is not literally but substantially correct. According to the Census of India, 1931, Vol. I, p. 373, in the Panjab, the number per 10,000 of the total population who speak

Panjabi	is	..	5,095;
Lahnda or Western Panjabi	is	..	2,590;
Western Hindi	is	..	1,400;
Western Pahari	is	..	593;
Rajasthani	is	..	215; and
other languages		..	107

Outside perhaps the Panjab, the people of India have very little knowledge of the literature which Panjabi possesses, though some form of it or other is spoken by 7,685 persons in every 10,000 of the population of that province.

Why are Japanese not Asiatics?

Because they can use the mailed fist better than most European nations and as well as any, and because in commercial and industrial enterprise they are equal to any people.

When the name Asiatic ceases to be despised, there may be clamour from many peoples,

cultures and civilizations to have their origin in Asia recognized.

Meanwhile—

CAPETOWN, APRIL 7.

A comprehensive definition of "Asiatic"—a definition which expressly excludes the Japanese—is contained in a new Bill aimed at restricting the employment of white women by Asiatics.

The new Bill has been produced by the Select Committee to which was referred the earlier Bill empowering provincial Councils to prohibit the employment of Europeans by "certain non-Europeans." The earlier Bill which made no reference to Asiatics caused considerable controversy during March and led to a minor crisis in the Cabinet.

According to the definition in the Bill an Asiatic means "any person belonging to a race or tribe whose national or ethnological home is in Asia other than a person belonging to the Jewish or Syrian race or tribe or to the class of persons known as Cape Malays."

This definition does not apply to "a Japanese national while there is in force an agreement between the Government of the Union and the Government of Japan to facilitate the trade between the Union and Japan."

The Bill is intended to restrict the employment of European females by or under the control of Asiatics or controlled by Asiatics.

A Self-degrading Undertaking

The Bill referred to in the foregoing note has been withdrawn on the South African Indian Congress giving an undertaking that the kind of employment of European women which the Bill wanted to prevent will be prevented by the Congress itself. We do not know the situation and circumstances which led the Congress in South Africa to give this undertaking, but it appears to us to involve a self-degrading admission that Indians are racially and *morally* inferior to the white employers of white women.

A German Scholarship for Indians

The scholarship annually placed by the "Allianz und Stuttgarter Life Insurance Bank Limited" at the disposal of India Institute of the Deutsche Akademie, Munich, in connection with the Deutsche Akademische Austauschdienst, Berlin, will be awarded to an Indian post-graduate student for the academic year of 1937-38, who wants to come to Germany for higher studies in economics. The scholarship consists of 500.-Marks (payable in ten monthly instalments of 50.-Marks each) tenable for one academic year. Applications should reach India Institute before June 1st, 1937 and ought to be accompanied by all the original certificates the student possesses. Applications should be sent to: Dr. Franz Thierfelder, Hon. Secretary, India, Institute, Deutsche Akademie, Maximilianeum, Munchen 8.

India's Poverty Admitted in Unexpected Quarters

The Statesman of Calcutta has criticized Lord Zetland's speech in the house of lords on the Congress demand for assurance, from the point of view of British merchants, industrialists and men of business in general. It writes:

To put it on its lowest plane, for Great Britain as a purely British business interest, the problem is to raise the standard of living and convert into serious consumers 350 millions of people. The prosperity of India would mean the prosperity of the whole Empire. India's present poverty is unbearable. Her land system an effete legacy of the past, is now one of the major iniquities of this planet.

Dadabhai Naoroji repeated during decades of his long active life the argument that, if the buying power of the Indian masses were increased by the removal of their poverty, they would buy more British goods than ever and thus Britain would be able to obtain more wealth from India. But so far as the ruling and the mercantile classes of Britain were concerned, his words fell on deaf ears and were like a cry in the wilderness.

British propagandists of various kinds have all along been saying that India has been prospering under British rule. They did not notice or ignore the fact that India's poverty had been officially admitted. In the Report on Constitutional Reforms, popularly known as the Montagu-Chelmsford Report, the signatories, the then Secretary of State for India and then Governor-General of India, stated that "the immense masses of the people (of India) are poor, ignorant, and helpless far beyond the standard of Europe." (Section 132) Again, it is stated in the Report of the Joint Parliamentary Committee on Indian Constitutional Reform (Session 1933-34), Volume I, part I, page 2, Section 2, that in India "the average standard of living is low and can scarcely be compared even with that of the more backward countries of Europe."

And now a leading organ of the British commercial and industrial exploiters of India declares that India's poverty is unbearable. As to the causes of this poverty its opinion will not be the same in all respects as that of Indian nationalists. It will not admit that a, if not the, main cause is the ruin of India's indigenous trade and industries during the British period of India's history. It mentions India's land system perhaps as the main cause. It must have noticed that the Instrument of Instructions for the Governor-General makes the Permanent Settlement sacrosanct. What will the Chowringhee paper say to that?

Greetings to Subhas C. Bose on His Release

On his unconditional release after detention for five years and a half without charge or trial,



Reception of Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose at Sraddhananda Park, Calcutta. Mr. Bose is seen garlanded.

Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose received a welcome from his fellow countrymen in Calcutta which was almost unique and unprecedented. It has been estimated that some 50,000 men and women attended the meeting at Sraddhananda Park. All the footpaths, branches of trees, house-tops and verandahs adjoining the park were also occupied by eager crowds. Rabindranath Tagore sent a message from Santiniketan joining in the nation's welcome to Mr. Bose. Two resolutions were placed before the meeting by Mr. Ramananda Chatterjee, the president. One condemned the Government's policy of detention of men and women for indefinite periods without charge and trial and demanded the unconditional release of all detenus, and the repeal or withdrawal of all laws and regulations by virtue of which such detention can be resorted to. It also sent the meeting's sympathy and greeting to all who were bearing their loss of liberty and consequent sufferings heroically in the cause of the country's freedom. The other resolution voiced the alarm and anxiety of the people at the suicide of several detenus. It expressed the opinion that the cases of suicide showed that the condition in which the detenus lived were unbearable. It also demanded an open inquiry into these cases of suicide and the condition in which these detenus lived. Finally, it expressed profound sympathy with the sorrow-stricken families of these detenus. In placing these resolutions before the meeting, the president said he knew that they all wholeheartedly supported them and that though the resolutions were very mildly worded they held much stronger opinions on the subjects.

Before and after reading the address presented to Mr. Bose, the president made brief speeches. Some 600 associations sent garlands for Mr. Bose. They were kept in a heap before him. He replied to the address with great feeling and deliberation. He would take time to place before the country his detailed programme. In the mean time, he said, an anti-imperialist united front was required in Bengal and in the whole country. For this purpose members of the Congress in Bengal should and must give up their party squabbles

and quarrels. Mr. Bose said that he would give much of his time and energy to All-India work, he would not confine his activities to Bengal. That is a right resolve. Bengal cannot be what it wishes and ought to be without co-operating with and receiving the co-operation of the rest of India and doing its duty to India, and India, too, cannot be what it wishes and ought to be without the co-operation of Bengal and doing its duty to Bengal and co-operating with it. Mr. Bose said that if his fellow Congressmen in Bengal wanted his services they should unite. That is a legitimate demand. All Congressmen, whether leaders or followers, should be free from political as well as communal and sub-communal party-spirit.

Regarding the anti-imperialist front, we think that there are nationalists outside the ranks of the Congress who also are against imperialism. Congressmen in Bengal ought somehow to secure their co-operation, too. It is certainly true that the sacrifices and sufferings of Congressmen in the cause of freedom have been very great. But it is not true that every Congressman is a greater patriot than every non-Congressite.

We recognise the value of a united front. We do not know the secrets of party formation and leadership. But if an outsider may venture to express an opinion, we should think inclusion should be resorted to to a greater extent than exclusion, and individual friendly discussion, remonstrance and exhortation should be given a full trial before disciplinary action is taken. We have all along avoided reading the statements and counter-statements of men belonging to different Congress cliques in Bengal and so will not pronounce any personal opinion on any disciplinary action taken against anybody. We will only say that in political affairs it is good to bear in mind the dictum of the worldly-wise that it is prudent to behave with friends as if they were possible enemies or opponents and with opponents or enemies as if they were possible friends.

Before his detention Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose was the leader of a party of Congressmen in Bengal, and was not entirely free from sectarianism. He has now become formally the leader of all Congressmen in the province, and will have to act as such sincerely and cordially. He is the only man among leading Congressites in Bengal who can devote all his time and energy to public work. This fact, added to his intellectual equipment, experience of freedom movements abroad, organizing ability and capacity for sacrifice, marks him out as Bengal's Congress leader *par excellence*.

Bengal expects him to a prominent All-India leader also.

Dr. S. C. Roy

The late Dr. S. C. Roy, Director-in-charge of the Calcutta branch of the Bharat Insurance Co., Ltd., for which he succeeded in getting influential support during his incumbency of the office for less than a year, was a self-made man. He was for years a medical practitioner in Upper



Dr. S. C. Roy

India. Later he took to life insurance business as his profession, becoming successively connected with some prominent companies. He was a man of ideas as well as a practical man in the sphere of business which he had made his own. He endeavoured to give young men facilities in different ways to learn insurance business. He conducted a Bengali and an English monthly dealing mainly with insurance and other business topics. In politics he was a zealous nationalist. His journalistic enterprise and talents led to his election as a vice-president of the Indian Journalists' Association. His enthusiasm for cultural co-operation was evidenced by the fact that the convening of the Calcutta session of the Prabasi Banga-Sahitya Sammelan (All-India Bengali Cultural Conference) was due entirely to his initiative. That it was a success was due greatly to his organizing ability and capacity for hard work. He was

the author of a book in English dealing with his life and times. He was a very sociable and kind-hearted man.

Tommy Wants Five Meals a Day in India

Oliver Twist, the poor boy hero of Dickens' novel of that name, starved, beaten, abused, but honest, has become proverbial for those who always want a little more. It was not hitherto known that Tommy Atkins in India was Oliver Twist writ large. But he really is, though he does not look like a starveling.

The reason why one must come to such a conclusion is that recently in reply to a question in the British house of commons Mr. Butler, the under-secretary of State for India, stated that British troops in India, like the army in Britain, would shortly have five meals a day—they have four at present, of course at the cost of the overfed people of India whose poverty (or is it wealth?) is unbearable.

Let the people of Britain feed their soldiers ten times a day—it is their business. But why should poor India pay for British soldiers' five meals? India's own soldiers do not eat so many meals a day, yet are as good fighters as any in the world. Besides, they cost India per head one-fourth of what the British soldiers cost per head; so that if all white privates were replaced here by Sipahis, the military expenditure would decrease by some 8 crores of rupees.

Whatever may be the case in a cold climate, in India one does not require four meals a day to keep fit.

As the British Government is offering five meals a day in order to get more recruits for India, it ought to bear the extra cost. As for the people of India, they would not want a single British soldier to remain in India, even if he cost only as much as or even less than a Sipahi. The presence of British troops in India is a humiliating symbol of India's subjection.

Raja Rampal Singh

Raja Sir Rampal Singh, K.C.I.E., of Kurri Sudauli, Rae Bareli, U. P., died last month at the age of 70 after a protracted illness of a year and a half.

The Raja was a prominent politician and educationist and was connected with business. He was a member of the provincial council 1909-1916, of the Imperial Council 1916-1920 and of the Council of State 1920-1935, resigning due to illness. He twice presided over the Hindu Mahasabha, and had the rare distinction of being four times the president of the British Indian Association. He was chairman of the reception committee of the last All-India Liberal Federation held at Lucknow. He was the only Indian director of the Allahabad Bank.

The Raja Sahib was not satisfied with the new constitution and thought it was a set-back on the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms. He, however, believed in working it.

He was one of the early Congressmen. He was the mover of the resolution on volunteering at the second Congress. He was elected president of the second U. P. Social Conference held in Lucknow in 1908 and of the All-India Social Conference in 1910. He was chairman of the Hindu Religious and Charitable Endowments Committee appointed by the U. P. Government. He published pamphlets on questions relating to *taluqdars* and contributed to the press on social, political and religious subjects. He was a leading member of the Liberal Party in U. P.

He was an enlightened taluqdar and a man of great public spirit, and exercised great moral influence over his fellow-landholders. With reference to the airs of superiority which many high Government officers gave themselves he said that the country would not tolerate any more of domination.

Mr. J. C. Banerjee

The untimely death last month of Mr. J. C. Banerjee at the age of 54, removes from the country a prominent engineer, builder, industrialist and business magnate. He was also a public man and was returned to the Bengal Council of State at the last election. He served the Calcutta Corporation for three years as a councillor representing the Port Commissioners.

He began his career as an engineering contractor in 1907. He built many large and imposing edifices in and outside Calcutta, his first large achievement being the Baker Laboratory of the Presidency College, Calcutta. Some of the other buildings are the Calcutta University Science College, the Calcutta University Institute, the Calcutta Stock Exchange Building, the Hongkong and Shanghai Banking Corporation's offices, the Prince of Wales Hospital attached to the Calcutta Medical College, the Lady Dufferin Hospital, and Sir John Anderson Casualty Ward Block of the Calcutta Medical College. Of the buildings outside Calcutta which Mr. Banerjee constructed the Lucknow Central Railway Station may be mentioned as a notable one.

He started the Bengal Bridge Bolts and Nuts Limited, and was connected with many tea gardens, lac factories, engineering works and electric companies. He was Vice-president of the Bengal National Chamber of Commerce and a commissioner for the Port of Calcutta.

Calcutta's New Mayor and Deputy Mayor

We congratulate Mr. Sanat Kumar Ray Chaudhuri and Mr. A. K. M. Zakaria on their

election to the mayoralty and deputy mayoralty of Calcutta respectively. They have both rendered meritorious service to the Calcutta Corporation as councillors.



Subhas Chandra Bose Congress Fund

It has been proposed to raise a minimum amount of Rupees one lakh and call it the Subhas Chandra Bose Congress Fund. The Fund is proposed to be devoted to the construction of a Congress house with a hall for public meetings, a library and office rooms and to keeping apart Rs. 50,000 for carrying on the work of the Congress. The Congress house with hall, library and office rooms is an urgently felt need. It will facilitate and regularize and stabilize Congress work in Bengal. No library exists in Calcutta containing standard and current literature on politics, economics, industries, labour problems, transport, communications, administration, etc. Without such a library publicists cannot do their work properly, to do which they should be equipped with up-to-date knowledge of all problems facing the modern world. To our knowledge the best library in India of the kind needed is that at the Servant of India Society's home at Poona.

A fund from the proceeds of which Congress work can be regularly carried on is also indispensably necessary.

Rs. 1,00,000 is a bare minimum and perhaps insufficient for the purposes referred to. But it will be a good nucleus.

President of the Bengal Upper Chamber

We congratulate the Upper Chamber of the new Bengal legislature on their election of Mr. Satyendra Chandra Mitra as their president. Mr. Mitra is a very able parliamentarian with many years' experience of legislative work. In the Assembly of the central legislature he acted with courage and discretion on many occasions as the spokesman of Bengal who gave voice to those who bore the brunt of the repressive policy of the Government in Bengal.

The Upper Chamber is not a mere revising Chamber. It can be used for purposes of initiative also. We hope it will set an example in both these lines of activity under the able guidance and control of Mr. Mitra.

Congress Working Committee on Interim Ministries and on Congress Programme

At its last sittings the Congress Working Committee passed the following resolution on the formation of ad interim ministries, on the ministers themselves and on the programme of work to be followed and carried out by Congressmen :

Owing to the deadlock created by the refusal of Governors to give the assurances asked for on behalf of the legislatures, various questions have been addressed to the Working Committee by Congress leaders in the Provinces. As to the attitude Congressmen should adopt towards the so-called ministries formed by the Governors in the provinces concerned, the Working Committee is of opinion that the formation of these ministries by the Governors is unconstitutional, repugnant to the conception of autonomy and in total defiance of the overwhelming public opinion in each of these provinces.

The Working Committee is further of opinion that those who have accepted ministerships in these circumstances have by their unpatriotic conduct rendered a disservice to the country. The Committee advised that public meetings be held denouncing the action of these so-called ministers and challenging them to face the legislatures and justify their conducts. But the Committee is of opinion that hostile black-flag demonstrations and the like should be avoided.

The Committee holds that Congressmen should realise that parliamentary work is but a minor part of the national programme, and that the great objective, complete independence, can only be secured by sustained efforts by every Congressman and Congresswoman in carrying out the programme outside the legislatures as laid down from time to time in furtherance of these objectives. Members of the legislatures should establish a living touch with the electors in their respective constituencies and carry the message of the Congress and commend to them the constructive programme including the use of Khaddar to the exclusion of mill cloth, local production of Khaddar in villages by hand-spinning and hand-weaving, creating of public opinion in favour of total prohibition, promotion of communal unity by collective and individual effort and the eradication of the evil of untouchability in every form.—*United Press.*

Congress Working Committee on Jute Mills Strike

The Congress Working Committee has passed the following resolution on the jute mills strike in Bengal :

"The Working Committee views with alarm and concern the grave situation of the jute workers of Calcutta who have been conducting a heroic struggle for the last twelve weeks for recognition of their legitimate grievances. The jute workers' struggle has assumed a great national importance. The strike has made rapid strides and today something like two hundred thousand workers are involved in it.

"The Committee offers its heartfelt sympathy to the stikers and expresses its admiration for the determined and peaceful manner in which they are struggling against the combined forces of the employers and the Government.

"The Committee puts on record its sense of disappointment at the attitude of the employers who by refusing to satisfy the reasonble demands of workers are prolonging the strike and deepening the misery of the strikers.

"The Committee is of the opinion that it is the imperative duty of the Government to intervene in the conflict and secure a speedy settlement of the dispute on

the basis of recognition of the workers' right and satisfaction of their just demands.

"The Committee, however, notes with regret that the Government are taking the side of the employers in this dispute and places on record its strong condemnation of the repressive policy of the Government and the promulgation of prohibitory orders under section 144 Cr. P. C. arrest of labour leaders and workers and various acts of police and military violence. The Committee in particular records its strongest protest at the reported entry of the police and military into the workers' quarters, assault on one of the labour members of the Bengal Legislative Assembly, prohibition of these members from entering their constituencies, including the president of the T. U. C., and firing on unarmed workers including little boys."

Tagore's Appeal in Behalf of Jute Mills Workers

Dr. Rabindranath Tagore has issued the following appeal through the United Press of India in connection with the jute mills strike in Bengal:

"It has deeply grieved me to learn of the suffering of hundreds of thousands of jute workers who have struck work since February last. This is causing misery not only to the workers themselves but also to their women and children. The demands for higher wages and for more humane conditions of work are just and reasonable. In every democratic country of the West the Government looks after the welfare of the people. May we not expect that the Ministers under the new Constitution would take up this question affecting the lives of hundreds of thousands of workers and their families immediately and see that justice is done to them? Humanity demands that those who bear the burden of the society should be protected and looked after by the society itself. To give this strike a communal turn by stirring up ugly communal passions should be condemned by every right-thinking man.

"I appeal to my countrymen to help the jute workers and their helpless women and children in this period of their suffering and distress."

Indian Jute Mills Association's Statement

The Indian Jute Mills Association, of whom the members are mostly British capitalists, has issued a statement to prove "the prosperity of the jute labour force" and to show that the strike has been brought about by political agitators and communists. In order to show that the mill workers are prosperous, the statement gives the following official figures for the past five years of the remittances by money order made from the Post Offices serving the Calcutta Jute Mills:

Years.	Rs.
1932	1,39,02,627
1933	1,40,04,591
1934	1,46,34,342
1935	1,47,02,860
1936	1,55,39,610

The statement does not say whether these remittances were made exclusively by the jute labourers, or they were made also partly by other inhabitants of the jute areas. There must have been some such remittances also. But let us assume that it was only the jute workers who sent the money. The statement does not mention the total number of the labourers. We understand it is 2,63,000.

Now dividing the highest figure, that for 1936, namely, Rs. 1,55,39,610, by 2,63,000, we get Rs. 59. Rs. 59 per annum is equal to less than Rs. 5 per mensem. So what the Association's statement proves is that on an average each labourer sent for his family less than five rupees a month. In all civilized countries, labourers desire and in most such countries get a living wage. The masses of the people in India are very poor, no doubt. But even for such people less than five rupees per family per month cannot be said to be an adequate subsistence allowance—far less an indication of prosperity.

In 1932 the remittances amounted to Rs. 1,39,02,627, rising in 1936 to Rs. 1,55,39,610. This increase may be plausibly argued to be an indication of greater prosperity. But in 1932 there was a smaller number of workers than in 1936. Perhaps in 1936 there were 10,000 more workers than in 1932, and they would naturally make a larger remittance—the statement does not contain any figures on this point. Moreover, the statement does not take into account the prices of commodities in 1932 and 1936. If prices have risen, the larger amount would not necessarily indicate greater prosperity. The workers would stint themselves to send a few annas more each to their families.

As for the strikes being due to the sinister influence of political agitators and communists, let us see what, according to the statement, the labourers want:

"(1) Permanent Post; (2) Lowest salary to be Rs. 30 per month; (3) Free quarters; (4) Provision for old age (Provident Fund and Gratuity); (5) Leave with pay for a month and one months' sick leave yearly; (6) Free medical help; (7) Unemployment Relief; (8) Doles during unemployment; (9) Jobs for relatives; (10) Free education for the children of the labourers."

Assuming that this list is correct, we do not find any item here which smacks of politics —and of course no modern man can admit that politics are necessarily bad. Except "jobs for relatives" we do not find in the list any item which is not a legitimate demand. In fact labourers in many countries have these amenities. The jute magnates think Rs. 59 per annum a big remittance. What are their own bank balances and cigarette bills?

As for communism, if the jute workers had

demanded profit-sharing, management-sharing and the like, it might have been said that they were driving or drifting towards communism. But their demands are not of that description. Simply to call people dupes of political agitators and communists does not prove that their cause is not just. If 2,25,000 persons had no real grievance, it would require superhuman power and influence on the part of a few political agitators and communists to persuade so many men to go on strike and run the risk of starvation and of being shot down. If political agitators and communists be really so influential, the sooner the mill-owners come to terms with them the better. They are by no means worse people than the jute magnates.

Mr. Amiya C. Chakravarty Wins Oxford Doctorate

We are glad Mr. Amiya C. Chakravarty, known in India as the Poet Tagore's literary secretary, has won a doctorate in Oxford. He deserves nothing less.

After taking his Calcutta M.A. degree, he joined Santiniketan and was for several years a professor in the English Department of Visvabharati. He also worked at the same time as literary secretary to Dr. Rabindranath Tagore.

He was elected Fellow of Woodbrooke, Selly Oak Colleges, Birmingham, and worked there for the year 1930-31; and also delivered lectures at different centres in England and the Continent on literary and cultural subjects. Rejoining Visvabharati in 1931, he travelled widely with Dr. Tagore in India and abroad, in Europe, America, Persia and Iraq; and later on, in course of two visits to Europe, did much lecturing, and original research work on English literature.

The degree of Doctor of Philosophy has recently been conferred on him by the Oxford University. His book on English Poetry will soon be published. This is the first time that any work on contemporary English poets has been accepted for higher research work by the University of Oxford: his book has been warmly welcomed by some of the highest authorities in England.

Professors Edmund Blunden, D. Nichol Smith, Lascelles Abercrombie, C. S. Lewis, Nevill K. Coghill, Gilbert Murray, and Sir Michael Sadler speak of him in very high terms. Sir Michael says he "has quite exceptional and outstanding qualifications for a chair in the Department of English Literature in a University."

Dr. Chakravarty has, besides, won the praise and friendship of some of the best intellectuals in Europe.

On his return home to India, we hope the Calcutta University or some other university will give him the opportunity for laying his scholarly knowledge and wide experience of literature at the altar of the Motherland. This purpose will be also served by the Education Department placing him in charge of Modern English literature, in the Presidency College, or in some other college of the same standing.

Unauthorized Alterations in Sir B. N. Seal's Address

The April number of *Prabuddha Bharata* contains Sir Brajendra Nath Seal's address as General President of the Sri Ramakrishna Centenary Parliament of Religions. We also published the same address in our last (April) number, taking an authorized copy from Dr. Seal of what was actually written, and read at the Parliament of Religions. We have noticed a few differences—there may or may not be more—between our authorized version and the version published in *Prabuddha Bharata.*

According to *Prabuddha Bharata* :

> "He took on himself a vow to abjure lust and gold (Kama and Kanchana)."

According to the authorized version :

> "He took on himself a vow to abjure woman and gold (*Kamini and Kanchana*)."

According to *Prabuddha Bharata* :

> "A youthful and beautiful woman initiated him into Tantric practices (Sadhana). Lying on her lap he meditated on Kali. She was a Brahmacharini, using wine and flesh in the rituals of worship."

According to the authorized version :

> "Now came to him a youthful and beautiful woman who initiated him into Tantric Practices (Sadhana). Lying on her lap he meditated on Kali. She was a Bamacharini, using wine and flesh in the rituals of worship."

It should be noted that the phrase used by Hindu ascetics is "Kámini and Kánchana" (Woman and Gold), and that Brahmacháriní and Bámácháriní differ in meaning. Their practices also differ.

Oriental Government Security Life Assurance Co., Ltd.

It is encouraging to find that the amount of new life assurance business written by the

Oriental Government Security Life Assurance Co., Limited, last year was, 56,311 policies assuring Rs. 10,26,95,496 as compared with 48,858 policies assuring Rs. 8,89,89,149 in 1935 —an increase of 7,453 policies assuring Rs. 1,37,06,347 over the previous year's business and constituting a fresh record for the Company. Through this result it still maintains its place within the first ten life assurance companies in the British Empire as regards the aggregate amount of ordinary new assurance placed on the books during the year. So far as published records show, in point of number of new ordinary policies issued, it stands fifth among the companies of the British Empire.

Bengal Government on Waning of Revolutionary Activity

According to the Government report on the administration of Bengal for 1935-36,

"Steady and unremitting pressure by the Government against the revolutionary parties was continued with success during the year, and was reflected in a marked waning of activity among them."

"The year 1936, like its predecessor, saw no major outrage and indeed almost passed without any overt action at all by revolutionaries."

The single exception was a mail train robbery in April committed by a young Bengali at the point of a revolver on the Eastern Bengal Railway near Kurigram in Rangpur district.

The report adds:

"But though revolutionary parties have been thoroughly disorganized, it is clear that the urge to violence has not yet been abandoned. During the year unlicensed firearms were discovered on a number of occasions, ..."

The giving up of the urge to violence by individuals, as well as by governments, is greatly to be desired. But is it only revolutionaries who act under that urge? Do not ordinary robbers and other criminals act under that urge? Did they not do so before Bengal revolutionaries appeared in the scene?

The Bengal Government have come to the usual conclusion:

"There is still therefore sufficient revolutionary mentality in existence to preclude either the possibility or desirability of relaxing any of the efforts which are being made to counteract it, and it follows from this that the policy of detention under the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act or Regulation III of 1818 of persons considered dangerous had to be continued."

It is added:

"Nevertheless the year 1936 has seen a considerable improvement in the situation, largely as a result of the policy of Government directed towards the protection of the youth of Bengal from contact with revolutionary infection."

There will be more improvement if all babies, children and young men and women are kept in detention camps.

President's Address at Bengal and Assam Lawyers' Conference

Mr. N. K. Basu, Advocate, Calcutta High Court, presided over the annual session of the Bengal and Assam Lawyers' Conference held at Dacca in March last. He laid stress on the desirability of having one Bar in India and the removal of all monopolies and distinctions among various classes of lawyers. Said he:

It was one of the most extraordinary things that the legal practitioners in this country should be divided into so many compartments, all more or less water-tight. Whatever might have been the reason for these subdivisions in earlier days, there was no doubt that it was high time that these distinctions should now cease to exist.

The monopolies granted to barristers had no defensible right to continue, nor was there any excuse for the continued maintenance of an inferior grade of practitioners styled the mukhtears. The sooner all these classes were merged into one, the better for the country as well as for the administration of justice.

This question of one Bar had been before the public for a long time. The Indian Bar Committee more than 12 years ago suggested that it was an ideal to be kept prominently in view but, unfortunately, it had not only not been kept in view, but completely lost sight of.

Mr. Basu commented on the dual system in the original side of the High Court in Calcutta.

He asked whether there was any reason for the continuance of the dual system in the original side of the Calcutta High Court. That system, he said, might have its origin in England in hoary antiquity but there was no reason for its continuance in Calcutta except that of increasing litigation costs.

He also dealt with the subject of the overcrowding of the Bar.

Mr. Basu said that the Bar was overcrowded at this moment. The total number of pleaders in Bengal today was 9,817 not counting the High Court advocates practising in the district courts.

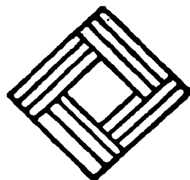
Mr. Basu was firmly of opinion that the question of the number of recruits and of their professional apprenticeship must be tackled. No longer must a mere university degree, backed by nominal attendance in court for a year, do. The entrance to the Bar must be in the hands of the profession itself and not left to any outside body, not even the High Court itself. There must be a Bar Council consisting not of High Court practitioners alone but of lawyers; and this body must be the one and only authority not only to regulate admission to the profession, but all questions of professional etiquette and decorum as well.

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GOLD AND GREEN
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WESTERN PRESSURE AND EASTERN RESISTANCE

BY PROFESSOR DR. MASAHARU ANESAKI,
Emeritus Professor, Imperial University of Tokyo, and Member, Imperial Academy of Sciences

ALL the institutions and instruments of modern Western civilization are undergoing a suicidal process.

There is an increasing resistance in the East against the political, economic and cultural pressures from Europe and America.

The problem of the East, as I see it, is how to derive from the deep source of our spiritual heritage a power which can not only overcome but enfold the vigour and thrill of Western civilization.

The cultures of the East and the West should have the same aim, that of overcoming the present conflict and crisis through a fuller realization of human nature in unison with cosmic life. Whether the two would meet in harmony or in antagonism is the greatest question in world history, and one destined to rule the whole future of mankind.

I discern two aspects in this reaction, the immediate issues of political and economic nature, and the issues of spiritual heritage, though the two are closely interwoven.

Consideration of either of these two categories can be approached from two angles, one of the East and the other of the West.

Though the pressure of the West had once been overwhelming, Asiatic culture was too strong to be entirely suppressed or eradicated, and the present resistance called forth by the immediate issues is essentially backed by the awakening to the spiritual heritage. For the power of the West in relation to the East is represented pre-eminently by its arms and industries, which are largely due to its scientific achievements re-enforced by the spirit of adventure and exploration.

On the other side there are in the East some phases of its spiritual heritage which would not admit a wholesale acceptance of scientific culture in its present form.

Though, on the one hand, modern science is progressing in its theoretical researches and technical inventions, its values and blessings cannot be exempted from grave challenges, because it has been, at the same time, instrumental in carrying out destructions and devastations. Similarly with industry and its vast organization, communication and transportation, trade and commerce.

In every case, the means of blessing can be, and have actually been, used for a sinister purpose. Not without reason it is asked whether the modern civilization of the West is not working for its own destruction.

Not only is this question being asked by the West itself but the reaction of the actual situation upon the East is certainly destined to play a more and more important role in the future.

The resistance raised against the European commodities and culture in general, as signalized by Gandhi, is now being followed by the grave doubt thrown upon the value and meaning of

the modern civilization and the consequent awakening from the unquestioning introduction of it, as expresesd in the nationalist movement in Japan, and, although perhaps in different form, in China.

The contact of different streams of culture is accompanied mostly by a certain amount of discord and a further process of combination.

The powerful force of the West on the East is machine industry.

Seen from the East the modern life of the West is now so dominated by the machine that the question might well be asked whether man is the master or the slave of the machine, and the thoughtful Easterner is naturally compelled to question the meaning of machine civilization.

It is a question whether or not economic pressure, political chaos, religious deterioration and other factors are not mutually enhanced by the effects of mechanistic ideas. Modern science has concentrated its interests one-sidedly on knowing the surroundings of human life instead of knowing human being itself.

Contrast this with the culture of the Orient, by which I mean the stream of culture which originated in India, was combined with Chinese culture, and swept over the east and south-east of Asia, its fundamental idea being the basic unity of all existences.

Looking backward, the stagnancy of the Asiatic peoples is largely due to the lack of the spirit of adventure, which means self-contentedness in being immersed in the sense of continuity. However, the violent impact of the West has worked to break up the ease and slumber. Its disrupting forces have caused consternation, but at the same time are working as invigorating stimuli.

A period of re-examination of Western civilization and more or less of renewed resistance has set in.

This is taking the form of 'passive resistance,' with political bearings, in India; and even there it is not a merely negative one but implies an attitude of revaluation of the inherited culture together with a critical re-examination of the imported culture.

Taking in full balance both the merits and the demerits of either culture, the East would say to the West: 'We have forborne long enough with the fruits of our own indolence, but we are now stirred up and ready for a new life of vigour, thanks to your stimulation, as well as pressure. However, in stepping forward, we shall not simply follow your footsteps, because we see in your life and culture a decidedly one-sided exploitation of human nature, which our moral and spiritual heritage forbids us to adopt without questioning. The sense of continuity, of the one-ness of being, is too deeply imbedded in our soul to be eradicated.'



Woodcut By Manindra Bhusan Gupta

CORONATION MUSINGS

By Major D. GRAHAM POLE

The Coronation revels began last week when the King and Queen went by water to Greenwich to open the new Maritime Museum. The Museum is in "the Queen's House," which was built by Sir Christopher Wren for Henrietta Maria, the wife of Charles I. Greenwich, the sea, Wren, Charles I—what memories they evoke! In the midst of all the ballyhoo with which modern vulgarity seeks to exploit the Coronation, the flavour of this visit to Greenwich will remain. It is in accord with the stream of English history.

Two days later appeared the official Programme of the Coronation. It is memorable for two things: the Prayer for the King's Reign by the Poet Laureate, John Masefield, and an article on The King's majesty by the poet-dramatist who has just died, John Drinkwater. It is ironical, incidentally, that John Drinkwater should have been chosen for this task. Edward VIII lost his Throne because he wished to marry a divorced woman. Yet John Drinkwater married a divorced woman. So perhaps after all poets can hang about the English Court as well as archbishops! Which is as it should be. England is remarkable for her poets but not at all for her archbishops. Except perhaps for Archbsihop Cranmer, to whom we owe so many of the beauties of the book of Common Prayer.

The Prayer for the King's Reign is not specially good poetry but it has the virtue of being specially appropriate. Apart from such expected things as its prayer for the King and Queen—or for the Empire which it calls "the Britains far away"— it prays for the things which are uppermost in men's minds today. For brotherhood, for work, for peace between the nations.

The article on The King's Majesty is really excellent. It only runs into two short pages and yet it says all that needs to be said. How difficult it must be to simplify such a theme, to be clear and concise and yet worthy of such a subject. But all this John Drinkwater achieves. Indeed his article induces the irreverent reflection that it would be much more fun if our poets were made to teach us our constitutional history! Two things, anyway, will stand out from this article when the rest of it is forgotten. The Englsih, he says, are "a nation of John Bulls with poetry in the blood." And "In relation to his King," he says, "the citizen of the British Empire is a mystic."

I think this last assertion is worth pondering and remembering. The cheap and superficial psychologists have other explanations to offer of the extraordinary hold which the Monarchy has upon the common people. This so-called loyalty, they say, is nothing more than escapism: the people follow the movements of the Royal Family with such avidity because they find in such exalted living a substitute for their own dull lives. But there is more to it than that. If it were not so, the people would feel about the Monarchy in the same way as they feel about the Cinema. And they so obviously don't! No. John Drinkwater is right. In relation to the King the citizen is a mystic. As he points out, there *is* a difference in the feeling which a man has for an elected Head of the State and for an hereditary King. (This feeling, one might add, was amusingly illustrated in the Jubilee Film. Two men in a pub were discussing the Monarchy. "Other countries," said one of them, "get along without Kings." "Yes," said the other, "but look what they gets instead. . . . .").

But if there have been revels at Greenwich, there has been a slump in the City. And this slump has been caused by Mr. Neville Chamberlain, the City's favourite Chancellor of the Exchequer and Premier-Elect, by their own familiar friend whom they trusted! The new proposed tax on increased profits has indeed stirred up a hornet's nest for the Chancellor. And after months of reading of the reports of parliamentary debates in sycophantic Conservative newspapers it is indeed refreshing to read their reports now—to see how they try to make out how "reassuring" was a speech made by the Chancellor, and then have to report how speaker after speaker from the Government side got up and annihilated the Chancellor's proposals.

Poor Mr. Chamberlain! But the Labour Party could have told him that the City's love was only cupboard love. He remarked, with some bitterness, that perhaps he had relied too much on the support which he had hitherto

received. He should re-read his Machiavelli. Somewhere in that masterpiece of prince-craft Machiavelli remarks that you may kill a man's friends and relations but you must be careful not to touch his money. Like many over-statements it enshrines a truth which we conveniently deny when it is stated in lesser terms.

As for the rights and wrongs of the proposed tax, it is possibly right in intention but wrong in theory. It is right in intention because re-armament obviously has got to be paid for and it should be paid for by the people who believe in it—by the propertied classes who have voted for it and voted for it at conference after conference. The propertied classes moreover have been making large profits out of armaments. "Shell," it will be remembered, distributed a large bonus and paid a large unexpected dividend to its shareholders at the beginning of this year. But, unfortunately, the tax will not only take in those who are making increased profits out of re-armament. It will hit lots of estimable businesses who suffered badly in the Great Slump and were just beginning to climb out of the morass. While it leaves untouched those businesses which went on raking in the shekels all through the Great Slump.

The new proposed tax, in fact, is a good example of what happens when a wrong tax is put on for the right reasons. It is right that the increasingly-prosperous should be increasingly-taxed, right, that is, if a great expenditure has been voted and has got to be paid for. But there is no equitable way of picking out this class of the increasingly-prosperous *as a class*. The increasingly-prosperous may be far worse off than the always-prosperous! No, the Income Tax, which falls alike upon the just and the unjust, is the only sound way.

As for the poor City, it is no wonder that it glooms—no wonder if its behaviour is such as to persuade the Chancellor to overhaul his proposals almost to the point of abandoning them altogether. For as a City Editor succintly remarked in the *Star*, "Indeed, N. D. C., for the time being has denied the market one of its essential functions that of estimating prospects of earnings and dividends."

But how lucky the City is and how articulate. It has only to raise its voice in protest and then wait for the overwhelming majority of newspapers in the country to echo its cry. Not so is it with the workers. As soon as ever trouble arises, whenever a strike threatens or breaks, at once a cry goes up from these same newspapers that there is no real grievance at back of it all—that the trouble is all due to a handful of Communists who have managed to get themselves into key positions. It is a feature of present day conversation to make the "communists" the universal scapegoat. Listen to any business-men commenting over their newspapers in the train just now. A 'bus strike has broken out. It is not a strike about wages but about hours. The men are asking for a 7½hour day. If they are to carry on, to be fit and equal to their extremely anxious and responsible work, they must, they say, work shorter hours. (The radical newspapers, one might add, are full of letters from 'bus drivers' wives telling how the speed-up has made nervous wrecks of their husbands). But the business men in the train are telling each other that the strike has been precipitated by "Communists" bent on spoiling the Coronation.

Yet in other moods business-men themselves are saying now that when the London Passenger Transport Board took over from the former shareholders, far too generous terms were paid. If the Board cannot afford to reduce hours now, it is because it paid out too much then. Indeed it is their experience over the London Passenger Transport Board which has made the Government wary in their approach to a similar project—that of buying out coal-mining royalties. The owners asked for £150,000,000. But the Government has decided to pay only £66,450,000.

Whenever there is a boom, with its rise in the cost of living, wages questions inevitably come to the front. Since the subject then is sure to be canvassed this year, it is worth while remembering a few basic facts. *The* basic fact, perhaps, is to be found in an article published recently by Mr. Geoffrey Crowther. It is that 90 per cent of the people, which he says is roughly the working class, have only 55 per cent of its income. And this means that the average income of this 90 per cent is about 18 per week.

Then a word about the "dole." There are still well over a million unemployed. (Alas and alack we seem to have decided that a million unemployed is about "normal"). A man on the dole gets 17 a week and a woman gets 15. And a man and wife on the Means Test get 24. So, when you hear that the dole is demoralising, reflect on these pitiful figures . . . If indeed men and women, living somehow at such a poor rate, prefer their state to being in employment, it can only be that desolation has broken their spirit as well as their bodies. They must have got down to the depths plumbed by Shakespeare

in that terrible line: "Simply the thing I am shall make me live."

After all of which it is at least of use to remember that one large employer of labour—an employer of thirty years' experience—has examined the whole question in a book which he has called "The Human Needs of Labour." In that book the author, Mr. Seebohm Rowntree, concludes that for the urban worker there should be a minimum standard of 53 a week.

Figures mean so little to the average person. But one useful way of bringing them home is to find out, as can easily be done, how much for instance one spends a week on one's own food—how much on shepherding a baby perhaps week by week in the first exacting months. Then turn to the recent report on Malnutrition. In it you will see that Sir John Orr gives these dismaying figures: 13½ million people spend no more than 6 a week on food, and 4,000,000 no more than 4.

When the news was published that the Government had decided to take over the Coal Royalties—when so ended a controversy that had been going on for over forty years—the irrepressible democrats in this country hailed this as a triumph for democracy! Democracy, we told each other, gets there in the end. But what a long, long time it takes.

Closely related to democratic issues, indeed part of the whole conception of liberty, is the position of women. Women's questions also are coming to the fore at the present time—and unfortunately there seems to be such a lot of muddled thinking accompanying them, that they also may have to wait about forty years before they discover their goal.

To begin with the Government has muddied the waters with its new Pensions Bill. By the terms of this Bill—the Widows', Orphans' and Old Age Contributory Pensions Bill—men earning up to £400 a year come into the scheme but women are not allowed in if they earn more than £250. To rehearse the injustices of such a proposal would take a summer's day. For one thing women always earn far less than men and so are able to put by less for their old age. For another middle age begins far earlier for women than for men. Indeed the Government legislates along such reactionary lines at the very moment when unemployment amongst older women is becoming so serious that there has been founded an *Over Thirty* Association to look after the interests of these women—and Her Majesty Queen Mary herself is President of the Association! Along the same lines the National Spinsters' Association would like to see pensions at 55 for unmarried women who contribute to National Health Insurance.

But in the Over Thirty Association and in the National Spinsters' Association, I submit, there is evidence of muddled thinking. Women will never become free so long as they ask for exceptional treatment. It is a similar kind of muddle as the Chancellor of the Exchequer created when he tried to introduce the N. D. C.! Once again you are up against the eternal truth that solutions only come as a result of following principles which are of general application. Never legislate for a *class* (however much you (*a*) disapprove, or (*b*) pity them).

Women should not seek compassionate treatment because they are over thirty or because they are spinsters. They should seek equal treatment for all human souls. On the right lines, surely, is the Civil Service Clerical Association in setting up its Equal Pay Committee. If the principle of equal pay for equal work were at last conceded—if the right of married women to work followed with it—other women's questions would solve themselves. It is so strange that at this time of day these questions still have to be debated! How long must men take to discover that the cause of liberty is one and indivisible? You would have thought that the spectacle of Fascism in Germany, where liberty and the status of women fell down together, would have rubbed our noses in it . . .

Mention of Fascism and Germany brings to mind what may come to be known as the great tragedy of 1937—to Guernica. When Italy made undeclared war upon Abyssinia, just as five years previously Japan had made undeclared war upon China, we took note that this had come into our world. Gone are the days of ultimatums and open mobilisation. In future mobilisation, air mobilisation, will be swift and secret—and the descent will be sudden. War will not be declared. Indeed militarists will laugh to think that men were ever such fools so to give away so much of the game. And Guernica has brought two new moves into the devil's game. Open, defenceless towns will be bombed in particular. It is so obvious that this is the way to destroy morale! And when you do bomb defenceless towns, *you will be able to fly low and machine-gun the men, women, and children* in the streets. It cannot be too vividly realised that this is the new technique as demonstrated by German aeroplanes at Guernica. In the House of Commons this week the Duchess of Athol, following on Sir Archibald Sinclair,

was at pains to make quite clear what had happened at Guernica. Would the Foreign Secretary keep in mind, she said, that it is not merely the case of bombing towns in which the legitimate objective may be missed and someone hit, but a deliberate machine-gunning of the civilian population by aeroplanes?

This massacre at Guernica, incidentally, has made Fascism stink so in the nostrils of all decent men and women that at the moment of writing General Franco and Germany alike are disclaiming responsibility for it. A wonderful omen, this, for General Franco's rule in Spain! He cannot, if he is to be believed, even know what is being done in his name . . . But before they cease denying responsibility, they are at the same work again. A few days later they were repeating these tactics at Galdacano, which is ten miles east of Bilbao. At Galdacano 22 German bombers, accompanied by 6 chasers, raided the village of Galdacano and machine-gunned fugitives, including women and children.

In the House of Commons the Foreign Secretary, continuing his blind-eye defeatist policy, tried to blanket this wonderful and horrible thing which has come to pass—machine-gunning fugitives from low-flying aeroplanes—by deploring that atrocities are being committed on both sides. But Guernica is a new thing. It cannot be denied for any consideration whatsoever. The British Government is not even ingenuous when it protests that it has no " official information." How can it say that, take refuge that way, when the words of Senor Jose Aguirre, the President of the Basque Government, must be ringing in their ears :

" Before the tribunals of God and of history, where we must all be judged, I declare that for three and a half hours German planes bombarded with unparalleled ferocity the civil pouplation of the historic town of Guernica, reducing it to ashes, pursuing with machine-gun fire women and children, who perished in great numbers, leaving the rest to flee in panic.

" I ask the civilised world : Will it stand by and permit the extermination of a people who have always maintained as their most precious trust the defence of their liberty and the ancient democracy which Guernica, with its thousand-year-old oak, has symbolised through the centuries." (The oak has been the meeting-place and the symbol of Basque democracy down through the ages).

The really tragic thing about this terrible war in Spain is that, in the opinion of many versed in Spanish circumstances, it is not *in its origins* a Spanish war at all. The Government and the Basques no doubt are fighting for the independence of their country—but that fight has been forced upon them not by the rebels within their own borders but by the German and Italian Dictators. An article appeared last week on the subject. It revealed the real nature of this war—which is not a civil war but a war waged by Germany and Italy for the possession of Spain's raw materials. Italy and especially Germany are short of the raw materials which they need in the manufacture of armaments. Spain is rich in raw materials. An easy way to get at these raw materials—raw materials of *war*—was to set up their puppet, Franco, and turn Spain into a dependent Fascist State. Spain should be another Albania! And that this is no alarmist figment the writer proves conclusively from the sources and letters that he is able to quote. He shows how in the months preceding the outbreak of hostilities German Agents in Spain were engaged in gun-running. These Agents, employees of big mineral and oil interests in Spain, were selling their products to Germany—and these products were paid for not in cash or in kind, *but in guns*. And it is these Agents who drew up the maps which are coming in so usefully in the Fascists' campaign . . . The writer, it may be added, gives the actual names of these Agents he indicts.

In the words of the President of the Basque Government addressed to the civilised world : Will it stand by and permit the extermination of a people? Will the British Government, whose voice is still decisive in European affairs, stand by for ever? Evidence is growing in the country that the people are impatient and aghast at Britain's Pilate attitude. If there was much to be said for a policy of non-intervention, there is nothing whatever to be said for *keeping silent* when these terrible massacres are darkening Europe. As Lord Cecil is urging now, the Government should raise this matter at the earliest possible moment in the Council of the League of Nations.

Has the Government learned nothing from the outcry which followed on their attempted betrayal of Abyssinia in the Hoare-Laval Pact? Surely the recent by-elections should have some weight with them. In the past week there have been three by-elections and while Labour has increased its vote by 4,000, the Government vote has dropped by no less than 10,000.

LONDON, 4th May, 1937.

WHY JAPAN'S RAILWAYS SAVE MILLIONS WHILE INDIAN RAILWAYS COMPLAIN OF LOSS

Free Tips to Government of India's Railway Member

By CHAMAN LAL

How is it that Japanese Government Railways make profits of millions every year, while the Indian Railways complain of losses?

The reasons are simple.

(1) *Most Economic Management*: Japan pays the most moderate salaries to high officials; even the prime minister receives only about Rs. 1000 per month and his whole luggage consisted of only one suit-case when he recently went to occupy his official residence. The lower staff are however paid quite reasonable salaries. Police constables start with Yen 50 (Rs. 40). Formerly it was Rs. 80, but the fall in the price of the Yen has brought it down to half its previous value. The salaries on the whole are satisfactory. The management is very economical. Smaller stations are generally managed by one or two young men, who are station masters, booking clerks, scavengers and everything else.

Huge sums are not wasted in raising half mile long platform as in India and by using steel telegraph poles. The forest wood is used for telegraph poles, as it is done in America. The pomp and show is not the chief objective, but service of the public is the aim.

(2) Foreigners drawing fabulous salaries are not forced on Railways as it is done in India. Japanese run the whole show, though the first Japanese train was started fifty years later than India, and yet the Japanese railways have the highest reputation for strictness of time to a second.

(3) All the railway trains and other requirements are manufactured in Japan as far as possible and billions are saved from going to England, which is not the case in India. Japan-made coaches are certainly not inferior to those of England.

(4) Service to the public is the motto of the Railway organisation. The third class passengers are not treated as sheep and goat. Third class compartments are furnished with *Velvet Seats, Pure Drinking Water, Washing Soap, Paper Towels, Train Scavengers* etc. These scavengers who are known as "Boy" also help passengers in keeping in and removing out baggages.

Sleeping in Third Class

(5) The third class passengers are also provided sleeping berths, pillows, and well heated rooms, all for Rupee One per night. Indian Railways can make large sums by introducing sleepers in third class and abolish inter class.

(6) The freight and parcel rates are ridiculously cheap compared to India. I can send facts and figures, if India's Railway Member does not have them, through his assistant who toured Japan last year.

(7) The waiting halls for third class passengers are very comfortable. Notice boards are provided for passengers who want to leave a message for a friend to follow, who may have missed the train.

(8) Third, second and first class passengers, all dine in the same hall in the train and the rates are four to five times cheaper than India, and service is run by properly trained girls who distribute menus four to five times a day. The officials in the train are very obliging to passengers. Once a railway guard sent a telegram to supply me with vegetables from the garden of a station master.

No Deaths on Train

(9) The trains are kept perfectly clean, by hourly cleaning. Spittoons are provided. Cooling and heating apparatus are provided in all trains and people never die of cold, as some die every year in North India.

(10) The lunches and dinners are sold in sanitary boxes (very cheap too) and railway station hotels give very satisfactory service.

(11) The problem of "Hindu and Muslim Water" is solved by storing iced water in every compartment and people don't have to shout for water or run after the "Paniwala" in the scorching sun.

(12) Special staffs are deputed at every

station to help passengers and if you just telephone you can get your third class ticket in your hotel. The Japan Tourist Bureau has an army of a thousand people ready to look after passengers. Numerous other societies help passengers and draw commissions from Railway and Shipping Companies (I will write their story in another article).

Free Trips for Children

Two more suggestions and I will finish this article.

(13) To encourage travel the Railways in Japan have announced free travel for children up to the age of 8 years. Here are some latest plans announced recently by Government Railways.

Free transportation of children under the primary school age, free service of yukata (sleeping gown) to passengers and lowering of the passenger fare in the neighborhood of large cities are the main items included in a new deal looking toward improvement of the government railway service, which have been put into effect from April last year.

According to the decision, children under the age of seven to eight will be eligible for free transportation, but the number of children to be accompanied by one adult will be limited to three. If one should bring together with him more than three children, he must pay a half of his (sic).

Will India's Railway member take some lesson from Japan's Railways?

Will our Railway Member Act?

(14) India and Japan are the two unfortunate countries where the smoker rules in Railway trains. In England, Europe and America the smokers are required to smoke in reserved compartments and non-smokers have perfect peace and freedom, but in Japan and India, railway compartments are "Smokers' Hell" and non-smokers are at the complete mercy of smokers. I am glad Japan has felt the injustice and a move is afoot to bring relief to non-smokers.

Members of the executive committee of the Japan Anti-Smoking League, headed by Dr. Michikazu Okada, called on the Railway Ministry and the Education Ministry recently and filed petitions covering the regulation of tobacco use. They asked that smoking cars be designated on Government railways "to protect women and children" and that school teachers be prohibited from smoking in front of their pupils.

The result of their representation is being keenly awaited. Why can't we start similar agitation in India? A properly organised demand should be accepted easily.

Tokyo

WAR ON OPIUM-SMOKERS IN CHINA

Death Penalty for Opium-Smokers

(F. O. C.)

While India is doing little to check the increasing drug menace and opium, sulpha, ganja, liquors, etc. continue to have their victims every year, China is busy putting an end to opium-smoking. Nearly one thousand anti-opium hospitals have been opened in the country and a nation-wide crusade against opium-smoking is now in full swing. Death penalty for smokers is proving very effective. Let the Indian Legislators take the lead from China. Mark the progress China has achieved in this behalf. I give the official story.

A detailed explanation of the drastic action against drug addicts and other anti-opium measures adopted by the Government, was given by Mr. Kan Nai-kwang, Director of the National Opium-Suppression Commission, to members of the Fourth Biennial Conference of the Chinese Medical Association.

After expressing his pleasure to be able to speak before such a distinguished gathering, Mr. Kan said, he would endeavour to narrow the question down to one point: the treatment of addicts. His address follows:

"The opium evil in China has a history of over 100 years, but it is unnecessary to dwell here upon the many phases through which it has passed. Suffice it to say that the Government has made, from the very beginning, many efforts to suppress the evil. In 1935, General Chiang Kai-shek was appointed to act concurrently as Director-General of Opium Suppression. Under his leadership suppression has made remarkable progress, and the Government now controls and regulates the production, transportation, sale, and consumption of opium and allied drugs.

Government's Policy

"Observers today often ask why the Government is taking vigorous action against opium addicts, while the drug is openly sold in the provinces under Government supervision? This question perhaps needs a little explanation. Formerly the Government followed the policy of 'absolute suppression', that is to say, the cultivation, transportation, sale, and use of opium were unconditionally prohibited, and offenders were summarily arrested and punished in accordance with the opium laws and regulations.

"The work of suppression was carried on in this way year after year but without making much progress. The reason for failure was that the habit of opium-smoking is a craving that, once contracted, is extremely difficult, if not impossible, to get rid of. At the same time, the punishment imposed on opium-smokers was not severe enough to act as a deterrent.

"The Government has now adopted a different policy, one of 'gradual suppression', which has been supported by the League of Nations. The Government plans to wipe out the evil in a period of six years, beginning from 1935 and ending in 1940, with complete suppression of the use of narcotic drugs in two years, and of opium in six. During this period a special arrangement is made whereby the aged and sick who, having long acquired the habit are unable to undergo a complete cure within a short time, are permitted to smoke for the time being by obtaining temporary smoker's permits, but opium-smoking so permitted must be gradually reduced and absolutely stopped within six years.

"Inasmuch as smoking is permitted in such cases, the necessary supply of opium must be provided, and hongs and retailers operating under special licences issued by the provincial and local authorities are permitted to sell the necessary opium. The number of these hongs and retailers will be gradually reduced in accordance with the periods scheduled for opium suppression.

The Death Penalty

"Another question that is often raised is, why should addicts be subjected to so drastic a penalty as death? This order has aroused a great deal of criticism from the humanitarian point of view, especially in foreign countries; but this is because the public does not realize the serious n ss of the situation and does not understand the true sense of the law. The period for the prohibition of narcotic drugs expired at the end of 1936. Before then, only persons found to be engaged in the manufacture, transportation, or sale of narcotic drugs were liable to be executed, but from this year, 1937, even consumers must be dealt with in the same way. Narcotic addicts have had two years, since the promulgation of the law, to rid themselves of the habit, and it is only after expiration of this two-year term that narcotic addicts become liable to the extreme penalty. As to opium addicts, it is only those who have been cured twice and found offending a third time who are liable to the death penalty.

"One can say that the Government has entered upon a determined course of suppression with a view to stamping out the evil in its entirety, as is well evidenced by the strict laws and severe punishment, such as the death penalty. The truth is that addicts have been given many opportunities to correct their ways, and from experience it has been learned that only the most severe penalties in such cases can possibly exterminate an evil which is so deep-rooted in this country.

"While the Government has resorted to the application of strict laws with regard to opium and narcotic cases, it has not overlooked the importance of supplementing the policy of prohibition with that of curing addiction to opium and narcotics. As a matter of fact, the Government has given the utmost attention to providing addicts with means and facilities for curing themselves of the habit. In 1934, 597 anti-opium hospitals were in existence, including those assisting in the anti-opium work. By the end of last year, 1936, there were 970 anti-opium hospitals and stations, and 323 other hospitals offering anti-opium treatment.

"In order to ascertain the extent of opium addiction, the Government inaugurated a system of registration of all addicts. At the end of last year, the total number of registered smokers reported by the various provinces and municipalities was 3,786,368."

Wanted Action

How many billions are the people of India wasting on drugs and inviting national degeneration in health, wealth and morals?

Will Mahatma Gandhi use the new legislatures for this constructive work and put the sincerity of the Government to an acid test?

Let all provincial legislatures adopt the Chinese law against opium eating and smoking. Such urgent measures cannot be allowed to wait till complete independence is achieved. Let us act today.

C. L.

Tokyo.



FOLK LITERATURE IN GUJARAT

By Diwan Bahadur KRISHNALAL MOHANLAL JHAVERI

Folklore in Gujarat: General

Traditional learning of backward people: this is what folklore deals with. This traditional learning is composed of the beliefs and customs, stories and songs, art and ritual of early and uncultured people. As there are aboriginal and uncultured people all over the world each country has got its own folklore. In a vast country like India, each province has got its own folklore. But unfortunately very little has been done for tracing the origin of the various branches of the lore, and their resemblances with the lore of other provinces. There is no society in India like the Folklore Society of England nor a book of the calibre of the Golden Bough of Sir James Fraser.

Gujarat, including Kathiawad and Cutch, being a very ancient province does possess folklore, Kathiawad more than Gujarat. It is teeming with songs and stories. The essential features of a folksong are that it must originally have been sung by the peasantry and that it must have been passed down the years orally and not in written word. It must have been sung while the singers are at work or play. Incidentally one learns from it much about the old tendency of popular thought, customs, manners and traditions, as it is usually based on local legends or incidents of common life. Where deeds fade, legends remain and legends shape even new deeds.

The present state of Folklore Literature in Gujarat is hardly satisfactory, as there has been till now very little sustained effort made either towards research or preservation of what has been obtained by scattered work. There is a Folksong Society in England and it has recorded several thousand authentic folksongs. Though a few folktales—Gujarat and Kathiawad Deshni Varta, Kathiawadni Juni Vartao,—were collected and published several years ago, the fact remains that the work was not continued and it is only lately that a couple of researchworkers in Kathiawad have made it their business to explore that treasure-house of folktale and songs and give them a permanent form. Jhaverchand Meghani has specialised in it and recorded much which otherwise would have remained unrecorded and ultimately perished. Gokuldas Raichura, the other worker has made it his business during his numerous tours over the whole of Kathiawad to take down the legends from the mouths of Mers and other uncultured tribes and publish them. Gujarat proper is slowly taking to it.

The different provinces of India, however, claim a common heritage for a part of this ancient lore, and that heritage is Sanskrit Literature. Loka Katha (Popular Legends) in Sanskrit deals with folk stories or folktales, and the earliest of such collections made by Gunadhya is known as Brihat Katha, the great story. It is in Paishachi Prakrit. In the second century, a scholar from Sorath, Padliptacharya, made a collection in Sanskrit and called it Tarang Lola. Later collections such as Katha Sarit Sagar of Somadev (XI century), the Brihat Katha Manjari of Kshemendra, and books like Vaital Pachisi, Sinhasan Batrisi, which have been translated into the various old and modern Indian languages, Hindi, Marathi, Bengali, Gujarati and those of the South, evidence this common heritage. Jatak stories which depict previous lives of Buddha, are, it is said, in reality folktales current amongst people long before the coming of the Buddha.

However, that was in the past. In the present times every province has become active and scholars are systematically engaging themselves in the collection of folksongs etc. Ram Naresh Tripathi, the compiler of Kavita Kaumudi is a well known authority on Hindi folksong. Behari and Bhojpuri Gramgit (village songs) have also been collected and published. Prof. Devendra Satyarthi is collecting and publishing the folksongs sung by country women in the Punjab. Bengal, of course, does not lag behind. Thus there is a stir everywhere. In England folksongs spread through the agency of the wandering gypsy and the itinerant ballad singer. Here too it is the wandering beggar and the itinerant minstrel who carry the folktale in song from place to place, with or without the accompaniment of music.

The common types of folksongs, for instance, in England are love songs which tell a story at greater or shorter length. Folksongs also depict various aspects of country life. Folksongs of Gujarat and Kathiawad, in common with the

rest of the country, possess these very features, in addition to others, which are peculiar to the domestic life of India, such as early marriage and its sequel—rough treatment of the newly wedded bride, mostly a child, by the sister-in-law and mother-in-law. Songs sung by women at weddings also accentuate this feature of the home life of the Hindu. These songs have been passing from mother to daughter, and nobody knows who has composed them. A good many wedding songs in Gujarat and Kathiawad are identical line by line, with those of the Punjab. That points to the course of migration of certain races which settled in Kathiawad. The legends of the loves of Radha and Krishna, furnish another common feature universally adopted over North, East, West and Central India.

The women of India from old days take certain vows and fulfil them. They are called Vrit. They take the vow with certain objects and pray to the relative gods and goddesses to grant them. These vows are taken in either or both stages of a woman's life, maiden and married. A large amount of folklore and tales has gathered round this practice, and fortunately also been published at least in Bengal and Gujarat.

English scholars have led the way in this matter, as in several others. Sir Richard Temple collected and published the Legends of the Punjab, and Mr. Enthoven, the Folklore notes of Gujarat compiled from notes collected by the late Mr. Jackson. In Gujarat Thakardas and Bhils, who are its oldest dwellers, when properly approached prove of great help in this matter. Ram Narayan Pathek and Umashanker Joshi are greatly interested in collecting materials from these communities, and the Bhil Seva Mandal which comes in intimate contact with them can rescue a lot. In addition to ordinary folklore, they possess a lore, which is of a mystical kind. The super-natural appeals to them. The workings of the super-natural forces, which they cannot account for and understand form the staple of their songs and also the powers of the Meladi Mata, an inauspicious goddess. The loves of Radha and Krishna also find favour with them. In north Gujarat the limits of Idar march with those of Mewad, Dungarpur, Vanswada and other Rajputana States. Here live numerous small Jagirdas who were independent rulers in old times. Civil wars were the order of the day resulting in chaos. The hills and hill fastnesses round about offered ideal places for ambushes and fights. Popular folksongs have commemorated many such incidents.

Grierson, the well known scholar of Indian languages had very early noted the absence of publication of this important side of Gujarati Literature : *viz.*, the corpus of bardic histories. Bards sing ballads in which story telling forms an important item. The martial life of the clans of Kathiawad and their chivalry have been versified since ages : these ballads consist of Duhas, couplets or Sorathas, longer stanzas. It is difficult to find out their author or authors.

Verses relating to the story of Halaman Jethwo and Sona Rani, of Ujali and Meha, of Ranakdevi and Siddharaj—both of them historical figures,—Odho Jam and Hothalde Padmani, Lakho and Fulande, are very interesting and typical of the life of the old Kathiawadi. Adventures of local heroes like Ebhal Vaoo, Jetho Valo, Ugo Valo, Kheta Makwani and of Robin Hoods like Jogidas Khuman and Bhima Jat, are perpetuated in stirring language. The folktale of Suhini Mehar is one out of many secured by Jhaverchand Meghani; hearing it recited from the lips of Meghani whets one's appetite for hearing many more such tales. Hearing Duhas recited by Gokuldas Raichura, is an unforgettable pleasant experience. Meghani's five volumes of Rasadhar and Raichura's Collections at present hold the field. In reciting them, they of course follow the method of the professional story teller.

So far as folksongs and folktales are concerned it is both the matter and the manner of reciting them that constitute their charms. Folksongs as said before are mostly Duhas or Sorathas, some are long poems. The former are generally sung by goatherds, shepherds, cowherds —*i.e.*, those living in jungles and forests in close communion with nature;—they divide themselves into opposite groups and then begin singing them. In the rainy season with a drizzle falling, when one party recites a couplet from one bank of a river intervening between the grazing grounds of two herds and is answered by the other from the opposite bank, in the particular lilt and drawling manner affected by these villagers, the incident is not easily forgotten by one who is fortunate enough to witness it. Similarly for the long poems recited by bards (भाट चारण). The bards have their own way of telling a story and reciting a poem. The twang and the sing song practised by them cannot be transferred to a talk. A bard uses words which strikes more by their sound than their sense. A good deal of alliteration and very many mnemonic words, constitute the beauty of bardic recitations, so says one who sixty years ago, underwent the

expense and trouble of getting these bards to recite to him in order to put their performance on paper. Brij is generally the bardic language, but the recitation is interlarded with poetical quotations in Gujarati. Their mnemonics consist of half obsolete and half dialectic words : they give to the recitation individuality and rough picturesqueness. Bardic Duha and long poems are also written in Marwadi more correctly called Rajasthani. Bardic lore has expressed itself in a peculiar dialect, a mixture of Sindhi, Rajasthani and Brij languages.

The same collector divides those who belong by birth to the profession of the story teller into Bhats, Charans, Ravalyas and Turee among Hindus and Mirs and Lunghas among Musalmans. Bhats and Charans are bards of the Rajput, Ravalyas of the Kathi princes and Ahirs of shepherd tribes and the Turees of the low castes like Dheds. Among Babi Musalmans there are besides Mirs and Lunghas, Dhadees who are specially their family bards and leeches.

They say that what the Babies earn, the Dhadees eat. But besides these professional story tellers there are others also who recite stories with the ease and accomplishment of *bona fide* professionals. One must have come across many such including women. Prof. B. K. Thakore has mentioned the instance of one Zakkalbai Bhavsaren, the wife of a neighbouring Dhobi at Rajkot, who used to come to his mother to help her pass her lonely nights, when she had to be by herself, his father being away, by reciting to them stories of Ebhal Valo, Jesal, Todi Rani, the Ras of Junaghad, Jethawas of Ghumli and Sumras of Cutch and Sind, with the assistance of Duhas and Sorathas. Indeed she told them so well that they all lost the count of time.

These story tellers have their own fashion of telling stories. Some tell them piecemeal. Some tell them with intervals for smoking Hookah and partaking of opium. Bard story tellers, if they know that you are going to make some use of their story demand a consideration, which may be reasonable or otherwise. Further there are so many versions of one and the same story and repetitions occur so often, that one has to prune the weed from the flower, and cut them out to make the story intelligible and continuous. Woman's "wiles" form a branch of this kind of folktale and it must be said to the credit of these reciters that one finds very little indecency or even vulgarity, in the way in which they present these "wiles." Men and women are made to talk in the genteel way, but all the same, nothing is sacrificed to the reality of the situation. A tiff, on womanly virtue between a barber and his wife, might border on the coarse but never on the indecent.

Folk dance and folk medicine are equally important branches of the Folklore of Gujarat. The use of milk to ward off diseases among cattle, preparations for transforming an old man into a youth or for inducing pregnancy in a woman, and other such instances of human credulity are found in the folk medicine of all old countries like Egypt and India.

Bhil dance is a very ancient institution. Some of the dances are danced by both men and women, the former with swords or sticks in hand. They do not dance in a circle, but their movements are like waves, advancing and receding. They must be seen to be appreciated.

Songs sung by women like lullabies, as well as spiritual or religious songs called Bhajans, are also parts of this lore. Bhajan Literature is very vast. These lyrics describe spiritual ecstacy. Balladic Bhajans narrate events relating to piety, renunciation etc.

The Supplement to the well known Persian History of Gujarat called the Mirat-i-Ahmadi is a storehouse of folklore. Legends relating to Mahommedan saints and their Durghas are found in very generous proportions in its pages : it will repay the labour of study.

II

Folklore of Gujarat : Tales

In the previous section I had spoken of the characteristics of the Folklore of Gujarat generally. In the present section those characteristics will be illustrated with tales.

Youthful love forms one of such characteristics. Here is a story illustrating that side of human nature.

Sindh, Cutch and Kathiawad in old times were very closely connected, and therefore the folk story of the loves of Suhini and Mehar, rescued by Jhaverchand Meghani and ably edited, may be taken as typifying this particular phase of folklore in the three provinces. The scene is laid on the banks of the Indus. Mehar meaning a buffalo-herd keeper, who tended the buffaloes and donkeys of one Tola, a potter of Sadapur on the Indus, was really a cultured youth from Bokhara, and the son of a millionaire. He was on his way to the Mogul Court and had put up at the serai of the place where Suhini's father sold earthen pots. He happened to go to Tola's place to purchase pots and saw Suhini.

He fell in love with her at once and abandoned the idea of going to Delhi, and entered into Tola's service as a herd keeper. He knew neither herd keeping nor milking and was therefore often rebuked by his master. Suhini, however, pitied him and always came to his rescue, though every now and then taunting him for his awkwardness and inefficiency. For these very shortcomings, however, she began to like him, though in the beginning she did not know who he really was. The liking ripened into friendship and later into love. They often met in the forest and Suhini's father felt scandalised by the rumours he heard of their secret meetings. He therefore dismissed Mehar, who left Sadapur and built himself a hut on the river bank opposite. He would catch a fish from the river, fry it, cross over every night, meet Suhini and they would partake of the meal together. Whatever the state of the weather, whether the waters of the Indus were quiet or stormy, Mehar would not miss a single night. One day it so happened that he could catch no fish. He, thereupon, cut off a slice of flesh from his thigh, fried it and took it to his beloved, who ate it with great relish and said that she had never eaten such a tasty fish in her life. During their talk she learned later what it was, and then she said that it was now her turn and that she would cross the river over, thereafter, to his bank. Her father, however, took steps to marry her off to an uncouth, ugly youth of his own caste, but Suhini did not acknowledge him as her husband and continued her nightly visits. She did not know swimming well, and the river was full of strong eddies and whirlpools which would suck down any mortal. She used to swim over with the support of a well-baked ghatty : पाको घडो. Her persistence proved too much for her parents, and they therefore thought of doing away with her, and with that object, substituted a not well baked—Kacha—pot one night in place of her usual well baked—Pakaone. Half way, the unbaked earth of the pot proved treacherous and gave way. She, thus, lost the support and began to feel exhausted. She could have cried out and called on Mehar to come to her rescue, but she thought of the wound on his thigh, which had not yet healed and refrained, but when the last moment came involuntarily she cried out. Mehar heard her cries, and jumped into water to meet her. But before he could reach her she had gone down. Exertion reopened Mehar's wound and it began bleeding and he too succumbed. Next morning two dead bodies were thrown up by the Indus. They were buried together and the tomb built over them called Suhini's tomb is still standing at Sadapur. The whole pathetic story is embellished by stirring couplets in the dialect of the locality.

The legend of Mehar and Suhini is one of pure love. The story of Ranakdevi, the beautiful consort of Rakhengar of Junaghad and Siddharaj, the ruler of Gujarat, who had invaded Junagadh, is one of pure passion, met with spiritual courage. Junagadh was taken by Siddharaj through treachery of Rakhengar's nephew and after Rakhengar was killed Siddharaj desired to possess his widow and made her various tempting offers. She refused to yield to him and so he took her away forcibly. But coming near Wadhwan she became Sati and that too with the permission of Siddharaj, who was by then convinced that he would never be able to displace her love for Rakhengar. The verses attributed to her as having been recited at the time when she mounted the funeral pile are very pathetic and prophetic. She had a son, and she admonished him thus : Weep not my child, make not your eyelids wet, think not of your mother, when facing death, disgrace not your ancestors by showing weakness. When being taken forcibly away by Siddharaj, she bids adieu to Girnar, in these words : I descended the hill of Girnar and my body reached its foot. I will never again see Damodar Kund (the lake at the foot of the hill). The fort of Girnar is so high that it touches the sky. By the death of Rakhengar Ranakdevi becomes a widow. To her Sorath was everything : Patan the capital of Siddharaj nothing. The country round about Patan is waterless, its people die of thirst, but prosperous is the land of Sorath, where even the tigers drink their fill. Siddharaj was watching her burning, and he thus alludes to it. The winds are hurricanes, they are so hot that they burn even sand. There Siddharaj was standing to watch the miraculous power of the lady from Sorath. I regret it is not possible to convey in English the force and rhythm of the original couplets.

The story of Halaman Jethawo and Sona Rani, is placed both in Kathiawad and Sind, thus establishing their close folklore connection. It is the story of a courageous girl like Suhini proving steadfast to her vow and refusing to be deflected from her purpose in the face of various troubles and tribulations. Sona Rani was the daughter of Rana Rajsing of Balambha. She had taken a vow to marry only such a person as would able to answer her riddle which was

this : "What is that which has been made without hammer or anvil?" As usual the family priest was sent to various Durbars to see if he could get anyone to solve it. After many failures he at last tried Ghumli, at the foot of the Barda mountains. The local chief, a scion of the famous Jethwa clan of Rajputs, Rana Shiyaji tried his hand at the solution, but failed. His young nephew, Halaman, however could at once read it. The answer was "Pearls," which are fashioned without being hammered or placed on an anvil. The riddle was couched in verse and his reply was in verse also. He said, the mother lives in the ocean and the father in the clouds; this refers to the belief amongst Hindus that if rain drops fall into the mouth of oysters during the Swati Nakshatra (Fifteenth mansion of the Zodiac), pearls are formed. In ordinary course, the priest would have gone and reported the matter faithfully to Princess Sona and her union with Halaman would have been the result, but seeing a beautiful prize about to be snatched away from his hands, the Rana bribed the Brahmin to substitute his name in place of Halaman. The Brahmin did so, and accordingly it was arranged that the Princess should go with a proper equipage in charge of the Brahmin to Ghumli and be married to the Rana. Till the bride's party came to Ghumli, Halaman was under the impression that he was the chosen bridegroom. But his eyes were opened by a trusted follower who told him that his uncle had decided to marry the princess. He was sorely disappointed but yielding to an impulse of respect for elders, he remained silent. On the other hand, it so happened, that a squabble took place between the maid servants of Princess Sona and Rana Shiyaji at a well, while drawing water, and they began to taunt and abuse each other. The Rana's maid said mysteriously, Who knows what is in a shut hand? When opened it may be empty. Then she let the cat out of the bag and boldly proclaimed the truth in order to wound the feelings of her opponents. She said : Halaman reads the riddle and Shiya gets the bride. Sona's maid told her mistress as to what had happened. Sona called the priest whom she suspected of foul play, and he confessed his guilt. She now knew what had taken place and made up her mind to thwart the Rana's plans. Accordingly when the usual wedding presents of ornaments and dresses came to her from the Rana, she threw them away, sending word that it did not behove her to accept presents from the Rana when Halaman was her husband : the Rana was her father-in-law. The chief on being informed of this insult at her hands flew into a rage, and sending for Halaman asked him to leave the limits of his State at once. Halaman obeyed. On his way he met a servant girl of the Princess and sent a message with her to Sona that he was being banished and going to his aunt at Hamba in Sind. She was very much upset, and when the Rana called on her, she shut herself up in a room and refused to see him, saying a father-in-law should not have any evil designs on his daughter-in-law. This added to his anger and he was preparing himself to assault her when word was brought to him that Sindhis had attacked the borders of his State and that his immediate presence was necessary to beat them back. This unexpected contingency upset his plans, and he had to leave at once, which he did after giving orders that Sona was on no account to be allowed to move out. She however, under pretext of having to visit a temple, did move out and when at some distance from the town she and her maid managed to get rid of the driver who was driving them to the temple. The maid took his place and they drove away towards Hamba. Meanwhile Halaman was living at Hamba a very unhappy life. Like a distracted lover he was wandering in the jungle from place to place, and like King Pururava in the famous drama of Kalidas, questioning every tree and bird if they had seen his beloved. The couplets that he addressed them are very pathetic. His aunt tried to console him by proposing marriage with a Sindhi beauty, but Halaman declined saying Sona only will I wed. In this disconsolate state of mind he was sitting on a stone in a jungle. A serpent came from beneath it and bit his toe. The poison did its work and he thought he would die without seeing his lady love. Now it so happened that after leaving the territory of the Rana, Sona and her maid on their way to Hamba while passing through the jungle had halted there for rest and refreshments. The maid set out to find water and while looking about found Halaman lying unconscious. She recognised him and ran to her mistress with the news. Sona came where he was lying and fainted. The maid however brought her back to consciousness and then her lamentations were heart-rending. She said, I have lost a thing dear to me within the limits of Hamba : it is the necklace of my heart, etc. Thinking that life was extinct, she made preparations for cremating the dead body and burning herself with the lord of her heart. She sang, "On the body of Halaman wood has been piled. I will mount the pyre and with the

lord of Barda I shall ascend to heaven." The wails of Sona and her maid attracted the attention of a serpent charmer. He came upon the scene and examined the body, and found that life was not extinct, and that there was a chance of reviving him. He took out an antidote and applied it to the wound. Soon Halaman regained his senses and was both surprised and delighted to see Sona there. The rest of the tale is easily told. They married and as the Rana died shortly after they went back to their native country and lived happily. Their loves are thus commemmorated in a couplet :

जेवी सोन सुजाण, तेवो हलामण हीरलो,
तन बे एक ज प्राण, जुगते जुगते जोडलुं.

Just as Sona was clever, so was Halaman shining like a diamond. They had two bodies but one soul. It was a fit pair in very way.

A real outlaw (Robin Hood) of Kathiawad is always conceived as chivalrous towards women and generous to the poor. Jogidas Khuman of Kundla under the Bhavnagar State became along with his old father, an outlaw against the ruler Vajesangji because of certain villages of their Jagir having been confiscated. The incident is a recent one, about a hundred years old, (round about Samvat Year 1875) : his eight brothers had agreed to the sequestration, he alone held out, and with his three sons, one of them being Jogidas, began to harass State subjects. Jogidas as the leader of the band was the hero of numerous romantic incidents, out of which he always came out with flying colours. He had secured the blessings of a Mahomedan saint whose holy peacock was shot and eaten by the Sindhi troops sent to watch Jogidas' village and who on their way to Bhavnagar were defeated and killed by a ruse practised on them. One of such incidents reflects great credit on Jogidas' keen sense of chivalry. Naniba, the Rani of Vajesangji was going in a covered carriage from Bhavnagar to Dadva, her brother's home. She had of course costly ornaments with her and Ragho Chavdo, expert thief of Akadia got news of it. He therefore made up his mind to rob her on her way and fasten the robbery on Jogidas, the declared enemy of Vajesang. At sunset, accordingly, Ragho and his horsemen suddenly attacked her escort and killed many of them. Then Ragho called upon Naniba to give up her box of ornaments. She asked him who he was. He said Jogidas' man. She said, Is it possible that Jogidasbhai would rob helpless women? Would he eat prohibited food? Ragho said, Yes, yes, to a hungry stomach prohibited food is allowable . She retorted, that Jogidas was a lion and a hungry lion would never eat grass. Ragho, however silenced her by threat of violence At this psychological moment, footfalls of running horses were heard and forty horsemen led by Jogidas came up. Ragho was delighted. He welcomed them. Jogidas in his turn, asked what the matter was. Ragho acquainted him with the situation and offered to go shares in the booty. Jogidas asked who the victim was and was told that she was the wife of his enemy Vajesang. He spurned the offer and rebuked Ragho, who though a Kathi was a thief. Jogidas said that his differences were with Vajesang and not with his wife. She was like his sister, his mother, and even if she had got millions with her, it was to him like cow's flesh. Ragho then said, Jogidas! better leave here and let matters proceed. The latter demurred and challanged Ragho to touch the conveyance with his little finger even. The tussle resulted in a fight between their respective followers, and Ragho's party being worsted, he decamped. Jogidas then called upon the driver to consult Naniba as to where she desired to go, to her husband's or her brother's house. He would see her safe there. Naniba elected to go to Bhavnagar and Jogidas escorted her as far as the frontiers of the State. He left her there but the grateful lady entreated him to go with her and said that she would intervene on his behalf and see his wrong righted. Jogidas said, No, I have not done this with any such expectation. I will myself see my wrong righted, either by piercing Vajesang's bosom with a sword or enclosing it in an embrace. Saying this he spurred on his horse in the darkness. Naniba cried after him, Jogidasbhai, Jogidasbhai, but only the whistle of the night wind answered her. Vajesang and Jogidas were ultimately reconciled.*

* Two Broadcast Talks from the All India Radio Centre at Bombay : in December, 1936 and January, 1937.



PLANTING TREES

BY P. DEVAKINANDANA MENON

THE Hindu kings of old considered it a religious duty to plant trees. That brought them according to their belief the blessing of God. They planted trees by the roads and took great care of them. They planted the sacred Banyan tree in front of temples. The benefit of growing shady trees in tropical countries like India is immense. They give a resting place for all living creatures. Their leaves go to improve the fertility of the soil. Further they help to keep up the moisture in the soil. People of today are not as much conscious of the benefits of planting trees as in days of yore. Perhaps it is to bring home to our people the place the tree has in our life in this tropical country that the Great Sage of Santiniketan began to teach the students of his model school under the cool shades of trees.

While we are forgetting to follow the example of our wise ancestors the scientifically advanced countries like America have begun to realise the important part that trees play in the prosperity of a country and the disasters that may arise from their indiscriminate destruction. Recently the United States of America had the experience of a severe drought in the great wheat producing States of Dakota, Minnesota and other Northern States entailing in the loss of millions of dollars. The land became parched and dry. Cattle and crops were destroyed. Sand storms swept the land and carried away the fertile top layer of the soil to be heaped up as sand dunes on fertile fields and barns. Commissions were issued to enquire into the measures if any which may be taken to prevent such droughts. As a result of expert enquiries they came to the conclusion that indiscriminate destruction of forests and trees in those places had much to do with the droughts that swept those places. Trees helped to keep up the moisture in the soil as well as in the causation of rains. With the whole-sale destruction of forests, and turning them into cultivable fields the soil became incapable of keeping up the water contents. Further, on account of the absence of trees to obstruct the clouds and bring down rains, the rainfall also decreased. Therefore the Committee recommended systematic afforestation as a preventive for droughts. Trees would be planted in lines as well as clusters after survey of the land according to expert advice and it is expected this will have a wholesome effect in preventing such further droughts.

The result of this American enquiry is of far-reaching importance to all nations and especially to predominantly agricultural countries like India. I will like to bring home to our Government as well as our countrymen the importance of the lesson the Americans had learned. Our prosperity lies in having favourable weather resulting in good crops. Our land abounds with forests. But the pressure of population and the pecuniary attractions of the sale of timber are likely to push forward their destruction. The Government should jealously look after the conservation of forests especially the stragetic ones. to use a military phrase. Timber should be cut only systematically so that when the old ones are cut young ones are allowed to take their place. Leasing out forests for plantations should be carried on with great discrimination and on expert advice only. Again the Government should control the cutting down of timber in the private owned forests also. It is better to be guarded by taking preventive measures than be forced to take curative measures as the Americans found necessary now.

Apart from wise conservation of forests the importance of afforestation also should be recognised. Afforestation is 'planting bare ground with trees which may be undertaken to replace trees cut down or to improve the climatic conditions of a district.' There are many barren wastes of land in India, parched lands where nothing grows and semi-desert sandy plains. Investigations should be carried on to see what trees will grow on these soils. Preference should be given to those trees that have a rapid growth as well as good height. For example the Government in Britain is 'planting spruce, larch and other coniferous trees which grow more quickly than oaks and elms.' The nature of the trees to be planted as well as the system which should be followed in planting them should all be left to experts in the line.

Further, propaganda should be carried on among villagers to plant as many trees as possible. They give them shade which will make their homes much more comfortable in the scorching tropical summer. They will be getting fuel by cutting overhanging boughs. Fruit-bearing trees supply them with a wholesome diet. They should be advised as to the particular trees they should plant in their localities. Our ancestors were wise men when they made planting trees a meritorious religious act.

GLIMPSES OF JAPAN



Sales-girls take their noon rest on the roof garden



A Japanese girl in her best Kimono



At a mountain farm -Japan

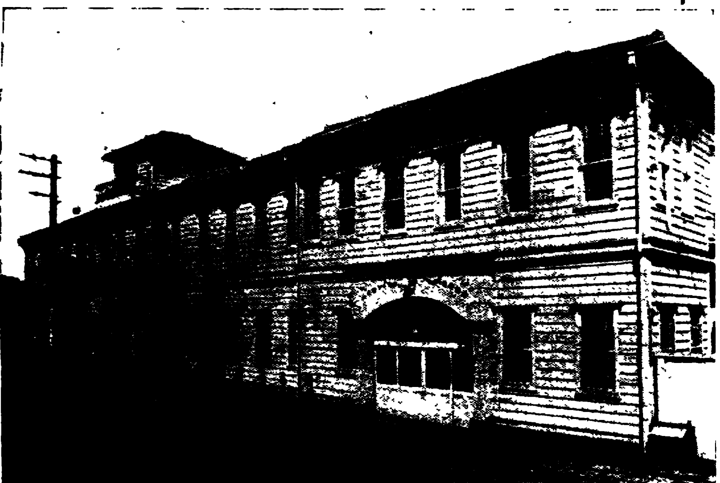
GLIMPSES OF JAPAN



A Japanese beauty goes out for a stroll in early summer



A baby under medical care in a Tokyo children's hospital



The front gate of the Tokyo Women's Medical College



The Tokyo Women's Medical College—School-building and Hospital



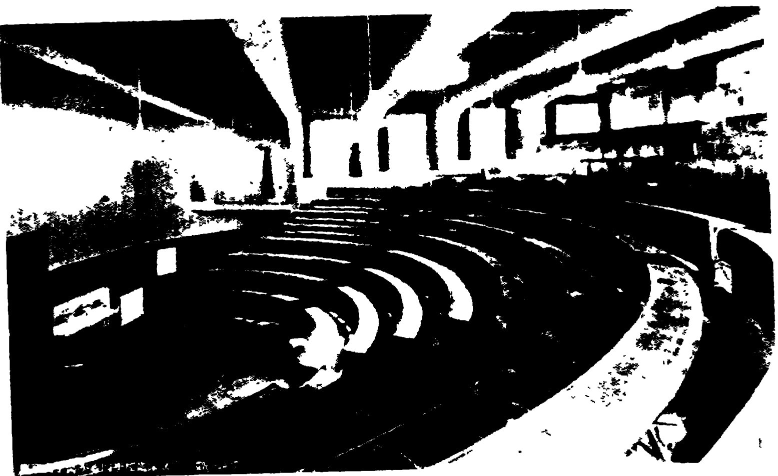
Facade of the attached school hospital—Tokyo Women's Medical College



The Tokyo Women's Medical College Hospital, Ward No. 2.



Facade of the dormitory—Tokyo Women's Medical College



The recent-built Clinic Hall—Hospital of the Tokyo Women's Medical College



Keis University Hospital—A young mother entertaining her daughter with a picture-book



Keis University Hospital—Two youngster convalescents playing a game of cards

GLIMPSES OF JAPAN

By SANTA DEVI

THE day our steamer touched the shores of Japan was a day of great expectations for us. The land of the cherry blossoms with its thousands of attractions must be something like a fairy land! It was a very cold morning in early February, yet the decks were crowded with impatient tourists and home-coming sailors. The pine-clad hills of Kobe were all crowned with snowy caps. Men had come to the wharf in heavy Western clothes to welcome their friends. They were waving their hats and handkerchiefs but not shouting. But this almost Western crowd was a great disappointment for me. No kimonos, "getas" and lacquer umbrellas! Only a few neat and clean "jin rickis" to prove that we have come to Japan!

When the crowd came nearer we saw some ladies in the background. To my great relief, they were not dressed in European clothes. They had come in their multi-coloured kimonos, embroidered 'obies,' wooden 'getas' and white 'tabis' (socks). Two of them had their elaborate old-world Japanese coiffure, others had dressed their hair in simple modern style. I was glad to see that oriental women everywhere prefer their national costume to European dress.

On the day of my arrival I saw Japanese women in the background, but during the twenty-eight days that I spent in Japan I always found them in the forefront.

After disembarking we went to an Indian Hotel in Kobe. Smiling and active little Japanese maids rushed out to welcome us. They took off our coats, brought 'hibachis' and electric heaters to give us warmth and comfort, posted all our letters and served us in right Indian style during lunch and dinner with 'puris,' 'dal,' 'chutney' and 'bhajis.' I went inside the kitchen and found the maids busy, but with every signal of the calling bell one of them ran to the 'bell-board' to find out the number of the room where she was wanted. They never grudged to do anything, and they were never late.

In Japan I did not find the footpaths crowded generally. Conveyances are cheap. There are innumerable electric trains running every five or ten minutes, there are trams, 'buses and taxis like private sedan cars. The drivers are all men. But the conductors of all the omnibuses that I have seen in Kobe, Tokyo and Kamakura are young girls. They are very active, courteous and cheerful. As soon as the 'bus stops, the smiling little girl in her blue European uniform steps down, helps the young and old passengers to get up and down, issues tickets to the coming passengers and takes tickets from the departing ones, thanks all of them for their patronage and after bidding them farewell asks the driver to start the bus again. These tiny little girls are not at all shy or afraid to help big giant-like foreign passengers. I have not seen people boarding running cars or trains in Japan. The conductress waits for every one of them. Sometimes little children cannot easily get out of the crush in the omnibuses. These conductresses drag out the children and good-humouredly hand them over to their guardians.



Sun-bathing on the roof during a rest hour.

During the twenty-eight days that I was in Japan I boarded about sixty-five or seventy trains, most of them being electric trains. So much of my experience of Japan is associated with railway stations, platforms and trains. I found the railway platforms to be the most crowded parts of Japan. Men, women and children are rushing in and out of the trains all day long. In Kobe and Osaka I sometimes used to count the passengers. The number of men seldom exceeded the number of women in the railway compartments. I do not know why the number of men in the locality of Tokyo was always greater than the number of women. Probably the ultra-modern city of Osaka has given more freedom to its women, and Osaka

being a great centre of industry and commerce, there are innumerable women workers. I have read and heard that in Japanese factories women always lead in number. In a famous book about Japan I found,—

"In the spinning and weaving industries alone they (women) furnish 82.4 per cent of the man power, the number of female operators being 740,511 as against only 158,281 males."

"When the grand totals of all industries are summed up, women and girls are still in the lead, numbering 8,86,234 workers as against 7,74,098, or 63.4 per cent."

A large percentage of the girls whom I met near about Osaka must have been factory girls; but it is strange to say that none of them looked like a labourer. One and all of the young girls were dressed in gay silk kimonos, expensive 'obies' and spotless 'tabis' (socks) and 'getas.' Our friend Mr. S. C. Das of Kobe said, "Rich or poor, labourer or no labourer, girls of Japan always dress tastefully." They spend from 30 to 200 yen for a full dress. Just think of a jute mill girl of Howrah spending Rs. 23 for her sari !



Tokyo Women's Medical College Hospital— Ward No. 2.

Prof. Nitobe of Japan says, "the majority of young women now marry at twenty two or twenty-three years."

Before marriage most of the girls work and earn money. They have their own purse to help their parents, meet their own expenses, and save something for their dowry. A Japanese author says: "Of 17,000 women workers in Tokyo 76.57 per cent. contribute to the support of their families, besides earning their own living. The majority of these are from 16 to 25 years old, and earn an average monthly wage of 30 yen. On this they can live and save a little."

When I was in the great industrial city of Osaka the cherry trees all along the streets were like so many skeletons, even the plum trees wer equally bare, though officially the spring is announced in the Japanese temples in early February. Nature was colourless in cities but I never felt it for a day, thanks to our Japanese sisters. When the young ladies, each with a garden of flowers in her dress, thronged the shining and up-to-date stations of Kobe, Osaka and Sannomiya and ran to catch the in-coming trains like so many pictures of health and beauty, to me Japan looked really like a land of flowers. Next to the saris and 'lahangis' of Indian women, I thought the flowing and flower-spangled kimonos of Japanese women the best women's dress in the world. But a crowd in kimonos look far better and picturesque than a crowd in saris, because you do not find a single dirty, torn or discoloured kimono in the streets.

But unfortunately the school girls, 'bus girls and most of the restaurant and department stores girls have discarded their national dress and taken to European frocks as a more convenient and practical costume. Still in an ordinary crowd you find more than half of the men dressed in European style and most of the women in Japanese style.

Next to the factories the restaurants and department stores draw the women workers most. I have visited about twenty restaurants in Japan and almost everywhere I found girls serving, and attending to the customers and even managing the cash. These girls I always found to be hard-working, careful, alert, active and ever-smiling. They can and do serve four or five persons at the same time and do not get nervous when carrying six or seven hot dishes in their two tiny hands. They are active and hardworking, yet their eyes and ears are always ready to enjoy some fun. Except in Yokohama and Kobe, one does not generally find Indian women in the streets of Japan. So I was a curiosity in most places. In some restaurants waitresses used to crowd round me and admire my shawl and sari. In every place they used to welcome us very cordially and bid us farewell by saying, "Come to Japan again and come to our hotel."

In Osaka and in Tokyo there are many magnificent modern buildings eight storeys high and with two basements. In all these buildings there are electric lifts. I found everywhere young Japanese girls in charge of these lifts. They never forgot to salute us.

In the railway stations and in the hotels and in many offices I found young girls working as telephone operators. Selling of railway tickets is another occupation of Japanese girls.

Prof. Nitobe writes :

"Speaking of labour, the considerable part taken by women is due to the large percentages of textile industries and to the small percentages of industries that require great physical exertion. Thousands of women who are most usefully engaged in tending the silk worm and in reeling cocoons in their homes, do not appear in statistics. Over 36 p.c. of the entire female population is occupied with some kind of useful calling. Child labour has steadily decreased; but at present about 10 per cent of textile operatives are girls under 16."

Female labour in Japan is cheaper than male labour. This is one of the reasons why the labour market is so over-crowded with women. Average daily wages in textiles are as follows :—

	Male.	Female.
Cotton spinning—	*y*1.70	*y*1.20
Weaving	*y*1.50	*y*1.00

Silk weaving and spinning were ancient home industries of Japanese women, so very naturally they have entered as labourers in the silk industries. Women of Assam also can follow the example of their Japanese sisters, if ever such opportunities come to them.

Women have also invaded the printing presses. In the *Osaka Mainichi* press I saw the boys composing and the girls re-arranging the types. The girls' work seemed more difficult to me.

I had a great desire to visit all the important women's institutions of Japan. But owing to my ill health and some other reasons I could not do so. Yet I have seen Tokyo Women's Medical College, Nippon Women's University, Women's Art School of Tokyo, Mrs. Hani's Industrial School, a poor class Maternity Hospital of Tokyo and some primary, secondary and Kindergarten schools for girls. I met the members of a progressive women's club known as Monday Club. I am thankful to my dear friend Dr. Mrs. Tomiko Wada Kora for helping me to have some impressions of such high class Women's Institutions.

The Women's Medical College is a big affair. It was a rainy day, yet my friend Mrs. Kora and a doctor in charge of the hospital showed me round the gigantic hospital attached to the College. The building is six storeys above ground, and there are two basements. The basements are for T. B. and other patients. The building is one of the most up-to-date style, with the latest and most scientific equipment. It is considered as one of the best and ideal hospitals of Japan. Though it is attached to the Women's College, male patients are admitted here. I found many of them in their beds. There are about sixty doctors attending patients daily. The upper class students are given practice at this hospital. It has a big clinic hall. It is considered as one of the largest clinics of Japan. There is sitting accommodation for 400 students. The college has got about 1000 regular students at the present time.

When we entered the gate I found a life-size bronze statue of the lady president Yayoi Yoshioka and a bas-relief of the founder Arata Yoshioka in the open space in front of the hospital. The statues were erected by the alumnae in 1931.

We had to take off our shoes and put on sandals supplied by the college before entering the main building. I found this custom of removing shoes before entering any private house and many public buildings observed even by European people. From the standpoint of hygiene it is a very good custom and should be revived in India again. Even nowadays many people of India remove their shoes before entering a room, but it seems that within a few years this old Indian custom will be totally forgotten by Indian citizens at least.



Hospital of the Tokyo Women's Medical College
No. 2 Ward

Female servants in uniform showed us into the visiting room and immediately two cups of green tea came as symbols of welcome. Then came the doctor, who received us very cordially. But still we had to wait, because another servant was bringing European tea and cakes. Finally the doctor took us to almost every corner of this well-equipped eight storied hospital. The X-ray department, the Ultra-violet department, the major operation rooms, the minor operation rooms, rooms for electric bath and massage, the lecture halls and even the rooms for milk testing, washing, cooking, messing and boiling water were shown. In the confinement rooms I found some of the expectant mothers who had just arrived. The most interesting department was the babies'



Arata Yoshioka, the founder



Yayoi Yoshioka, the president

department. Here you do not see lifeless scientific apparatus only. Little newborn babies were sleeping in their comfortable cots. They had put on their colourful kimonoes just after their arrival in this world. The quilts which covered these sleeping beauties were bright with gay colours. Weighing machines were frequently used for finding out their weights. Some of the babies were also being measured with tapes by nurses. Mothers are not allowed here.

In the children's hospital little children of tender ages were looked after by expert nurses. Some of them had lost their mothers, some are ricketty, some suffering from other diseases. I did not find any relations of the children in the rooms, but the children were not howling. Some were sleeping, some were quietly sitting up in their cots and sadly looking at the toys with which the rooms were full. In an adjoining room there are innumerable samples of children's toys suited to every age from early infancy upto 12 years.

The whole building, like most Japanese buildings, was scrupulously clean. The servants looked like upper class girls.

This College was founded in 1900 as a Medical School. In 1912 it became a college. In 1920 it was recognized by the Minister of Education as the Tokyo Women's Medical College.

" About twenty-five years ago medical education for women was looked down upon with contempt. For this reason the only medical school giving such education to women at that time was forced to give it up. But after the Russo-Japanese war people began to realize the necessity for higher education." Women demanded professions for them. Late marriages for girls gradually became the custom. Thus the dislike of the general public for medical and other professional education decreased.

" In 1931 there were 3986 women physicians and pharmacists, 154,153 nurses and midwives," says a Japanese author.

In Japan as well as in other countries sometimes patients want to come to the hospitals with their families. For these people I found different classes of rooms according to the patients' purse. In the main rooms there are bed-steads for the patients, but the side rooms are all empty matted rooms. Here the members of the family sleep on thick mattresses spread on the clean floor. There are sanitary arrangements and geysers for the whole family.

A very large number of outdoor patients come to this medical college every day. There are charts showing the daily attendance of patients. From these charts we found winter to be the worst time for patients. In India winter is the best time generally.

The poor class Maternity Hospital to which I went is in another quarter of Tokyo. Here women come for about one week. They pay about Rs. 10, which includes doctor's fee, delivery charge, food, nurse and everything. Yet here the arrangements are very satisfactory. There is an outdoor department for mothers and children. Here also milk testing, washing and water boiling are under proper supervision. The charts show the number of children and mothers treated daily.

When we came to this hospital it was heavily raining. So we had not only to remove our shoes but to change our slippers every time they were wet. In this hospital there are innumerable charts for the guidance of prospective mothers, young mothers and nurses. They show the proper and improper food, proper ways of carrying children, vitamin foods, and all rules of hygiene.

I came to know from my Japanese friend that in Tokyo mothers are generally delivered of their babies in hospitals. So there are many classes of maternity hospitals. Some are free, some are for the middle class and some are expensive.

In Japan every child attends school from the age of six to twelve. In 1928 the number of children of school-going age was 9,565,952. Of this number 9,514,000 children attended schools. In villages and towns schools have the finest buildings. Japanese people say, "Japan is a paradise for children."

"After leaving primary schools, about 10 p. c. of the girls and 8 p. c. of the boys go on to higher schools."

Thus we see that education for one and all has helped the Japanese women to make such rapid progress. The beginning of women's education is a comparatively new thing in Japan, the first girls' school having been opened in 1870 only. It was a missionary school. In less than seventy years they have shaken off all their old world prejudices and entered all the professions in large numbers. Some have already been monopolised by women.

Though for various reasons I could not see all that I wished to see in Japan, yet Japanese women have made a permanent good impression on my mind and in future I may say something about their arts, music, households, theatres and general education.

STIRRING THE STAGNANT POOLS OF HUMANITY

By S. R. DUTT, B.A.

1. THE KACHARIS OF ASSAM

AWAY in the sparsely populated Tarai land at the foot of the Bhutan Hills, the Harijan Sevak Sangh has opened a welfare centre to reclaim the Kacharis, once a ruling race of Assam, but now a degenerate tribe on the vague border line between Hinduism and Animism.

The welfare work started just a year ago is the result of the personal knowledge gathered by Srijut A. V. Thakkar, General Secretary of the Sangh, during his painstaking and exhaustive tours in different parts of Assam. He saw people, thousands and thousands of them, inhabiting the fastnesses of hills and plains, dragging a joyless existence in poverty, squalor and ignorance.

Sj. Thakkar is a giant among social workers. Few, indeed, have so completely identified themselves with the mission of regenerating their fellow countrymen stagnating in the dark pools of Hindu society.

"Ah! long have ye slept, Sons of India, too long!
Your country degenerate, your morals all wrong."

His was not a mere tourist's curiosity that urged him to tramp through mud and jungle over trackless lands where the tribes of Assam have for ages shut themselves up away from the glare of civilization. He came, he saw and could not turn away without stretching out a helping hand. The wizard of social welfare work lost no time in evolving a practical scheme for the upliftment of these backward peoples, and being assured of financial help from Sj. J. K. Birla he immediately set to work and established a welfare centre in the midst of the Kacharis at Barama nearly 50 miles from Gauhati town.

There are numerous backward tribes inhabiting the hills and plains of Assam. In this

paper, however, I will confine myself to the Kacharis upon whom the Harijan Sevak Sangh is concentrating its efforts for the present.

The Kacharis may not be strictly called 'untouchable,' although their social status is very low. Caste Hindus do not generally accept water touched by them. Their economic condition is pitiable; they till the soil and just manage to keep body and soul together. Educationally backward and given to drinking home-brewed rice-beer, the Kacharis are a thriftless and indolent people. Seeing them today, who can imagine that the ancestors of this race were conquerors and builders of cities and palaces the ruins of which still lie scattered in several districts of Assam?



Prayer Hall of the Ashram
Tailoring class-room in the corner

Here is what Col. L. W. Shakespear says about the past glories of the Kacharis in his *History of Upper Assam* (page 3) :

"Again the extensive region of the dense Nambhor Forest lying between Lumding Junction (on the Assam and Bengal Railway) and Golaghat and bordered by the Mikir and Naga Hills is known to cover ground at one time owned by the strong Kachari clans in a high state of civilization with their capital at Dimapur on the Dhansiri river almost in the centre of the forest. When the engineers, Messrs. Thornhill, Buckle, and Venters in 1896-97 were arranging the earthwork of the Assam and Bengal Railway north from Lumding, they came on causeways, canals, and sites of buildings, notably in the vicinity of Rangapahar and Dimapur now covered with jungle."

As regards their origin, the same historian writes :

"Of the three strong tribes who long held dominion in different parts of upper Assam, the earliest to arrive in the country is surmised to have been the Kacharis, whose original habitat is believed to have been along the foot of the Darjeeling hills and the Morang tract, which was known to the Nepalese as the Kacha country. These then travelled east and crossed the Brahmaputra, settling in what is now the Nowgong district between Jorhat and Gauhati. Spreading from there, they populated the Dhansiri and Kopili valleys and all eastern Assam, eventually crossing the southern hills and occupying the present district of Cachar, to which they gave the name of their ancient home, after they had ousted the Tippera people."

The Kachari rulers held sway over different parts of Assam from the thirteenth till the first decade of the nineteenth century when during the Burmese invasions the last vestige of their kingdom had disappeared and the Kacharis, as a nation, began to dwindle and fade into the backward communities that they are today.

The Kacharis have their own proud traditions which go back to the age of the Mahabharata and link them with the then ruling house of Hastinapur. They claim Bhima's wife Hidimba to be a Kachari princess though in the great epic she is described uncomplimentarily as a Rakshasi. Their son, Ghatotkacha, it will be recalled, fought bravely and laid down his life in the battle of Kurukshetra. His name is still cherished by the Kacharis.

The total Kachari population of Assam is 3,42,297, according to the last Census Report. They are a distinct type more akin to the Mongolian than the Aryan in general appearance and physical features. They have their own language which has no affinity to Assamese or any other Indian language. They have no script. Although the process of Hinduization commenced about the middle of the 18th century, it touched mainly the royal family and the court; it could not penetrate into the bulk of the community which has ever remained on the border line between Hinduism and Animism, worshipping the "Siju" plant and observing primitive practices side by side with Hindu ceremonies.

The downfall of the Kacharis synchronizes with the British conquest of Assam a little over a century ago. What an abject transformation a hundred years of subjugation and neglect have wrought upon them who now seem to have completely cut loose from their old moorings. Their glorious past is but a faint memory which does not quicken their pulse, nor awakens pride in their bosoms. They have relapsed into primitive conditions and are stagnating in the dark pool of ignorance, superstition and poverty.

It is these people that the Harijan Sevak Sangh is endeavouring to serve by opening welfare centres in their midst, establishing day and night schools, ashrams, dispensaries, etc., and sinking wells here and there to supply drinking water. Sj. B. K. Bhandary is in charge of this Special Welfare Centre. One has to see to believe what difficulties and dangers this fearless and devoted worker and his assistants have had to overcome at the beginning and what wonders they have achieved in the brief space of a year.



Kachari women and children fetch their drinking water from a small dug out pit. As the water goes down it is dug further. But they will not use the water from a well dug by males!





Left : Kachari men and women suffering from Kala-azar and leprosy who are treated at an out centre of the Health Department. Behind them is the injection shade.
Right : Ashram inmates at their jobs. Behind them is the kitchen and dining hall.

On more than one occasion Sj. Bhandary was at death's door. But he has stuck to his gun at the peril of his life and fought his way through with dogged persistence.

Already at Barama, the headquarters, the Ashram cottages are humming with a new life, where Kachari children are learning to read and write and look beyond their little world of age-old superstition into a wider world of revivifying knowledge and hope. There is the Sangh's Dispensary to minister to the sick, the Sangh's doctor to go from door to door and teach people to war against malaria, dysentery, cholera, etc., which are ever stalking about and taking heavy tolls. Good drinking water is a rarity in these tracts. The Sangh has sunk ring-wells in several villages. More than fifteen primary schools have already been opened in different localities. The number of children on the rolls was 502 with an average daily attendance of 375



Left: Ashram inmates at play. Behind them is one of the two main blocks (living quarters).
Right: Patients at the Ashram dispensary in the early morning.

during the month of September, 1936. A Tailoring Class is also conducted at the Ashram with a resident instructor. There is a Night School for the benefit of the boys who cannot attend the day schools Attempts are being directed towards developing an enlightened outlook on Hindu Dharma among the inmates of the Ashram. Sri Sankar Dev's devotional songs and Ram-Nam are recited at the morning and evening prayers. Boys are encouraged to read books dealing with the Hindu ideals of life and with the evils of untouchability, and Gandhiji's auto-biography.

This is only a beginning of the huge task that the Harijan Sevak Sangh has set upon itself. The necessity for such work on a much wider scale can hardly be over-emphasised. There are 6,57,000 persons classed under "Hindu Exterior Castes," 13,00,000 persons classed as Backward Tribes and 14,00,000 Tea Garden Cooly Castes, scattered over the length and breadth of Assam They are so many stagnant pools of humanity festering in disease, poverty and ignorance. Let there be a stir in them and let the sunshine of hope penetrate into their midst.

THE TRUTH ABOUT MIAN FAZL-I-HUSAIN

By Prof. DIWAN CHAND SHARMA

The study of this book (*Mian Fazl-i-Husain—A Review of his Life and Work* by Syed Nur Ahmed, the Punjab Educational Press, Lahore) has brought back to me some of the memories of my under-graduate days, for some of the events described in this small but interesting book happened when I was reading in the Third Year class in the D. A. V. College, Lahore, in 1917. It was in that year that Mian Fazl-i-Husain presided over the Punjab Political Conference, of which the Chairman was the late L. Harkishen Lal. Those were very sad and gloomy days in the history of the political life of the Punjab, for the Punjab was politically entirely inactive. Repression ran high in the province in those days, and all kinds of political activity seemed to be in abeyance. Sir Michael O'Dwyer was in those days the Lieutenant Governor of the Punjab, and he was a strong though not a silent man. He ruthlessly crushed some of the political agitators and conspirators who had come back from America, and the province seemed to be panic-stricken. All the weapons of civilised repression, visible and invisible, were set in motion by the administration, and it seemed as if even constitutional agitation was a crime. Most of the people of the province therefore read only about the political activities of the people in the other provinces of India and bewailed their own helplessness. They seemed

to be specimens of passive suffering and dumb inarticulate hopelessness. The administration of the province then was not only repressive, but also reactionary. The administrators did not merely believe in putting down all kinds of political activity, but they also felt that the Punjab did not want any further measure of self-government. This was, indeed, a great stigma on the people of the Punjab, and some of them felt this humiliation keenly. They felt that while other provinces were agitating vigorously for Home Rule for India, they could not hold even a public meeting to voice their grievances and to agitate for a further instalment of self-government. They also felt that, though the Congress and the Muslim League had submitted a joint memorandum for the transfer of a greater measure of responsibility to the people, the Punjabis were not able to endorse that memorandum. All these thoughts made a few Punjabis uncomfortable and unhappy, but the most unhappy Punjabi was L. Duni Chand, Barrister of Lahore. He had been (and happily still is) the source and fount of all political activities in the province for some years past but he realised how weak their position was at that time. He was, however, not to be dismayed by what was happening. He, therefore, took counsel with a few of his friends, and they resolved to launch a mild political offensive irrespective of the consequences that might befall. So he and his friends thought of organising a provincial political conference. To this project some politically-minded persons lent their support, and L. Harkishen Lal came to be elected as the Chairman of the Reception Committee of the Conference and Mian Fazl-i-Husain became the President. It was this Conference that gave the lie to the statement that the Punjab had no political aspirations and was content with the status quo.

I can still recall what I saw at one of the sittings of the Conference in the Bradlaugh Hall, Lahore. Mian Fazl-i-Husain sat in the presidential chair, tall and straight, calm and dignified, shrewd and reserved and the other political leaders of the Punjab clustered round him like stars round a vast luminary. He literally seemed to tower above his co-workers, and it appeared as if he was the hero of the hour. To my youthful mind, as to the minds of others, he then seemed to be a noble patriot and a courageous fighter for the rights of India. It seemed that he would lead the Punjab to the goal of self-government through the path of Hindu-Muslim unity and that the coming generations of the Punjab would hail him as their deliverer. I know how the youngmen of the Punjab in those days used to point to him whenever they found him as a great example of patriotic endeavour, national self-respect and courageous resistance to reaction and repression. It was really something courageous for him to have taken the lead at that time and to have identified himself with the cause of the Indian National Congress, for the Punjab was at that time a prey to fears, to supressed resentment, and the Punjabis seemed to have very little of political self-respect left. He therefore seemed to many Punjabis at that time the symbol of its desire for liberation and its very voice, brain and arm.

But alas all these hopes were foredoomed to be unfulfilled. Even in the Presidential Address that he delivered on that occasion he foreshadowed the Punjab in which the Muslims were to have an upper hand. It is true he spoke at that time against the bureaucracy, and dwelt upon the grievances of the Punjabis. But all those seemed to be nothing when compared with other things that he said, and which he quoted a few years afterwards in the course of his speech on the vote of censure that was brought up against him as Minister by Raja Narindra Nath. Anyone who reads that address now will come to the conclusion that he did not believe in the Indian National Congress as Maulana Abul Kalam Azad believes, but he wanted to use it as an instrument for giving his own backward Muslim community a chance in the political field of India. He believed that the Lucknow pact was one of the greatest achievements of the Congress, and he was proud of the fact that he had some hand in the framing of that pact. He thus looked upon the Congress as a useful ally of the Muslim League, and as an organisation that would help the Muslims in getting political privileges. Some of the passages from this Presidential Address might be quoted to show along what lines his thoughts moved at that time. In fact, it would not be an exaggeration to say that he did not change his ideas or his line of action very much afterwards. Speaking about the bureaucracy he said,

> "What we object to is the system of bureaucracy and the nationality of the bureaucracy has nothing to do with it..........Suppose for a moment that the British Parliament decided that the Indian Civil Servants will be recruited from among Indians only, do you think that this agitation will subside? Certainly not. What is wanted is popular control over the services and remember that an Indian bureaucrat is no less a bureaucrat than a British one; it is an un-British system that we fight against."

It is, however, interesting to note that this gallant gentleman who had arraigned bureaucracy in such strong terms became himself afterwards a very powerful supporter of this bureaucracy in many ways. It is true he did not utterly succumb to it, but still in all essentials he became its most powerful ally. Another thing to which he referred in this address was the grievances of the land-holding classes of the Punjab. He said,

"To sum up my charge, the land-holding class of the province, from which the splendid army of which we are justly proud is recruited, is deprived of its right to elect its representatives for the Imperial Legislative Council. More than this, it has been denied the opportunity to take an effective and honourable share in self-government when it comes. The harm done is incalculable and it is all the more regrettable that it is done to a class which deserves, if anything, preferential treatment. Is this the way in which bureaucracy which attributes selfishness and motives to political workers, protects the rights of the non-agitating voter who does not make himself audible?"

He also pleaded for the training of the Punjabis in local self-government through Municipal Committees and District Boards. He said in very clear terms,

"If these institutions are to develop, let them live under non-official, elected presidents. Let not the fetish of efficiency stand in the way of people learning their work. Do not crush all initiative out of them. Do not do everything for them. Let them do a few things, may be, badly for themselves. You do not throw the responsibility on them and expect them to become efficient like yourself."

From all these things it is clear what kind of policy he wanted to pursue. In the name of helping the backward classes of the province he wanted to help the Muslims of the Punjab. The extension of popular control in the Municipaties and the District Boards of the province meant to him the transference of power into the hands of his own co-religionists. His solicitude for the land-owning classes meant the setting up of rural interests against urban interests. His plea for the curtailment of the power of the bureaucracy meant that it should come to terms with him and his policy. But it is a pity that at the time this presidential address was delivered the newspapers and the politicians who are always in a hurry ignored these details, but marked only its tone of self-assertion and its note of defiance. These were wholesome things for the province at that time, but no one knew then that these were not to be harnessed to large patriotic ends but to particularist and sectional policies. Still it cannot be denied that Mian Fazl-i-Husain rendered a great service to the Punjab at that time.

Then came Non-co-operation and the people of the Punjab were sadly disillusioned when Mian Fazl-i-Husain refused to board this ship. He did not merely stand aloof from the struggle, but worked against it in his own unfussy and subterranean manner. By doing so he served two ends. On the one hand, he showed to the bureaucracy, which he had been condemning all these days, that he had not the Congress mentality of which it was so afraid, and on the other hand he made his co-religionists believe that the policy of thorough-going opposition to the Government would not take them very far, and that their alliance with the Congress would not bring them much. Thus he assured for himself an honoured place in the new legislatures. The Government welcomed him with both arms, because it felt that he was an occasionally inconvenient but generally a useful ally, and the Muslims pushed him up because they knew that only he could make them enjoy those privileges which the new Reforms held in store for them. From this time onwards his career became a kind of triumphal march. With his genius for compromise to which the biographer pays a glowing tribute he effected the greatest compromise of his life. He came to terms with the Government on the one hand and with the Muslim community on the other, and thereby assured for himself a long succession of offices and a long tenure of political career. Yet it is not true to say that he never compromised in essential things. From a patriot he became a communalist, and he ceased to care for the larger interests of the country. Freedom and other larger issues occupied no place or only a minor place in his mind, and he began to think in terms of percentages for his community in the Legislatures, the Local Boards and the services of this country. It was then no wonder that he passed from one office to another with the ease of a practised politician. At a luncheon given to him some years ago by the Muslims of Lahore he said that he had always been a Congressman, and that though the Congress had changed, he had not changed, and that he was carrying out the constructive programme of the Congress. But this was merely a kind of window dressing. He had ceased to be a Congressman long ago, and, like Sir Syed Ahmad, he had been largely instrumental in keeping his community away from the Congress. If people chafe at Anglo-Muslim alliance now, they should remember that it was due to him, for he was practically the author and perpetuator of that alliance during recent years.

It will be a commonplace to say that he gave to his community what was meant for the nation, and that he perpetuated the rule of the bureaucracy (revised edition), which he had hated at one time. But something to this effect is quite true. Yet no one can deny the fact that he played the political game with a masterly mind. He always had an unanswerable case on paper, and no one could beat him at his game. He was always suave and self-possessed, and even gave Mahatma Gandhi the impression of being a calm, reasonable and dignified man. With his mastery of facts and figures, he could manipulate things in the way he liked. Manœuvring and manipulation came natural to him, and he had a demoniacal capacity for reserve and patience. His self-assertiveness was of a curious kind. It was like that of the man who always holds the trump card in his hand. This assertiveness of his was felt equally by all, by his colleagues, his opponents, lieutenants and subordinates. He had no patience for those who refused to play his hand or revolted against him in any way. With such men, whether English Civilians or others, he dealt in an autocratic manner. It is said about an English Civilian that he did not show him proper courtesy, when he visited his place, and the result was that the English Civilian had to go. But all the same he reminded one of the spider in dealing with problems and persons and not of the lion. Astuteness and shrewdness were his great assets, and he made the fullest use of them.

The story of his life as narrated in this book shows that he was not a spectacular politician in any way. Nor is there much in it to inspire any person to high endeavours or noble sacrifices. His life cannot be called in any way eventful, yet three things emerge even from his student days. He was a pattern of regularity and method in whatever he undertook to do. He also tried to grasp the underlying principles of human conduct, and was a great student of human motives. His educational career was not in any way great, nor was his career at the Bar a great success. But one cannot quarrel with him for all this. He was cut out to be a politician, and he found the proper scope for his energies and methods and attainments in the intrigues of the Anjuman Himayat-i-Islam of Lahore, the University of the Punjab and the Legislatures of this country. There he played his part with one of his eyes on his personal advancement and with his other eye on the advancement of his community, and the part that he played was magnificent from some points of view. His ability was not of the academic type, but of the practical kind, and he attained his object without creating many bitter enemies in his own camp. He owed his success in politics mainly to his grasp of the fundamental situation according to his own point of view, but also to the fact that he made very judicious use of the powers that the new constitution brought to the Ministers. In other words, he gave new hopes and ambitions to his community, and everyone of them felt that he could deliver the goods. In the Punjab he held a unique place. The only Hindu who could have been a match for him in politics, I mean Sir Shadi Lal, was out of the field. Raja Narindra Nath, who led and is still leading the Punjab Hindus in the provincial Legislature, could not undo his influence, for he led a minority community. Still no two persons could be more unlike each other than these two. Whereas the Raja is transparently honest, Mian Fazl-i-Husain was a machiavellian politician. The Raja can hit straight though not hard, but his opponent bore the armour of Anglo-Muslim alliance, which was proof against all the blows of his opponent. It was, therefore, no wonder that the censure motion brought against Mian Fazl-i-Husain's policy by Raja Narindra Nath was not carried. Still it remains the most effective protest in the history of the modern Punjab against a policy that has done incalculable harm to the Hindus.

Yet the author of this book throws the blame on the Hindus for turning Mian Fazl-i-Husain into a communalist. He describes how in 1915 Mian Fazal-i-Husain sought election to the Punjab Legislative Council from the Punjab University Constituency. He, therefore, approached the Hindu voters, who numbered thirty to support his candidature. But though everyone of them recognised his ability, most of them refused to support him. The biographer says,

> "Main Fazl-i-Husain himself used to relate subsequently the history of this incident. He approached 30 influential Hindu voters of the constituency. All of them knew him intimately and admitted that he was by far the best candidate in the field. They even expressed the hope that he would succeed : but 27 of them explained to him that, much as they would like to help him, they could not go against the wishes or decisions of this or that sectional body, Samaj or religious institution to which they belonged. Only the remaining three Hindu leaders came forward to help him and did what they could for him."

Though he was elected in the end, yet he came to believe that communalism was ingrained

in the Hindus. It also made him think that the policy of joint electorates was futile, but I think all this is beside the point. Even before this Mian Fazl-i-Husain had made up his mind about the policy that he was to pursue, and if he was with the Congress for a while, it was because he knew that his association with the Congress would be a kind of short-cut to power. By acting like this he did what several other Muslims have done. They have played with the Congress for a while, and when they have come into the lime-light on account of this, they have said good-bye to it. Under any circumstances it would be rash to call Mian Fazl-i-Husain a Congressman. At his best he was a liberal of the old school, but a liberal minus large national sympathies and a broad national outlook. He was nothing but a communalist who introduced the principle of communalism even into such things as admissions to Government institutions But he knew that he could not maintain his powers for long unless he had a few Hindus also with him. So he widened and strengthened the already existing gulf between the rural and urban Hindus, and made a few of the representatives of the urban Hindus join him. This became for him the nucleus of the Unionist party. It is true he described this Unionist party as a non-communal organisation, but everyone knows that this was created to strengthen and perpetuate the forces of Muslim communalism in the Punjab. Its programme might have been economic, but to all intents and purposes its sole aim was and is to keep power in the hands of the Muslims of the Punjab. One thing is, however, certain, and it is this that Mian Fazl-i-Husain was a politician of magnificent calibre, and that he did much for the advancement of the Muslim community, but it yet remains to be seen if he can be described as a practical socialist or a Congressman, as the author of this book makes him out to be. Perhaps when the diary that he has left behind is published, we will have more interesting and revealing side lights on his character. But no amount of historical research and details can show that he was capable of doing any work in the larger interest of the country. Still no one can deny that he had an engaging and intriguing personality and his biography, brief but well-written, throws an interesting light on it.

INDIA AND THE IMPERIAL CONFERENCE

By PREM NARAIN AGRAWAL, M.A.

MAY '37, the coronation month, when His Imperial Majesty George VI would formally assume the reins of the government of the vast British Empire on which the sun never sets, is a colourful and momentous month for the whole of the empire. The circumstance, which led to the abdication of the throne by Edward VIII, now Duke of Windsor, who was to be coronated at this time in the normal course of events, and the enthronement of George VI, have attached unusual interest to the whole affair. Another event, probably more important not only to the empire but to the world as a whole, in the form of interesting deliberations of the Imperial conference will coincide with it. According to an announcement in the House of Commons by Mr. Baldwin, the Prime Minister, the Imerial conference would open on the 14th May. Several countries of the empire would participate in its deliberations.

India has also been invited to this conference. The Government of India has already announced the names of the delegates, who will participate in it on behalf of India. Sir Mohammad Zaffer Ullah Khan, the Commerce Member, would be the leader of this delegation. The delegation will have a number of other experts, who will be placed at their disposal by the Government of India to advise it and if need arises to work as members of the delegation. The agenda of the conference has been announced by Mr. Baldwin in the House of Commons. According to *Reuter's* message from London, dated 11 March, it is,

"The Prime Minister announced in the Commons that the Imperial Conference would open on May 14, and said that it would afford an opportunity for discussion of matters of common interest to the members of the British Commonwealth under the following heads—

1. Foreign affairs and defence.
2. Constitutional questions.

3. Trade, shipping and air communications and allied questions.

As regards the first the agenda would include an examination of the general situation together with any relevant questions.

The particular subjects proposed for consideration were certain matters relating to nationality, treaty procedure, international status of the members of the British Commonwealth and channel of communication between them.

As regards trade, shipping and air communications the following would be the main heads—

1. A general review of the progress of the Empire trade and questions arising therefrom.
2. A review of the work of the Imperial economic committee and other inter-Imperial economic organizations.
3. As general questions arising in the connection with the shipping policy including a review of the work of the Imperial shipping committee.
4. Civil air communications.

It has been generally agreed by His Majesty's government that any questions arising out of the Ottawa agreements could best be dealt with, as occasion offered, in separate discussions between the individual government concerned and apart from the Imperial Conference.

It was hoped that there would be an opportunity during the Imperial Conference for exchange of views of the subject of migration within the Empire."

With a view to bring the different units of the Empire together for closer cooperation and mutual benefit, such conferences have been organised from time to time. In the opinion of the British statesman, these conferences have proved of great advantage to both—England and her empire countries.

This forthcoming conference, therefore, is not the only and first of its kind. During the last fifty years or so several such conferences have been held. The Imperial conference owes its existence and its present developed form to a gradual process of evolution; it did not come into existence all of a sudden. The causes which are said to be responsible for its growth and its subsequent development have a very interesting and illuminating history to unfold. The first colonial conference, as it was then known, was called by His Majesty's government in London in 1887. It was as late as 1907 when it was decided to change its name to Imperial conference and the first Imperial conference met in 1911.

India's part in these conferences has been altogether insignificant. For several years India has had nothing to do with them as she was not invited to participate in its deliberations, and when she was called to participate her delegates were not treated on a footing of equality with other fellow delegates from Dominions; their presence was rather ignored. The real gainers have been the Dominions of New Zealand, Australia, Newfoundland, Ireland, the Union of South Africa and Canada. As a matter of fact these Imperial conferences aimed at adjusting the relations between England and her dominions, and it was primarily with this end in view that they were called from time to time. Whenever the interests of England clashed with those of her dominions and they were found to be adamant, such conferences were arranged in which it was mostly England that emerged triumphant. India could not go so far. In accordance with the provisions of the Statute of Westminster, the Dominions have advanced one step further, and now, they stand almost on an equal footing with England, being "autonomous countries in the British empire, equal in status, in no way subordinate to another, in any aspect of their domestic and external affairs, though, limited by a common allegiance to the Crown, and freely associated as members of the British Commonwealth of Nations." India is not a dominion; in fact it is the status for which most of our liberal leaders are striving to attain.

Despite the fact that their status is better than that of our country, some of the Dominions not being satisfied, appear to be in favour of severing completely their relations from England, or, at least to be in a position to look after their interests independently, irrespective of any consideration for England or her empire. On the other hand, Engand is anxious as ever to continue her relationship with or possibly her hold over them, and to end the antagonistic feelings by mutual conciliation, she invites them to the Imperial conferences, where a very strong plea for a closer union within the empire based on some direct concessions to them, is advanced. Being satisfied for the time being with fresh privileges, the Dominions assume a friendly attitude, not to last long. What can the powerless delegation of India do, who, besides being nominated by the Government of India, have the Secretary of State for India to watch their actions? In comparison with the attitude of the India delegation, the attitude of the Dominion delegations is worth noting. Their delegations have invariably put forward their demands and claims in the past in most definite terms and have cared very little for England and her susceptibilities when there were questions of their own interests. In presenting their plans, they have been most vigorous and fearless, and in point of fact, it were not they but England who had to yield ultimately. Our readers might be aware of the proceedings of some of the Imperial conferences or at least of the last Ottawa Conference. Those who are not acquainted, will get an opportunity in the next

few weeks when it meets in London, and this will enable them to appreciate exactly where the empire stands.

Instead of gaining anything, India has been definitely a loser. Every Indian knows how the Ottawa agreement, an offshoot of the closer union policy within the empire, has increased further the burden of the Indian people. The interests and rights of India, which have always been in the background, were crushed in these conferences by England in granting concessions to the dominions in order to win their favour and advantages accruing therefrom. It was at the cost of the life-blood of the Indians, that unity within the empire has been preserved. This selfish policy of the British government is thus responsible for the ill-treatment of Indians in the Dominions, who cannot however enforce reciprocal measures. The subjects of the British Empire, including dominions, can join the Indian Civil Service, but Indians cannot be allowed to acquire rights of domicile in them and the worst feature of this discriminatory policy is that those who have settled and acquired a right to live there are being driven out by means of most disgraceful measures. In Australia Indians cannot live and in the Union of South Africa, Acts, one after another, are being rushed through the Parliament with the object of driving them out as soon as possible. It is a known fact that at a time when the Good Will Delegation from South Africa was touring and enjoying parties in India, new bills were being carefully prepared there to achieve this. Indians, who have been victims of Imperialism in so many ways throughout the world, according to Lord Winterton, whom we cannot accuse of having any sympathy with India, have contributed more in the cause of the safety of the British empire than any of the dominions. Apart from helping in safeguarding the empire, it has furthered the imperial designs of England in several other countries by sending her troops to fight for her. Is all this a reward for her magnificent sacrifices? The most distressing feature of this policy of Dominions is that it is being vigorously enforced against those Indians who have directly or indirectly contributed to their growth and present flourishing conditions. They went there to toil hard when they were not worth living in or to make them suitable for human habitation. The existing available land is also not scarce to give the white settlers any ground for apprehension of being ousted by the Indians. What they exactly want is to make them white men's land by turning out Indians.

In the last Delhi session of the Indian Legislative Assembly, the question of better treatment of Indians in the dominions and other empire countries was raised and on this vital question of national honour, all politicians of all shades of opinion were in agreement. Even the European members expressed their resenment at the treatment accorded to Indians in overseas countries. In that very session and also on several other occasions in the past, it was made clear on behalf of the Government, that in this matter Government were doing all that they could to ameliorate their conditions. But it was maintained by the members of the House that the Government had entirely failed to do anything worth the name to bring about any appreciable change in the treatment meted out to them; rather their conditions had deteriorated. It was further pointed out that the Colonial office did not see eye to eye with the Indian government, and tackled this issue from its Imperial point of view. In reply to another question of an European member the Government is reported to have said that the question of overseas Indians would be taken up directly at the forthcoming Imperial conference, in London. The question now is whether any useful work can be expected from this conference.

On several previous occasions in such conferences, similar questions pertaining to the welfare of Indians in different parts of the empire were considered. Eminent Indian members of the calibre and ability of the Rt. Hon. Srinivas Sastri and the Rt. Hon. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, took great interest in the questions of the status and privileges of the Indian residents in the dominions, but their eloquence and statesmanship could not secure anything which might materially change their position; otherwise their condition would not have deteriorated to this extent.

According to a rough estimate about thirty lakhs of our Nationals are living in overseas countries, most of them in the dominions. Their number cannot be said to be insignificant to cause their problems to be overlooked. Owing to her position as a subject country, India has suffered in many ways, but this racial treatment of her nationals abroad by all sorts of measures, is of an outstanding character. Though it has been agreed at one of the conferences that India could apply same measures to the nationals of the Dominions, which they apply to Indians, the reciprocity has not yet been enforced despite a motion to this effect by Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant, then deputy leader of the Congress party,

in the last Simla session of the Assembly. It is expected that this question of the overseas Indians will be raised in the sessions of the Imperial conference, and we shall await the result with great interest. While waiting for the result, let me make it clear, we cannot conceal the feeling that nothing will be done to bring about any real change for the better in their conditions; the previous conferences bear testimony to this feeling. Apart from the atmosphere, which is practically the same, there appears no change either in the attitude of England or the dominions. It is probable, on the other hand that this question may not be taken up at all, and may be postponed for any conference in future or as being the last item on the agenda, may be easily overlooked before a large number of other knotty problems.

The conditions throughout the world have undergone a radical change and another war, probably greater than that of 1914, is expected at any moment. England is making brisk preparations to arm itself. She is anxious for her empire but the attitude of the dominions appear to be stiffening every day, in the opposite direction. England wants to retain the sympathy and favour of the dominions so that if war breaks out, they may remain with her and also participate in her armament programme which the dominions do not appear to favour.

For India there are only two problems; first of her nationals abroad and the other of taking part in the decisions of the conference, which is likely to give another blow to her already poor finances. In the tug-of-war of their individual gains and ultimate agreement India is likely to be involved as a loser nation. We should therefore await the results in the shape of some new burdens on the poor resources of India and her semi-starving millions.

INDIAN STATES AND THE FEDERATION

By SARDAR RANBIR SINGH, B.A., LL.B.

The extreme caution and restraint exhibited by the Indian States in scrutinizing the Federal Legislative List is the natural and usual prelude to all Federal experiments in the constitutional history of the world. But this must be clearly understood that this attitude or the exhaustive reservation and limitations suggested by the Indian States are not due to any particularist or parochial spirit, nor to any selfish desire to protect narrowly conceived material interest, but is solely due to the fact that the Indian Princes believe that, as custodians of ancient dynastic traditions, they have the greatest duty of preserving their identity and their peculiar constitution with their particular fields of endeavour. They also hope that, uninterrupted by outside interference, they can make experiments in administration which may in some aspects be usefully followed by their neighbours.

The division of powers between the centre and the federating units has always been, as it now is in this country, a difficult question to decide. The amount of power surrendered to the Central Government or retained by the component States generally depends on the historical backgrounds of individual countries. Differences like these have to be traced ultimately to the influence exercised by political sentiments of a particular country as distinguished from mere logic. Thus the Federation of the United States was formed of 13 States which were in full enjoyment of Sovereignty before the Federation. These States were naturally suspicious of a central authority on them and did not favour the idea of conferring many powers on the centre. Consequently in the original constitution of the United States the individual States retained a good deal of their Sovereignty and the centre had a comparatively limited sphere of activity. The Canadian Provinces, like the Provinces in British India, were not Sovereign at any time. They were accustomed to the exercise over them of a large amount of control by England. Therefore, there was nothing to obstruct the formation of a strong central government in Canada. In the German Empire the States were fully independent before 1871. They were in almost in all cases ruled by autocratic Princes. Therefore, the part-States in the German Empire retained in certain respects even more powers than the States in the United States. A study of other Federal systems in Switzerland, Australia and other countries reveals similar influence being exercised by the peculiar circumstances of each country in the determination of the actual division of power between central and local governments. Thus it has been found in practice that in the framing of constitutions, wisdom consists more in discovering what is

possible and practical in a particular country, than in a blind and obstinate adherence to theoretical principles, however sound and logical they might appear to be.

Then again it is increasingly unrealistic to conceive of a Federal division of functions between the centre and the units in terms of the assignment of subjects as wholes. Each subject has diverse phases appropriate to central and local attention. The administration of a Federal subject may have repercussions on other subjects which are the exclusive concern of the units. The Federal centre may try to amplify and enlarge the scope of its activities through implied and incidental powers. One should never lose sight of the difference between the powers as laid down in the constitution and those which come to be exercised in practice under the influence of changing usage and convention and of judicial decisions and precedents. To illustrate these points, we find in the United States of America that the specific power to provide for defence has been utilised by the Central Government to fix prices of articles, to stop profiteering and to take under its control matters regarding railways, telegraphs and telephones. The opwer to establish Post Office has been used to authorise expenditure on high ways and to prohibit the grant of postal facilities for the conveyance and sale of lottery tickets. Similarly in Australia things closely parallel to the United States have happened and the Federal centre has usually encroached on the domains reserved for the States, and has thus added enormously to its authority. An attempt was once made by the Centre through its power to levy excise duties, to compel the manufacturers of agricultural machinery to pay fair and responsible wages to their employees, although the States alone had the power to regulate wages. In his famous judgment (Mcculloch *vs.* Marylana) Chief Justice Martial justifies these implied powers of the Central Government. He says,

> "A constitution to contain accurate detail of all the sub-divisions of which its great powers will admit and of all the means by which they may be carried into execution, should partake of the prolixity of a legal code and should scarcely be embraced by a human mind........Its nature therefore required that its great outlines should be marked. its important objects designated and the minor ingredlents which compose these objects be deduced from the nature of the objects themselves."

Federal constitutions have also been to a great extent altered through the growth of that baffling and extra-legal device generally known as conventions and usages. This device is responsible for Central Governments in the United States of America, Australia and Canada, entering the fields of education, agriculture, roads, forests, fisheries and animal husbandry, which always have been the concern of provincial Governments. The Hon'ble Judges, while interpreting the Federal constitution, have, at one time, gone to the extent of suggesting that the Federal lists of subjects are only illustrative and not exhaustive.

The justification put forward for all this extension of authority into fields which were unknown or unthought of at the time when the constitutions were framed, is that without it the specific powers conferred by enumeration cannot become effective and complete. There does not seem to be any limit to the extent to which such powers might be extended whenever it suits the Central Government.

Lastly, there is the important question of 'Administration' more so because we are told that agreements under section 125 of the new Government of India Act will not be made with many Indian States. In Switzerland and Germany, like the Indian States, the component States have been in enjoyment of sovereign powers for a long period. They had, therefore, cultivated an intense suspicion of any Central authority exercising administrative jurisdiction within the States. To solve this difficulty they found a convenient formula in "Legislative Centralization and Administrative Decentralization." Such an arrangement makes the States feel that they are not deprived of their traditional power and prestige. It also avoids the duplication of Administrative machinery and is consequently more economical. It also makes possible the Administration of most laws by public officers who are familiar with the local needs and peculiarities and who may be trusted to show sympathy with local prejudices.

A glance over the aforesaid circumstances conclusively shows that the general tendency of the Federal centres to invade the exclusive spheres of the Units has been found to be sufficiently notorious in other countries to put the Indian States on their guard. It is only right and just that the States should give very serious thought, and in no hurried manner, to the present matter, which is full of such knotty problems and grave implications in the face of Federal precedents which do not always depend on written laws. Any amount of reservations and safeguards meant to avoid the aforesaid limitations on the sovereignty and internal autonomy of the Indian States, is not only justified but absolutely essential.

SOME NOTES ON JAIL PSYCHOLOGY

BY P. SPRATT

PANDIT JAWAHARLAL NEHRU in his Autobiography has given us some idea of the reaction of his mind to prolonged imprisonment. There are many accounts of jail, but I recall no other recent description which has dealt so vividly with this aspect of life within those gloomy enclosures. His book, and the interest which these passages have aroused, have stimulated me to record my own observations, of a rather different character from his. I shall not indulge in description, since my material is probably of no exceptional interest. I propose to put forward a few simple theories suggested and supported by my observations. I should explain that I can make no claim to be a psychologist. I venture to discuss the subject because I have had considerable experience of jail, and because none of the many others with similar experience has yet said what I want to say.

The most important feature of jail life is of course the restriction of interests, activities and personal contacts to a narrow range, and its most obvious effects are due to the replacement of these prohibited activities by others. Libido, to use the fashionable word, which has normally many channels and modes of discharge, must be subjected to drastic repression. As a consequence, those channels in which discharge is possible will tend to show an increased activity and intensity of effect. Jail may be regarded as a psychological hothouse.

The example of this which has achieved general notoriety is stimulation of sexuality.

Educated prisoners, I think, and political prisoners certainly, show this phenomenon less than criminal or uneducated prisoners. This is due no doubt mainly to the difference in what is called morale—habits of self-control, self-respect, and desire to be thought well of. It is perhaps due in part however to intellectual differences: educated prisoners have a wider range of interests than others.

A stimulation of sexuality is shown also by a tendency to talk more freely than usual on the subject, and by an increase of interest in the other sex. A lady visitor to the jail causes an unmistakable reaction. I witnessed a case of two men, normally little concerned with sex, aged thirty or thirty-five, who after three years in jail made abject fools of themselves by demonstratively falling in love with a lady who visited them on a few occasions, who they knew was about to marry somebody else.

The outlet for emotion which for ordinary people is provided by the numerous personal contacts of daily life is to a greater or less degree cut off for the prisoner. Some make up for it in the ways abovementioned; others concentrate their affection upon those at a distance. I knew several instances in which after some time in jail prisoners became markedly sentimental in their feelings for their families, with which previously they had maintained the rather frigid relations normal for penniless young men engaged in disreputable politics. It is evident however that this can be no adequate substitute for congenial company. Solitary confinement, if prolonged for more than a few weeks, is a most distressing punishment; and confinement with others with whom for cultural or other reasons one is unable to become intimately friendly, is only less agonising. Even congenial company palls after some time. In the group with which I was principally associated, some, including myself, wished to get away from the association barrack to cells. I have no doubt that if we had succeeded we should have regretted it. A reasonable combination of association and solitude is of course best.

Sex is merely the instance best known to outsiders. The most obvious symptom of the sort in my experience is the increased irritability and pugnacity of prisoners. This would probably not be noticed among those kept under rigid discipline, or those who are kept, as in England, for long periods each day alone. As a reaction from solitude men tend to be friendly—my observations confirm this, while jail discipline discourages fighting and if very strict tends to promote solidarity in opposition to the staff.

In this matter, educated or political and other prisoners do not differ greatly. Both types, if allowed freedom, quarrel among themselves and with the jail authorities. The political prisoners with whom I was associated vented their wrath upon the Judge and court officials, the jail department, the Defence Committee

and lawyers, and each other. The subject-matter of quarrels may be of the most trivial character. It is shocking and pitiful to see men capable in normal life of great self-sacrifice fighting bitterly over an ounce of butter or a bucket of water. With Byron, one may

"Smile to survey the queller of the nations
Now daily squabbling o'er disputed rations."

As these propensities are stimulated, so is the tendency to form mutually hostile groups. My impression, though my material is perhaps inadequate for a generalisation, is that any relatively isolated group of prisoners—those in one barrack, or a group defined by "class" according to the official classification, or the group of convict officials, will tend to split into two—usually not more—fighting sub-groups. I have known jail officials take advantage of this for the purpose of preserving their control over the jail. They encouraged segregation into groups, giving it a communal character, and induced members of one group to spy on the other.

The familiar phenomena of groups can be well observed in these cases. The intensity of hostile feelings may be extremely disproportionate to the real issues, if any, between the groups. I have known a quite bitter and prolonged quarrel, which those taking part could explain only as due to the superior airs adopted by the other party. These were not political prisoners. There is usually however some definite object, even if a small one, to be gained, though fighting for it certainly endangers its loss to both parties.

The actions of such groups are often markedly impulsive. Intellect is clearly subordinated to emotion. Individuality and especially the critical faculty is submerged. There is no such thing as doubt: fantastic suspicions may be taken as certainly true. Things easily go to extremes. The intolerant, military spirit easily develops—moderation will be interpreted as weakness, get our blow in first. A member of one group who fails to maintain an attitude of unrelenting hostility to the others is suspect and condemned as a traitor. Our own partisanship is given the colour of ethical or political principle, while the entirely similar activities of our opponents are the blackest rascality. Human nature is, alas, all too commonly capable of these things, but I think the examples I have witnessed, which justify all the general statements made in this paragraph, would be impossible outside the hothouse atmosphere of jail—except of course in international politics.

As in group-formation generally, leadership is important, but certain modifications are to be noticed. Most criminal prisoners are markedly individualistic, and except in the presence of a very strong and tactful leader, groups tend to be unstable, sub-groups revolting from time to time and joining the other side. Among political prisoners the groups, which may be defined by political allegiance, are more stable, but as most of those concerned are in normal life accustomed to lead at least in a minor way, the internal affairs of these groups are apt to be explosive.

I have a distinct impression that this urge to form fighting groups decreases in intensity as the period spent in jail increases. With the passage of time prisoners become more self-centred, less energetic, and either surly or resigned. Irritability may increase, but pugnacity and the instinctive urge to associate in groups decline. On the other hand, prisoners become more cunning, and learn to make skilful use for their own purposes of groups formed by others.

My political group, though it divided in the usual way, was more nearly a homogeneous whole than most casually associated groups of prisoners. Accordingly it showed as a whole some of the characteristics of groups. The most obvious of these was the rise and fall of fashions. There would be a sudden craze for chess, which would die down after a short time, to be succeeded by a passion for some other game, or for learning languages, or for physical exercise, or for some particular author, and so on.

These were clear cases of fashions, since they were taken up simultaneously by many or most members of the group. The tendency to frequent changes however should also be noticed. It is I think justifiable to speak of an increased fickleness of taste, a search for the variety of experience which is otherwise denied in jail. One hobby is soon dropped for another. The popularity even of our one and only outdoor game fluctuated greatly. Friendships quickly give place to their opposites and are formed again.

Next most obvious among those activities promoted by repression is boasting, and related phenomena such as phantasy. Apart from repression, this is encouraged also by other aspects of jail life—the enforced equality among the prisoners, their humiliating subordination to the staff, and their ridiculous clothing. The

fact of being in jail at all is the greatest insult, at least to criminal prisoners. It implies that one is a criminal, and more, that one is stupid enough to be caught. On the other hand, one is generally in contact with people whose good opinion one has neither inclination nor reason to cultivate. (This important consideration is I think not given enough weight in discussions on the reformatory value of imprisonment). A man will boast before others, but will claim that he is quite indifferent to their opinions about him, and will behave before them in a way which suggests that he really is quite unconcerned to earn their respect.

Criminals generally are vain, I believe. Certainly one would receive that impression from their behaviour in jail. They boast of their crimes, and of all other matters which they consider important—ancestry, social connections, athletic feats, knowledge of the turf. Admittedly this vanity is less to be noticed among those prisoners who cannot be considered criminal in the ordinary sense, the offenders through mischance or overwhelming temptation, and those—in the United Provinces at least, an appallingly large number—who are falsely convicted. The psychology of such men usually takes a different turn, which I shall deal with later. But I am led by my experience of political prisoners to think that this is not the normal vanity of the human species, or even of the criminal variety. I had known fairly well most members of the group with which I was imprisoned, and I feel no doubt that most of them became while in jail more boastful, more concerned about personal "prestige" and publicity and the like, and more sensitive to insults. This was shown not only in individual but in collective matters. We became almost childish in our delight at references of a favourable character to ourselves in the press. We were more restrained, but felt no less flattered, by the visits of important people. The feeling was perhaps more clearly shown by our negative reactions: our annoyance at inadequate publicity; our absurd depreciation of public movements different from those which we had supported, and such as to monopolise attention to our detriment; our resentment at being "neglected" by leaders who had more important matters to trouble about; our undiscriminating criticism and condemnation of all the accepted political leaders; above all by our hardly concealed pleasure at the failure of our own friends to emulate our previous achievements. Some of us thinking of these things at the time hastily condemned the group as a whole. I think such condemnation was unjust. We were not inferiors, we were in jail.

A minor outcome of this stimulated vanity, or possibly a direct result of having nothing better to do, was an unwonted care for the appearance. Though expecting to be seen by nobody but ourselves and the usual officials, almost all at one time or another began to brush our hair with unwonted vigour, and to have our clothes ironed and creased.

Closely related to vanity is, in some of its forms, phantasy. It is evident indeed that the more remarkable stories told by prisoners of their prowess, of the immense sums realised by them, and of their riotous squandering, are valued as much for the direct satisfaction to the teller, as for their effect in impressing the hearer. They are hardly disguised wish-fulfilment. The same end is achieved by planning for the future impossibly glorious crimes or business deals. Criminals in their flights of imagination roll in wealth, and in some cases acquire positions of social prestige. Political prisoners achieve leadership and oratorical distinction, but not, strangely enough, political power.

The strongest and most constant desire of the prisoner is of course for release. Among criminal prisoners this is satisfied by rumours of jail-deliveries, on the occasion of a royal Jubilee, death or coronation, or of some political event of importance. I was constantly asked if it was true that a war had broken out. This had perhaps some vague connection with release, but seemed also to be directly satisfactory. Newspaper men always tell us that war-news is the best seller. Similarly every few weeks would be heard a rumour that the Superintendent or other unpopular official was to be transferred.

In my political group the release-rumour took a special and interesting form. As we saw the press, the ordinary type of rumour based on pure imagination was not possible. Accordingly we invented "theories," in which imagination was tinctured with a small proportion of fact. But that proportion was not enough to alter the result, which was always the same: release after a few weeks, or at most months. "Theories" at length would be devised, in joke, but not without a serious meaning, around quite irrelevant incidents. It is an interesting fact that the most prolific and earnest author of theories was a journalist.

Prisoners' dreams, as would be expected, show this wish-fulfilment in its clearest form.

The dream of escape from the jail is of constant occurrence. In many instances it is a straightforward escape—climbing over the wall, walking through some fortunate gap, or an unguarded gate, or what not, to freedom. In my case however invariably, and in other cases occasionaly, the dream was somewhat different. I should find myself at liberty, perhaps in another country, usually in the company of some fellow-prisoners, and haunted by an anxious feeling that I ought to get back to jail within a certain time. The principal wish, for freedom, was of course present, but other factors are evidently to be taken into account.

An equally clear and familiar case is the prisoner's dream of good food. I have had it myself, and it often occurs.

In response to the narrowing of the personality of the prisoner and the impoverishment of his material world, there often occurs a revival or strengthening of the hoarding instinct. In cases where it is possible prisoners accumulate all kinds of articles, with the excuse that they " may be useful." It is not merely the criminal's kleptomania, for equally abject victims of the disease in my experience have been political prisoners. I have felt and given way to this passion myself, and others have been worse. Books are of course the favourite article, but I have known people collect miscellaneous journals, newspaper cuttings, blank paper, eatables, utensils of all kinds, and clothing.

Even the most ordinary activities of life may be invested with more than usual importance. I have mentioned the case of dressing and brushing the hair. Similarly food usually occupies far more of the prisoner's attention than that of the man at liberty. He looks forward to it, though he grumbles at its quality, as one of the few pleasurable oases in the monotonous desert of the jail-day. More privileged prisoners take great care about their food, insisting that it be prepared as they wish, and undertaking courses of diet.

So also their health worries prisoners a great deal. Ordinary prisoners, unless they can produce a dangerous symptom, are in danger of punishment for malingering, but those whose privileges allow of it behave in a manner very reminiscent of the traditional rich old lady. I do not mean that it is all imagination. Though jails are more sanitary than those parts of the outer world inhabited by the poor, they are not health-resorts. Almost all long-term prisoners are physically below par, even if they are free from any specific disease.

In this way we could notice differences in almost all the activities of life, down to the most obvious substitutes for normal occupations. If it is allowed, prisoners indulge in much idle gossip. If not, they day-dream. They read books which they would otherwise never look at, and so on. The tendency of prisoners to become more religious no doubt owes something of its strength to this cause. Jail authorities always encourage religion.

This is the most obvious type of effect which jail has upon the mind, at least if one is subject to its influence for a relatively short period. On the other hand, changes which may be regarded as of an opposite character may also be observed in other persons, and even in those who show effects of the first type. The two may take place together.

These changes may be regarded in part as the result of a general decrease of activity or of mental energy, which I believe occurs after a certain period of confinement; and in part as the effect of removal of the usual spurs to action—physical needs, ambition, emulation. A prisoner is a far less responsible person than a man at liberty. One often notices a consequent slackening of those self-imposed constraints which are necessary for the average sensual man if he is to cut a decent figure in the world. An obvious case is the bad language of prisoners. Some may over-eat—if they can—not only because there is nothing else to do, but because the self-respect which normally prohibits it is weakened, and there is nobody to witness it for whose adverse opinion one has respect. Prisoners who are free to do so will not shave frequently, or trouble to keep their clothing and utensils clean, unless compelled. The effort for self-improvement weakens. An hour or a day wasted does not matter. One will read trivial books rather than works of real interest.

The political prisoners with whom I was associated had for some months or years before their imprisonment led a life of abnormal interests and abnormal effort. They had been engaged, in some cases to the exclusion of other occupations, in an attempt to realise a political ideal, and to some extent to shape their lives in a way appropriate to it. Arrest suddenly cut the effort short, and rendered the interest less real, or less immediate. The constraints which had maintained this abnormal state of mind generally weakened. In varying degrees and varying ways we slipped back towards the interests and activities of the days before our outburst of political activity. Some resumed the

habits of medieval superiority in relation to the ordinary people which are still so common among the educated class. Some, such as myself, lost interest more or less completely in politics, and read and thought on the subjects which had previously engaged us. Some dropped the manners of the town, and reverted to the behaviour of the mofussil boor. Almost all in some degree forgot the movement in which we had been taking part, and thought more of our own contribution to it. A jail official entrusted with the censorship of our correspondence, in which this feature was most clearly displayed, told us that the Government could well afford to release us: we were so demoralised that we could do no further harm. This judgment seemed shrewd enough at the time.

When contemplating our own fallen state, some of us were inclined to advocate a Gandhian type of discipline as a means of averting such developments. I have no doubt that a discipline of the kind is usually valuable, and it is probable if we had undergone it, the results both in jail and afterwards would have been better than they in fact have been. But it is to be noticed that the greater part at least of this effect of jail was temporary.

I am inclined to venture a general statement that such regression is a normal result of imprisonment. It is broadly true that the higher faculties and the behaviour and state of mind of a self-respecting adult are discouraged by the conditions of jail, the narrow, petty interests, the concentration of emotion upon the self, the lack of responsibility and stimulus, and the irrational discipline, recalling that of the nursery; and that the description which one immediately applies to much of the typical conduct of prisoners is "childish." Perhaps "primitive" or "sub-human" would really be better terms.

Evidently this regression will be in some manifestations difficult to distinguish from the process previously mentioned of directing energy into new channels. Exaggerated care for the appearance, increased emotional attachment to the family, hoarding, and perhaps quarrelsomeness, may be regarded as symptoms of either tendency

Prison life will generally be painful in proportion to the number and importance of the activities and other emotional outlets prevented by it; and its painfulness will be mitigated in proportion to the number and variety of satisfactions which it is possible to substitute for them. Married men—at least the happily married—notoriously suffer more than single men. A person accustomed to a sedentary life, especially a student, if he can get his books, or a religious devotee, can spend considerable periods in jail without acute distress. Even a very studious person however may be more satisfied if he can indulge for variety in a moderate amount of manual work, at least if this work is voluntary. On the other hand hardly any prisoner is more miserable than a studious man prevented from reading and writing on matters in which he has any interest. The wide range of his normal interests and occupations and the narrow range to which jail then restricts them, present an extreme contrast. This "mental starvation" is always complained of as more difficult to bear than any of the normal physical hardships of jail.

A man accustomed to an active, varied or colourful life will of course generally suffer more than most. But in such a case other factors may be of importance. Imprisonment after such a life is itself a drastic change, and this alone may render it tolerable and even pleasant for a short time. Further, those leading an active life are not always well suited to it. Such was my own case. I am not adapted to a life of frequent change or activity: I am unable without strain to exercise initiative or to grapple quickly with new problems. But for two years before my arrest I had been living in what was for me a whirl of activity, and taking upon myself unaccustomed responsibilities. I accepted jail life almost consciously as a relief. For some time I certainly enjoyed it, and it was years before I began to realise that the cure could be worse than the disease.

Mine I think is an extreme case. More moderate examples however of the same sort of thing are probably not uncommon. Most people engaged in continuous activity are conscious at times of a need for peace and relaxation. Both types of life, in suitable proportions, are usually necessary for a satisfactory existence. Accordingly, jail may be quite welcome to them, and may continue to satisfy them for some time, but will sooner or later pall. I should guess that Mahatma Gandhi is of this type. He usually welcomes his sentences of imprisonment, and describes himself as happy. Anybody short of a Napoleon would welcome relief from the responsibility and pressure of work from which Mahatma Gandhi suffers during his campaigns. But it is evident, from the invariable failure of his health, and other facts, that after no more than a few months the effect upon him is adverse.

Mahatma Gandhi is of course helped in adapting himself to jail conditions, and so in rendering them tolerable, by his quite exceptional self-discipline. Self-discipline is the practice of suppression and the direction of libido into approved channels, clearly the most useful preparation for jail life. All practise it of course to some extent, and in jail it is forced upon one to a greater extent than usual. To a certain degree it is necessary there to adopt a new personality, and those who best adapt themselves to jail life probably do this most completely. If however the jail personality and the normal personality are markedly different, the clash between them may be sharp, and productive of unpleasant consequences. It is therefore desirable to stick to one personality or the other : to let the two interfere with each other, or take each other's place frequently, is distressing. Mahatma Gandhi therefore was wise, during his imprisonment in 1922-24, to refuse to see visitors. They upset the jail personality, by releasing repressions which for a successful jail life have to be kept in force.

We see therefore the causes of the success of the Government's "cat and mouse" policy during the second Civil Disobedience campaign of 1932-34 My own experience confirms the idea that re-imprisonment after a short spell of liberty is most agonising.

We can understand also the origin of the shyness which overcomes some prisoners. They instinctively shun circumstances in which it will be necessary to allow forbidden ideas and emotions to express themselves fully. In extreme cases, we read, the jail personality finally comes to be preferred to, or more stable than, the normal personality, and on release a man wants to go back to jail. I myself came near to this situation. Even as an undertrial prisoner I showed shyness, and would often avoid visitors to the court. I was once at least guilty of shameful discourtesy to visitors through allowing this unwillingness to prevail. After the revision of my sentence by the High Court, which brought my release unexpectedly near, I became aware of a marked fear of release, and for some days after my release, mingled with my delight, and sometimes overpowering it, was a curious depression and confusion.

These considerations enable us also to understand the well known phenomena of the period immediately preceding release. Almost all prisoners whose sentences are longer than a few months experience for some days or even weeks before release, if the date is approximately known, a characteristic and far from pleasant excitement. It is of course tinged with pleasure, but is for the most part a clear expression of anxiety. The normal personality is forcing its way to the surface, and long-established repressions, especially the desire for release itself, are relaxed. Men will make mistakes in their work, will be unable to read, or to keep still, or even to sleep, and they suffer the most painful anxiety lest at this time they should incur punishment and their release be thus delayed even by a day. A man who had been in jail for 4½ years was unexpectedly ordered to be released, but some technical error postponed his actual release to the next day. He could not control himself and burst into tears of exasperation.

It will be easy, further, to understand how the deeply impressive experiences of jail are so quickly and effectively forgotten, and why its ill effects so soon disappear. Soldiers testify to the same thing after war. In a short time life is resumed as if no break had occurred.

It should, finally, be clear why indefinite detention, or a sentence such as transportation for life, which is subject to arbitrary interpretation, is so much more difficult to bear than a definite sentence. The repressed personality will allow itself to be kept in place only on terms—if it is sure of getting its reward. Freud believes that this sort of limitation applies in some cases of sexual self-restraint.

Adaptation to jail life consists in acquiring self-discipline. In ordinary life its acquisition in a sufficiently extreme degree is beyond the capacity of many men. Jail is a great stimulus, but even so further help is often felt to be necessary, and probably the form of help most commonly resorted to is religion. It is in this sense, I fancy, not in that usually given to it, that Marx's expression "the opium of the people" is to be understood. The religiosity of prisoners is obviously to be explained in this way. Men take to religion, often quite consciously, as a means of rendering the things of this life relatively less desirable than they normally appear, though it is more usually explained as due to a desire for support in affliction, or as offering a compensation hereafter for present suffering, or as due to a reaction against the sordid materialism of jail life. All these expressions mean the same thing—help in repression and self-discipline.

GHALIB AND HIS THOUGHT

By A. G. CHAGLA

GHALIB'S poetry is considered to be the apotheosis of Muslim culture in India. His works are the natural culmination of the constantly evolving thought, language and style of the long line of Indian Muslim poets, from Amir Khosru, in the early days of Muslim rule, to Ghalib, in the very last reign of the Moghuls. Mirza Asadullah Khan Ghalib was a contemporary and, for some time, the Court-Poet of Bahadurshah, the last Moghul Emperor. After the terrible days of the Mutiny and the deportation of Bahadurshah, he lived a life of many vicissitudes and passed away at Delhi on 15th February 1869, at the ripe age of seventy-three years.

The period preceding Ghalib's time was the epoch of formalism in Indian Muslim cultural expression. The poets immediately preceding Ghalib, as, indeed, some of his contemporaries, strove to perfect the art of expression in delicate language. But their thought remained, on the whole, formal. It was left to Ghalib to strike out a new path, both in expression and thought, though still within the formal and well-defined limits of the forms of Persian poetry. He wrote both in Persian and Urdu. He himself valued his Persian works more highly, but in recent times his Urdu works have attained a place of eminence in the estimation of scholars, probably unattained by the works of any other poet writing in Urdu.

Ghalib appeals equally to the philosopher, the mystic and the artist. He is the only poet of modern Hindustan to have inspired an artist of first rank to interpret some aspects of *Ghalib's* thought in symbolical paintings of outstanding merit. Abdul Rehman Chughtai's illustrated edition of *Ghalib*, with a preface by Dr. James H. Cousins and an introduction by Dr. Sir Muhammad Iqbal, is a unique creation in the annals of Indian art. It has rightly attained a place of honour and esteem in many a cultured Indian family.

Ghalib's Urdu works were first "discovered" by scholars less than fifty years ago. One enthusiastic and learned commentator was so impressed with the intrinsic merit of *Ghalib's* thought, that he wrote: "The inspired books of India are two: the sacred Vedas and the Works of Ghalib." Certain it is that his works have had, and continue to have, a vital influence on the intellectual life of modern Hindustan.

It is difficult to understand how Ghalib attained the high level of thought, leading the kind of life he did. His eminent biographer, the great Maulana Hali, records that every night Ghalib used to get drunk on "French" wine mixed with rose-water. But he never took more than a certain measure. The wine-bottle was kept locked up in a box, the key being in the charge of a trusted servant. This faithful retainer had definite instructions to refuse to give his master more than the usual quantity, even if demanded! When in a state of semi-intoxication, ideas would flit through his mind. Whenever a fresh thought came, Ghalib would tie a knot in his *cummerbund* (waist-cord). That was all. When he woke up in the morning, sometimes there would be as many as eight to ten knots. Maulana Hali, who knew Ghalib intimately, records that these knots were sufficient to revive the memory of the original thoughts of the night before, however varied, and usually Ghalib succeeded in giving definite shape and form to many such flitting ideas. Could it be that he really was inspired? He himself says, concerning his thought:

> "What problems in Mysticism! How very well expressed!
> O Ghalib! we should have taken you for a saint, had you not been a wine-bibber!"

True it is that he was great in spite of his weaknesses. Could he have been greater without them? Who knows!

There are many aspects of *Ghalib's* thought and expression. Only one aspect is briefly touched upon in this short article, mainly with a view to interest those unacquainted with his original works in Persian and Urdu. In life and thought, Ghalib was a non-conformist. He was also an iconoclast. At the same time his attitude towards life was definite and positive. Unlike Omar Khayyam, he was not content to rest having proved the negation of life. Perhaps the fundamental basis of *Ghalib's* thought was his conception of the Great Reality, call it God or what you will. To Ghalib this Reality was a Unity and not a unit. According to Ghalib everything exists *in* God: He is not an external

Agency. He expresses this fundamental conception in a beautifully simple couplet, which, freely rendered, means :

"When nothing was, God was : Had nothing been,
God would have been;—
(Verily) it is *my being* which has been my undoing :
If I had been not "I," *what else could I have been?*"

This is the reading suggested by Maulana Hali. The more usual reading of the last line is, "Oh! that I had not been at all!" The implication, of course, is that if "I" had not been "I," then "I" would have been "God," because, if "nothing (else) had been (only) God would (surely) have *been*." This same thought stressing the fundamental Unity of Life, is expressed in a couplet in another *ghazal* thus :

"Who should be able to see HIM?—He is One and One Alone;
Meeting Him somewhere would have been possible, had there been even the odour of duality (which in actuality does not exist)."

All the same, Ghalib fully realised that this Mystery of Life is difficult of comprehension by the human mind. What the human mind is capable of comprehension is the reflection of Reality. This idea is akin to the Hindu concept of *Maya*. At one place Ghalib expresses it in a way reminiscent of Hamlet's conversation with the pedantic Rosencrantz and Guildenstern, when the Prince speaks of our "ambitions" being "dreams" and hence "shadows of shadows" since dreams in themselves are but "shadows." Ghalib says :

"That which you take for clear evidence (of Reality) is, in truth, the Mystery of Mysteries; (therefore)
Those who (imagine they) are awake in a dream, are (as a matter of fact) still dreaming!"

Nevertheless, as has been said, his attitude towards life is positive. He insists, like Shakespeare's Julius Ceasar that, "the fault, dear Brutus, lies in ourselves." We are incapable of the true cognition of Reality, because of our own limitations : limitations which are, perhaps, inherent in the very state of mainfested existence. He says :

"It is you (O Man!) who are unaware of the Melodies of Mystery (of Life); (in truth)
Each inexplicable thing (around you) is (like) the fret of a Musical Instrument."

To enable one to hear this hidden Melody of Life, Ghalib stresses the need for correct attitude towards the basic principles underlying life in its widest sense. Conventional belief is, to him, a sin against Life and an impediment to its true comprehension. He says :

"Steadfast fidelity is the very essence of Faith;
(Therefore) if the (idol-worshipping) Brahmin (who has faithfully spent his entire life and finally) dies in the idol-house, (you may rightly) bury him in (the holy precincts of) the Ka'aba.

Nothing could be more emphatic in Muslim terminology and for a Muslim. The "Ka'aba" at Mecca, is "the House of God," the Holy of Holies. Ka'aba is the very negation of idolatory. And yet, according to Ghalib, the idol-worshipper by his life-long devotion to idol-worship has obtained the very *essence* or root of Faith; he has risen to the rank of a True Believer. At another place he takes this thought to its logical conclusion and says :

"Devotion (in itself) is of value, and not (devotion) in the hope of (obtaining) sparkling wine (said to be the reward of the Faithful in Paradise) :
(That being so) let someone take Paradise and throw it into Hell-fire (and thus destroy it)."

Ghalib means that true devotion is that which transcends the *desire* for reward, either here or hereafter. Such a desire is in itself a temptation, which must be first removed from the way. To Ghalib the very *idea* of reward for good action is pernicious in the extreme; it must be destroyed before progress of the soul is possible. Sri Krishna taught the hesitant Arjuna on the battle-field of Kurukshetra : "Thy business is with action, not with the fruits of action."

Desire pertains to the life of the "seperated self," which is the only "idol" worth destroying. He says :

"However easy and elated one may feel after having destroyed (external) idols;
So long as "I" remains, there is yet a heavy stone lying across the path (which needs must be removed)."

Unity of life being the fundamental basis of his thought, it is not difficult to appreciate Ghalib's philosophy that :

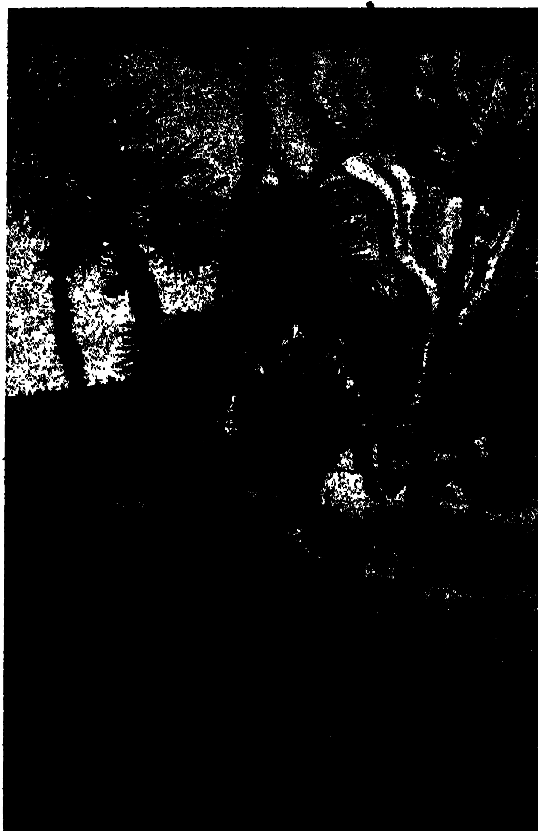
"The bliss of a drop (of water) is in being annihilated in the Ocean;—
When pain becomes boundless, it becomes its own remedy!"

This last statement presents another aspect of Ghalib's thought that pain, sorrow, suffering are essential experiences and necessary steps that lead the individual from "the unreal to the Real, from darkness to Light, from death to Immortality."

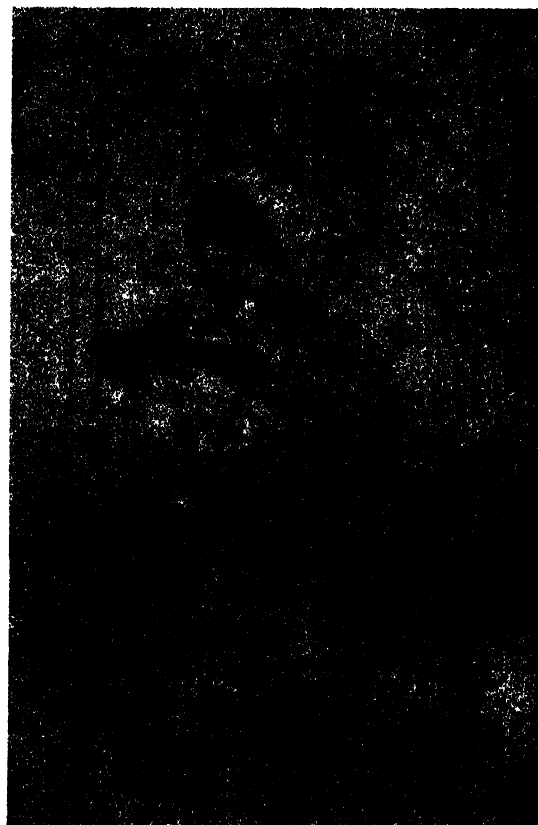
NANDA LAL BOSE: AN APPRECIATION

By O. C. GANGOLY

In an age in which some of the most gifted of our poets and artists have sometimes to resort to cheap publicity stunts in order to retain their grip on popular appreciation, there is a tragic grandeur about the shy modesty,—almost a spirit of renunciation worthy of a recluse and a religious hermit, which keeps Nanda Lal Bose from asserting himself or imposing his Art on an un-appreciative multitude. Undoubtedly, many of his pictures have been reproduced, though not in a worthy form, or in flawless or accurate facsimiles. His pictures have been sometimes talked about and occasional articles have appeared in the journals, here and there. Yet, I claim that the intellegentsia of Bengal, with their vaunted powers of appreciation and connoisseurship—have not extended to him the honour that is due to him as the foremost modern interpreter of the principles and the spiritual significance of Indian Art, and as the most gifted Indian artist living amongst us today. If our educated " barbarians," the highbrows of literature, had the training, I had almost said,—the inclination to understand the messages of the Visual Arts, they would have extended to the greatest living Indian Artist,—who happens also to be the greatest living Bengali Artist,—the tribute, the honour, the worship that they owe



Their joy
Sketch By Nanda Lal Bose
Collection : D. K. Dev Burman



Her solace
Sketch By Nanda Lal Bose
Collection : D. K. Dev Burman

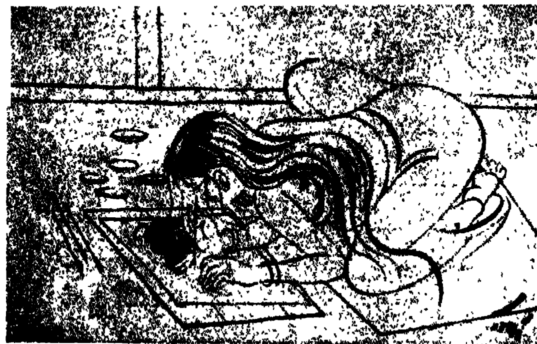
him as one of the most brilliant representatives of modern Indian culture. In the realm of Art his position is in the very forefront, and he stands on a pedestal which is in no way inferior to those occupied by some of our leading scientists and by Mrs. Sarojini Naidu among poets, and is certainly superior to those given to many of the tin-gods of literature who now monopolize popular appreciation. As the worthy lieutenant of



The kitchen corner
Sketch By Nanda Lal Bose
Collection : D. K. Dev Burman

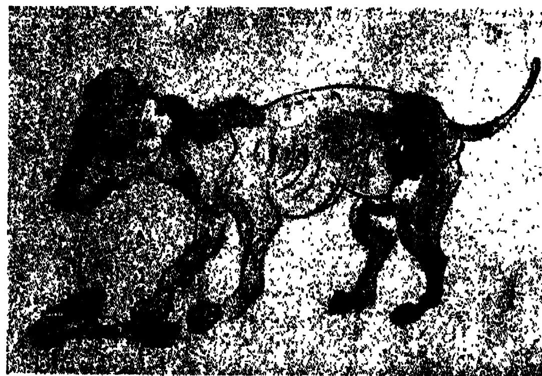
Dr. Abanindra Nath Tagore he has done more than any one else to build not only the foundation, but the structure—the *vimana,* the spire,—the *chuda,* of our national Temple of Art. Our national poets, and other exponents of culture have received more than their portion of the national homage, it is the exponents of national Art that have been left in the obscurity of shameful neglect.

On the occasion of this birthday of the greatest living Indian painter, my memory goes back to that significant pilgrimage to the old Shrines of Art in which I had the privilege of accompanying Nanda Lal Bose in the year 1907 —while yet a student trying to copy in a tiny note-book the baffling designs of old Masters and striving to dive into the mysteries of the Indian Plastic language writ large on the sculp-



The Artist
Sketch By Nanda Lal Bose
Collection : D. K. Dev Burman

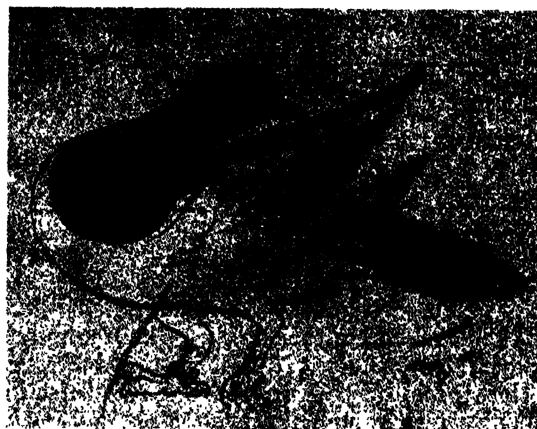
tured and frescoed walls of the ancient temples of the Cathedral Cities of the South. With what peering eyes, with what penetrating insight, with what sympathetic vision, this modern inheritor of the greatest of aesthetic destinies plumbed the depth of the Spirituality of Indian Art! If any



The Street dog
Sketch By Nanda Lal Bose
Collection : A. P. Banerjee

modern artist has succeeded in making Indian Art to re-live in newly created modern forms, it is Nanda Lal Bose. He lives in his own bashful way in the far-away retreat of Santiniketan,—concealed and covered by the sombre shadows of the classes of the Kalabhavan,—in attempting to teach the tyro the rudiments of drawing, or teaching would-be

actors how to dress or paint their faces! If our efforts to understand the message of his masterpieces have been in vain, we have indeed lived in vain. For, to understand and realise the meanings of contemporary Art is one of the greatest privileges of living. We have made no demands on Bose, yet he has given us much, which we have yet neglected to understand and value. That Bose has been more responsive to the calls of his old racial concepts, and has been more impervious to the impressions of the ephemeral phases of modern life, may be due to his individual inclination and preferences, which are somewhat opposed to the tendencies of the time. But need we regret the fact that Bose has not been moved by the "stories" of factory life, or the gleam of the automobile, the epic of the tram car, or the tragedy of the races. As the modern interpreter of older forms of thought he is nevertheless a modern artist, and one among us, sharing many of our views and many of our experiences. In the guise of his mythic theme, Bose comes with a message to modern life, much as that of Blake, Burne-Jones or Watts; that it is couched in an old imagery may delay its acceptance, but will not discount its real values. We shall indeed be misjudging his aims if we think that he is pursuading us to relapse into old and idolatrous habits of thought. We are indebted to him for recovering our racial imagery from the pitfalls of narrow religious dogmas and presenting the same in a new, and in some sense, original dress, suited to the spirit of the times, which will not bend its knees to an image of Shiva, but will never refuse to bow to all fundamental truths and philosophical concepts underlying the Shaivaite imagery, or, for the matter of that, of any form of imagery.



The Pigeon
Sketch By Nanda Lal Bose
Collection : D. K. Dev Burman

Written for the last birthday celebration of Nanda Lal Bose.

HELIOTHERAPY

By Dr. SUDHINDRA NATH SINHA, M.B., (Leysin, Switzerland)

In this article I shall make a general and non-technical survey of Heliotherapy (Sun-treatment) from what I have been able to learn on the subject during my long stay at Leysin, the greatest heliotherapy centre in the world. My object is to create an interest in the Indian public over this simple, inexpensive, and at the same time successful treatment of non-pulmonary tubercular affections, and also various other maladies.

Doctor Rollier the founder of this method of treatment, started his first clinic at Leysin in 1903. Since then his contribution towards fight against tuberculosis has been stupendous. He has shown the light when people were groping in darkness. The world today recognises his method to be by far the best, and perhaps, the only one capable of successfully curing nonpulmonary tubercular affection, one of the saddest of human affections. Previously, one of the known treatments of this malady was to cut off the affected part of the body where and when possible. The resulting mutilation crippled the unfortunate victim for life. But that did not necessarily mean that the patient was cured of the disease. It was often that the same patient repeatedly yielded to the surgeon's knife, each time with renewed hope for cure. But the knife rarely, if ever gave the hoped for cure. It rather excited fresh manifestation of the trouble at a different part of the body. Where operation was not possible, or was not done, the treatment adopted was to immobilise the affected part by sealing in plaster jacket.

The living tissues thus cut off from life preserving and exhilarating kiss of the sun and of air, and also from long continued disuse, naturally turned into a useless member of the body. Another great drawback of this method was that it always aimed at and actually produced ankylosis of the diseased joint. Consequently, this also may not be considered as really successful treatment. The nearest approach to the ideal treatment must see that "mutilations are avoided, articular function is, to a large extent maintained; the body recovers its harmonious outlines, and the patient returns to the outer world a complete individual capable of earning his living." Heliotherapy as introduced by Rollier fulfils these aims. Moreover, tuberculosis is a generalised infection, and the symptoms appearing at different parts of the body are but local manifestations. When the infection permeates all through the system the successful treatment must aim at strengthening up the system as a whole to exterminate the infection. That aim cannot be realised by cutting off of a part or by immobilising under a plaster sheath the particular area where the symptoms are manifest. While on the contrary, heliotherapy actually realises that aim. But in spite of that, knife and plaster are still having their victims. Fortunately however, thanks to Rollier's indefatiguable endeavour, the world is realising that effective cure of this trouble does not lie in the knife or plaster. And at the same time, the great success of heliotherapy at Leysin, has directed attention of the world to this Swiss village. Medical men and others interested in anti-tubercular work from different parts of the world are rushing up to Leysin to study Rollier method and carry back this knowledge to their respective countries to give it a practical shape there. Clinics more or less on Rollier lines are coming into existence in different countries.

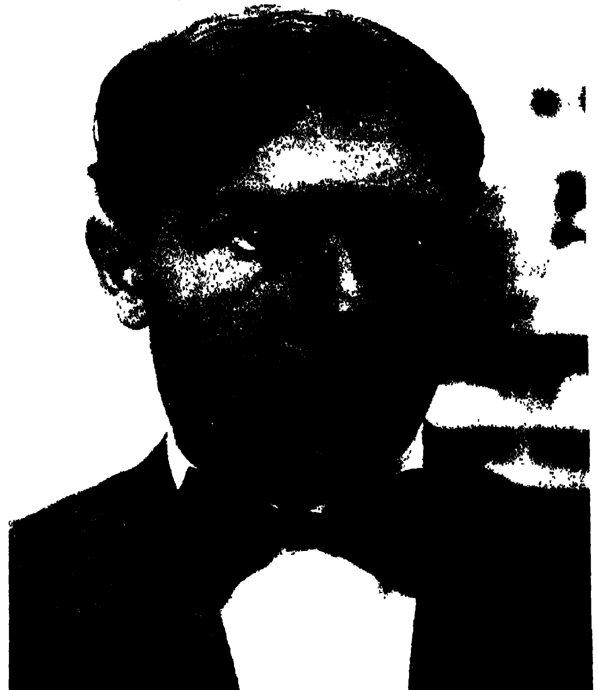
Unfortunately, in India, it appears the medical profession, not exculding those especially devoted to anti-tubercular work, is not yet actively alive to the question of fighting non-pulmonary variety of the infection. All activity, whatever little there is, is confined to lung cases only. New clinics may be traced here and there; though till now their number is *shamefully* inadequate to the actual need. In any case, it is fortunate that both the government and the public are today conscious of the devastations of tuberculosis. But how to account for this lack of attention (if I am allowed to say so) to the unfortunate victims of non-pulmonary tuberculosis? It is hard to believe that the specialists, leaving aside others, still rely on or think of cure in terms of knife or plaster. They cannot really be so behind progress of Medical Science! Or, perhaps, because of its very simplicity heliotherapy treatment fails to attract their attention. In this age of complication nothing simple and non-complicated appeals. In any case, this lack of attention is nothing short of a vast tragedy, more so, when Rollier has shown by his extensive experience that heliotherapy affords the best effective cure for non-pulmonary tubercular affection. It is high time that the medical profession and general public in India realised the gravity of the situation and cast off this indifference. It is deplorable that the medical men should not adopt and give a fair trial to this only effective treatment. How can anybody deny to helpless and hopeless patients any possible means of cure, particularly when that is within easy reach? The responsibility of rousing the medical profession lies on the public and the press. Will they not take up the matter in all seriousness? Unfortunate victims of this disease are looking up to them for a little sympathy. Will they deny that?

As already stated, Dr. Rollier started his first Sun Clinic in 1903 for the treatment of non-pulmonary tubercular troubles. His method consists of generalised application of Sun's rays all over the uncovered body (except head and face which are not exposed), combined with air and suitable orthopaedy. Operative interference and plaster coatings form no part of his treatment. The splints he uses are all his own modifications, made of very light material to avoid any pressure on the skin. Also their construction is such that they cover only the minimum of body surface. To quote Rollier, "Correctly understood and applied, heliotherapy fulfils the highest demands of Orthopaedic and conservative surgery." Such has been the success of heliotherapy at Leysin that today, at the end of thirty-three years we find Rollier at the head of thirty-five clinics where thousands of patients from all parts of the globe have been receiving treatment. In the course of these thirty-three years heliotherapy has given back health to thousands. Among these were cases which, when all attempts at cure failed elsewhere, were sent up to Leysin as a last resource. There were again hundreds of cases extremely moribund due to virulent pyogenic infection following operative interference—not excluding amputations. Heliotherapy cured even most of these moribund cases; but it could not of course, give back limbs

HELIOTHERAPY



Tuberculosis of the eyelid and accompanying Adeniti



Complete cure in seven mo

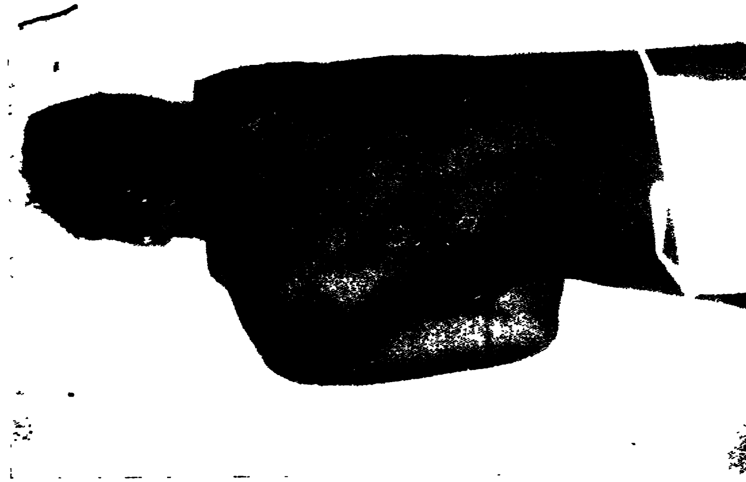


Tubercular gland in the neck



Cured after five months





Above : Pott's disease. Atrophy of skin due to plaster jacket. Numerous sores in the regions of spinous protuberances

Below : Condition of the skin after six weeks of general heliotherapy. Cicatrisation of the sores.





Above : Multiple tubercular affection with fistules : knee, spine (lumbar), hip-joint (right). Very serious secondary (mixed) infection. Subsequent amyloid changes.

Below : Completely cured of all troubles in three years.

amputated. I have myself seen among others, cases of complete paralysis of the lower part of the body including functions of urination and defalcation gradually but completely get back these normal functions and movement of the legs. Knife and plaster cannot certainly boast of such achievement! People who have no personal knowledge of the results of heliotherapy may find it difficult to believe that such marvels are possible. But these statements are not only no exaggeration but, on the contrary, are absolutely true. I have myself seen many cases of different types and in different states of progress of the disease cured at Leysin.

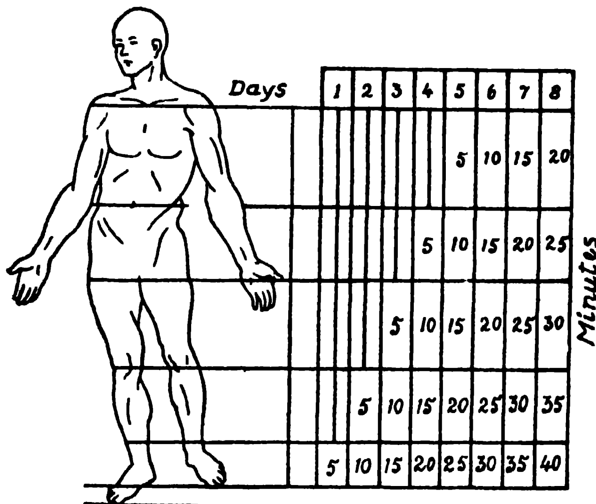
Heliotherapy does not mean just casual exposure to sun indulged in at sea beach or elsewhere. Neither does it mean walking or running about in the sun. All these are quite contrary to the principle and practice of heliotherapy. People who consider these as heliotherapy—unfortunately their number is not small—do so because of their ignorance. It is also an equally mistaken notion that heliotherapy means just to expose the body—stripped or covered—in the blaze of the sun. All such mistaken ideas are responsible for grave accidents to the sun-bather and discredit to heliotherapy. I am sorry to say that these erroneous ideas are held not infrequently by qualified medical men as well. However, heliotherapy today is an exact science of cure based on experience gained by infinite patience and careful observation from treatment of thousands of cases.

Though not actually a pioneer in the line it was Rollier who first introduced generalised as opposed to localised insolation practised prior to him. The advantage of the generalised over localised insolation is that the whole body shares in the improvement from direct contact with sun and air. And the patient thus puts up a stronger fight against the disease. The very excellent general condition of the patients at Leysin clinics is the best argument and demonstration in support of generalised insolation. The first thing to attract attention of the visitor to the clinics at Leysin is the admirable state of general health of practically all patients. It is really surprising that the bed-ridden patients develop such strong muscles. No amount of medication can give such general health.

To start with, the first stage in heliotherapy is acclimatisation of the patient. This process consists in calling into play the natural resources of the body, the most important of which is the development of the pigment of the skin. This pigment formation is vital to the success of the treatment. Once pigment formation has been satisfactory the subsequent stage of treatment, namely insolation, may proceed without risk. Experience has shown that different individuals react differently to Sun's rays. In some cases pigment formation starts and proceeds quite smoothly, while in others exposure to sunlight may give rise to unpleasant reaction. Sometimes reaction is swift and violent and may even be grave. This fact must be clearly grasped before applying heliotherapy to patients. The beginners in heliotherapy would do well to remember this. Otherwise, they will surely come to grief The unpleasant symptoms may be summarised as freckles, inflammation of the skin, headache, rise of body temperature, dizziness, loss of appetite, fatigue etc If these initial and comparatively minor symptoms are neglected and insolation is pushed on, much graver symptoms are likely to develop The process of insolation must therefore, proceed with caution and in a manner that unpleasant symptoms may not develop. Should in any case all or any of these symptoms develop, the duration of insolation must be reduced, or even may be altogether stopped for a few days It must not be hurried over On the other hand, in suitable cases—luckily their number is by far the greater—as insolation proceeds the immediate beneficial effects noted are disappearance of pain when present, improvement in appetite and sleep and a sense of general well-being Gradually all the physiological functions of the body improve, the body weight begins to increase (chiefly due to strengthening of the muscles of the body). These good results exert a wonderful tonic effect on the patient's mind. They become cheerful, take greater interest in life and begin to have hope of ultimate cure It is interesting to note the confidence all patients have in this treatment

The process of insolation commences at the feet, not more than five minutes on the first day. Gradually, in accordance with the toleration of the patient, more and more of the body surface is exposed for longer and longer time till, when thoroughly pigmented, the patient may be exposed to the sun for nearly 2 or 2½ hours every day. Sun must always be allowed to act directly on the uncovered skin and no clothing is to intervene between the sun and the skin. Another very important point is that everyday the sun exposure must begin at the feet and must end at the feet. This is essential to ensure a decongestive effect on the internal organs and also to improve their blood circulation. The

dosage prescribed by Dr. Rollier is represented in the following diagram.



The curative property of the sun lies in the light rays. The heat rays on the other hand, may cause untoward symptoms. It is desirable to take sun before it becomes hot. Early morning hours thus afford the best time for the purpose.

Regulation of diet is essential during the period of Sun cure. Experience has shown that vegetarian diet with fresh fruits and milk form a very suitable diet for patients undergoing Sun-treatment. Meat or fish is not essential. Those who desire these may have them in small quantities and preferably not every day. All narcotics and alcohol had better be avoided.

It is very important to note that the benefit derived from sun bath is not solely due to the Sun's rays, but to a great extent due to fresh and pure air as well. In fact, sun and air are inseparable so far as heliotherapy is concerned, and the success of the latter depends upon the climatic condition of the place where it is practised. Says Rollier :

"The ideal climate, for the practice of sun cure would be one that would allow of a certain daily number of sunshine hours every year and which, thanks to the other climatic factors, would permit of an extensive and almost uninterrupted use of pure, fresh air."

He again says,

"........we must insist that the place where heliotherapeutic measures are to be undertaken is protected against wind; that the summer heat is tolerable; and that the cold in winter is sufficiently tempered to enable the patients to enjoy a prolonged stay in the open. Also care must be taken that no fog should rob them of the curative rays of the sun."

Undoubtedly, high altitude affords the best place as meeting the above-mentioned requirements. Such spots may be found in plenty in India, and there is no reason why heliotherapy clinics may not be started in suitable climates provided the government and the public (both medical and general) shoulder their respective responsibility. However, Sun-cure is also possible at lower altitudes, and there are many hospitals where Sun-cure is practised with very good results. As Rollier says, it is possible to take Sun-cure wherever the Sun shines. The benefit is sure to follow if carried out properly, irrespective of the altitude. The point to note is that the dose and duration of insolation are to be adjusted according to the existing climatic conditions. For example, in hot and humid plains of Bengal it is advisable to take early morning sun, and that also for a shorter period than, say, at Shillong, Panchgini or Nainital. In this connection, I may here point out that heliotherapy may be easily adopted as an adjunct to the usual treatment in the hospitals in India. It will involve no additional expenditure and at the same time be a great blessing to many intractable and chronic cases.

Besides non-pulmonary tubercular troubles various other maladies are amenable to Sun-treatment. At the Leysin clinics the following different maladies are also treated : Rickets and other bone diseases, osteomyelitis, fractures, joint troubles, injuries and wounds, ulcers, burns, skin diseases, etc.

Heliotherapy greatly helps convalescents to expedite the recuperative processes by the tonic influence it exerts on the body and its physiological functions.

The usefulness of heliotherapy as a preventive of tuberculosis is enormous. I consider that the greatest value of heliotherapy lies in its preventive power. Sometime ago Dr. K. S. Roy of Calcutta stated that there were 6,000,000 cases of lung tuberculosis in India. To this may be added, I am afraid, an equally staggeringly high figure representing the non-pulmonary type. And the provision for treatment? Practically, *none!* The same doctor says there are only *One Thousand* beds against 6,000,000 cases of lung tuberculosis. What a painful tale! I do not know if such tragedy is permissible in this 20th century of grace in any other country. May I appeal to the government as also to the public to take steps to popularise the knowledge of the preventive power of heliotherapy. *Tuber-*

culosis is a preventible disease. Heliotherapy has the power to prevent it.

In an article published in *The Modern Review* (May, 1936), I described the Sun School of Rollier, a preventorium for young children. There I had suggested utilising heliotherapy as a preventive measure. It is gratifying to note that some of the influential periodicals have commented favourably on heliotherapy. I shall deal with the preventive side of heliotherapy in my next article. I am confident the venerable editor of *The Modern Review* will kindly once again allow me a little space in his esteemed journal.

COMMENTS AND CRITICISM

Bengal Civil Liberties Union

We are very thankful for your kind appreciation, in the *Modern Review* of May, 1937, of the work, the Bengal Civil Liberties Union has been doing in its humble way.

I think I should draw your attention to the mis-interpretation to which the Note on the "Bengal Civil Liberties Union" may be liable in some quarters. The preceding Note on "Political Prisoners" obviously governs that on the "Bengal Civil Liberties Union," and both, read together, may be, I am afraid, construed to mean that by releasing Political Prisoners, failing that, by ensuring civilized and humane treatment for political prisoners in Jails and Camps and by providing the families of the detenus with the bare necessities of life, the Bengal Ministers can make it unnecessary to a great extent for the Civil Liberties Union to carry on its work.

The Bengal Civil Liberties Union, as far as I have been able to understand, considers these matters as but frothy portions of the spirit of repression that lies restive in the class possessed of power. A host of repressive and restrictive laws curtail freedom of thought, expression of opinion, assemblage, association, speech, etc. All these laws must be repealed and there must be sufficient constitutional safeguards against fresh inroads on civil liberties, nay, the very spirit of repression must vanish.

Even then a greater extent of work will remain still to be carried on. Under congenial atmosphere the Union will be turning up new soil in diverse fields of civil liberties. It will never be made unnecessary for a civil liberties union to carry on its work till individuality and collectivity will be co-existent, in full measure, as but two aspects of one and the same entity; but that is an ideal after which there will be a ceaseless striving and searching for ever, and in that striving rests the justification for the existence of the Civil Liberties Union.

Yours truly,
Suresh Ranjan Chatterjee,
Organizing Secretary,
Bengal Civil Liberties Union.

Editor's Note.—The two notes to which our esteemed correspondent draws our attention were not and were not meant to be exhaustive. We certainly want the repeal of all repressive laws, regulations and ordinances and the eradication of the spirit of repression. Even when India has Purna Swaraj, a Civil Liberties Union may be necessary, as there are such organizations in some free and independent countries.

The so-called 'Reconciliation' of Iconic and Aniconic Worship

In his inaugural address at the Parliament of Religions held in Calcutta in March last, Dr. Sir Brajendra Nath Seal expressed the following opinions:

"In contemplating truth from the absolute (*Nirupadhi*) point of view he [*i.e.*, the Paramahansa] negatived all conditions and modes (*Upadhis*), but from the relative or conditional (*Sopadhi*) point of view he worshipped Kali, the Divine Mother, as well as other modes and adumbrations of the Deity. He worshipped the One in All, and the All in One and he saw no contradiction but only a fuller reality in this. So also he reconciled *Sakara and Nirakara Upasana* (iconic and aniconic worship). For him there was nothing in the material form of the Deity but God manifesting himself. The antagonism between matter and spirit no longer existed for him."

In these words the venerable President presented idol-worship in the garb of philosophy, or, in other words, he brought mythology into the realm of philosophy. Let me explain how.

There are philosophers who hold that all so-called 'matter' is really spirit, that there is nothing but spirit in the world. There are devotees, too, with philosophic genius who actually realize this. For such philosophers and devotees the antagonism between matter and spirit has ceased to exist. We can easily understand that if such a philosopher or devotee accidentally came across an image made of earth or stone, he would view it as spirit, just as he would a thousand other articles around him. So far he would be within the province of philosophy (or, say, spiritual vision). But suppose, he observed that the said image bore some resemblance to the form of a god or goddess described in the Puranas, and on that ground gave it greater regard than other material objects. Suppose also, he performed the ceremony of *pranapratistha* (spirit-infusion) in that image and began worshipping it. Would he not then be considered to have stepped from the province of philosophy into that of mythology?

Let us take one or two examples from the life of the Paramahansa himself. We learn from a trustworthy account that on one occasion, when Brahamananda Keshab Chandra Sen was seriously ill, the Paramahansa in his anxiety promised to Siddheswari Kali of Cornwallis Street, Calcutta, that in case the goddess graciously spared Keshab's life, he would make a grateful offering of *Dab-chini* (green-cocoanut water with sugar, a cold drink relished in

Bengal) to her. The Paramahansa himself said this to Keshab in a subsequent interview. He must have kept his promise in due time and made the offering to that particular image, although this is not mentioned in the account. Now from the philosophic (or spiritual) standpoint indicated by Dr. Seal, the Paramahansa might as well have made his promise and eventually presented the offering to *any* material object near him at the moment. What led him to leave his place and go to the temple of Siddheswari for the purpose? Was it not his faith in the Puranic stories about Kali and in the prevalent custom of making such offerings in similar circumstances? Take another example. The Paramahansa once came to know that the much-heard-of animal, lion, could be easily seen in the Zoological Gardens at Alipore, Calcutta. He grew extremely eager to see the animal, specially because it was the honoured *Vahana* (carrier) of goddess Durga. Pandit Sivanath Sastri, who accompanied him in his journey from Dakshineswar to Calcutta on that occasion, has left a vivid description of the child-like simplicity of the great saint and of the exceeding joy he felt at the prospect of seeing Durga's *Vahana*. The Paramahansa's simplicity was no doubt charming; but we find that he not only believed Durga, Kali and others as the Deity, but also a particular animal as the carrier of the Omnipresent and Almighty Being. I do not feel or want to show any disrespect to any one for such belief, far less to the Paramahansa. But can this be explained in the light of philosophy? The Paramahansa's *sakara upasana* was therefore not an outcome simply of any philosophic or spiritual insight, but also of his faith in Puranic stories. That faith he imbibed early in life from his environment. Had he been born and brought up in some other country, no kind of philosophic or spiritual view of the world would, we may be sure, have infused into him the ideas of the Hindu mythology.

The question may be asked, if there is really no philosophic reconciliation between *sakara* and *nirakara upasana*, how was it that the Paramahansa retained the former even after attaining wisdom? The reply is that he could not get over the effects of early influences. Instances are not rare in which highly intellectual and wise persons retained some of the superstitions inbibed in early life. It is said about Socrates, the wisest man of ancient Greece, that notwithstanding his realization of the invisible God dwelling in the heart, he used to sacrifice fowls to the traditional gods of his country. Some of our Upanishadic Rishis too are said to have stuck to fire-sacrifices even after attaining the knowledge of the supreme spirit. The reason behind this strange phenomenon is that the rays of their newly acquired wisdom did not fall upon and could not illumine all the creeks and corners of their thought-realm. We should not hesitate to admit this with regard to our great sages. Such an admission does not necessarily imply that we are less reverent to them.

Dr. Seal spoke of 'reconciliation' between *sakara* and *nirakara upasana* by Paramahansa Ramakrishna. It was really no reconciliation, but only a juxtaposition; and such juxtaposition was not seen for the first time in the Paramahansa's life. It has been in vogue in this country from time immemorial. Our religious literature shows that higher wisdom has always condemned it; but it has somehow lingered in the lives of many a pious devotee.

Dr. Seal did not explain the *sopadhi* point of view, from which, he said, the Paramahansa worshipped Kali and other 'modes and adumbrations of the Deity.' Is that identical with mythology? For, without blind faith in mythology, how can the Puranic gods and goddesses be called 'modes and adumbrations of the Deity'? The Puranas describe in detail the births and marriages, quarrels and battles, victories and defeats, boons and curses, noble deeds and heinous crimes of these gods and goddesses. They ascribe to them all kinds of worldly relationships and human frailties, as well as some of the Divine powers. Are we to call these beings 'modes and adumbrations' of the Eternal, Unchangeable, All-pervading, All-loving, Infinite, Holy and Perfect Being whom we call God? Do not the Puranas themselves say that gods and goddesses have been fancifully invented by them only for the benefit (?) of the ignorant? Do not the stories related by them also bear internal testimony to this?

To be sure, mythology is not destined to have a place in the future religion of humanity. With the progress of scientific knowledge it has, in some lands, already become a thing of the past in the realm of religious belief. So will it be in India. Dr. Seal ardently looks forward to a grand unification of mankind, which he calls 'The Parliament of Man.' In our march towards that Parliament, are we Hindus to drag along with us our old mythology?

Amar Chandra Bhattacharya.

P. S.—After sending my note for publication, I have come across Dr. Seal's second lecture on the Paramahansa (that delivered at the Students' Conference), in which he repeated the remarks dealt with by me and explained his views more fully. He said that the Paramahansa was a mystic and that a mystic "resolves all contradictions in experience." Dr. Seal's description of mysticism seems to leave no room for discussion on any question relating to religion; for, when we shall reach that highest stage of religious experience, all our present judgments will, he says in effect, be reversed—every mode of worship will be found true, every doctrine reasonable, every practice right. Until however, we reach that stage, I suppose, we cannot afford to take leave of Reason altogether and give up all our efforts to discriminate the true from the untrue, the reasonable from the unreasonable and the right from the wrong.

I do not see, how even mysticism can explain the Paramahansa's faith in Hindu mythology. Faith in a particular system of mythology is surely not a necessary adjunct to mysticism; for, there have been mystics without such faith.

Dr. Seal added in his second lecture that the Paramahansa "bridged the gulf between *Rupa* and *Nirupa*, Form and Formlessness and identified Kali with Brahma (the Absolute) in his meditations (*dhyana*)." The Rishis of old, on the contrary, held that this gulf could not possibly be bridged. They said—'*Te yadantara tad Brahma*'—Brahma is that from which all forms are distinct. In many a verse they have clearly said that Brahma has no form and can never have any. The Vedanta Sutra says, Brahma cannot have *ubhaya linga, i.e.,* both formlessness and form. Apart from this, I would ask, whether in his meditations the Paramahansa got rid of the mythological notions attached to the personality of Kali? If not, how could those notions (such as, battles, bloodshed, drinking of the blood of enemies, wearing of a necklace of skulls, &c.) harmonise with the noble and holy ideas about the Eternal, Infinite and Perfect Brahma, as inculcated in the Upanishads? Is the gulf between Reality and Fiction also bridged by a mystic?

A. C. B.

THE WOMAN QUESTION IN BENGAL

By Miss USHA BISWAS, M.A., B.T.

> "The woman's cause is man's: they rise or sink
> Together, dwarfed or godlike, bond or free,
> * * * * *
> If she be small, slight-natured, miserable,
> How shall men grow?"

If "the woman's cause is man's," the regeneration of a country is inseparably bound up with that of its women. The Statutory Commission has very truly remarked:

> "The women's movement in India holds the key to progress and the results it may achieve are incalculably great."

But in India, especially in Bengal, the women's movement is viewed with horror and suspicion by a large number of people, to whom it appears to be fraught with grave dangers to domestic peace and happiness. They are obsessed by the fear that emancipated women will feel inclined to neglect their household duties, as their outside activities will be likely to have too many claims on their time. In our country women are generally looked upon as the "ministering angels of the home," the sole end of whose lives is to minister to the needs and comforts of their near and dear ones. So the feminist movement will be foredoomed to failure in our country, if it consists merely in an unequal "battle between the sexes." Today all over the world, women are clamouring for freedom and independence in every sphere of life—they are thus fighting a strenuous fight for equal rights with men. A handful of Bengali women, too, have responded to the clarion-call of freedom, and are participating in the world-wide campaign for independence. Some of these women, imbued with the western spirit and educated on western lines, are perhaps as free as their American sisters. But the bulk of the womanhood of Bengal is as conservative as ever, and seems to be quite impervious to the progressive ideas of the day. Marriage and a domestic career are still regarded by the average Bengali woman, as her ultimate and only destiny. So she has very little sympathy with the sentiments and aspirations of her emancipated sisters, who are agitating for enfranchisement and equal rights with men. But the latter, carried away as they are by the zeal of reform and thrilled with the ecstasy of their untrammelled freedom, are sometimes over-anxious to share their own happiness with their so-called backward sisters, and, willy nilly, offer them help in securing their liberty and independence. Some of these women of the orthodox and conserservative type are too shy to court the limelight, although a good many of them are valuable assets to the families they belong to, being excellent housewives—ideal mothers and wives—whose tremendous self-sacrifice for the sake of their near and dear ones is exemplary and worthy of emulation. It is really difficult to choose between the two ideals. So the question naturally arises as to what course the feminist movement should take in Bengal. Should the emancipated women of Bengal be contented with the freedom of thought and action within the home, which is considered to be their true sphere? Or should they follow in the footsteps of their western sisters and turn out to be the rivals of men, ousting the latter from their legitimate sphere. These are the problems that confront all those who are interested in the women's movement in Bengal. But, as we cannot but move with the times and keep abreast of the march of civilization and progress, it is high time that a balance should be struck between the two extremes—the orthodox and the ultra-modern types. Strangely enough, in Bengal, both these liberal and conservative elements exist, side by side, without occasioning any serious discord and disharmony.

While reviewing the position of the women of Bengal, we find that, in the course of the last decade or so, they have made considerable advance in the field of politics and education. It is gratifying to note that the number of women graduates and writers is going up by leaps and bounds. The fact that the intellectual education of our women is making rapid strides is indicated in the almost phenomenal rise in the number of girls' schools of all denominations in Bengal. The demand for the girls' schools is even on the increase. The people of our country are gradually awakening to the necessity and importance of female education. Women are, of late, achieving brilliant results at many of the University Examinations. They are shaking off the Purdah too. Now-a-days, respectable

Hindu ladies, walking along the streets of Calcutta, as freely as men, and going about in public conveyances, such as buses and tramcars, all by themselves, do not present an uncommon sight. Today, Bengali girls of respectable families are openly taking part in physical demonstrations and public dramatic performances. They are participating in all open competitions. A good number of them are reading with men in co-educational institutions in the urban as well as in the mofussil areas of the Province. Today, Bengali ladies are not only attending public meetings but are conducting and addressing them also. This was perhaps quite undreamt of, only a few decades back. All these mark a big step forward in the history of the emancipation of the women of Bengal and testify to the immense possibilities of the women's movement even in a conservative country like ours. In fact, the march of progress seems to be too quick to be arrested by any conservative agency. But there is a gloomier side of the picture, too, which should not be overlooked. There is no denying the fact that much is yet to be achieved in the field of social reform. The women of Bengal are still labouring under some social and legal disabilities. We cannot denounce too strongly some of the social customs and conventions like the Purdah system, the dowry system, child marriage and so forth, which are eating into the very vitals of our society. These social evils are in vain being condemned in the press and on the platform, time and again. To my mind, the efforts and activities of the feminists of our country should be directed towards the removal of these social inequities. Here awaits them an uphill work. Organised movements should be set on foot, at the present moment, to protest against the gross injustice underlying some of our social customs and institutions. Thanks to the zeal and enthusiasm of a handful of reformers, efforts are already being made to bring about the political enfranchisement of the women of our country, to abolish the Purdah and the dowry systems, to penalise child marriage, to popularise widow re-marriage, to give legal protection to unfortunate wives tied to insane and diseased husbands for life, and to provide ampler facilities for female education. Probably these benevolent measures will fail to secure the sanction of society for generations to come. We are so enamoured of our old customs and traditions that we cannot think except in terms of these. So the majority of the people of our country are likely to lose sight of the fact that these salutary measures will be to their own benefit. They will perhaps cry these down as vehemently as they can, thinking that these run counter to their ancient customs and traditions. It is no use entering the lists against those opponents of reform, who will look upon the social reformers of our country as the enemies of their motherland and the destructive agents of society. No progress can be deep seated unless it is spontaneous. So extensive propaganda is to be carried on for educating public opinion.

It is in India that the "Swayambara" system—the custom of a bride choosing her own groom—was once in vogue. But, at the present time, the girls of our country are seldom allowed any voice in the matter of shaping their own destiny. Due to the dowry system, the marriage of a daughter means an immense drain upon the pecuniary resources of her father. The poor parents, who are unable to settle a suitable dowry on their daughters, are often compelled to marry them off to undesirable persons. No wonder, grown-up unmarried girls are sometimes looked upon as burdens to their parents and guardians. Marriage being a compulsory social institution, people have got to get their daughters married at any cost. They are sometimes reduced to the last straits in meeting the expenses of their daughters' marriages. In Bengal, the custom of child marriage still obtains, especially among the so-called lower caste people. The Sarda Act, which was designed to put a stop to the custom by penalising child marriage, cannot be enforced too strictly, owing to various reasons. But the higher caste people, now, as a rule, do not give their daughters in marriage at a very tender age. Perhaps economic reasons have mainly rendered it necessary to raise the marriageable age of their girls. The Purdah system is still in vogue in this province. Women are thus debarred from enjoying fresh air and taking open air exercises. The want of fresh air is mainly responsible for so many cases of tuberculosis among the members of the feminine sex. This fatal disease exacts a heavy toll of lives from among the female population every year. Widow re-marriage being banned, young child widows are doomed to a life of an austere self-abnegation bordering on asceticism. They are thus cut off from all the worldly enjoyments, and are often wholly dependent on the charities of their relations. Much has been made of the sanctity of this institution of *Brahmacharyya*, enjoined on the widows of our country, by the people who take only a sentimental view of

things. They do not seem to realise the enormous demands that are thus made upon the moral resources of these unfortunate women in resisting the temptations of life. If these widows, martyrs to the cruel and inhuman custom of society, ever go astray, the doors of their nearest and dearest ones are shut upon them for good. They are regarded as so many social outcasts, lost to all hopes of future regeneration. Girls of tender age are sometimes married to very old men, the disparity in age not being taken into account. The parents, who are very badly off, cannot afford to be very fastidious in this matter and they have thus to sacrifice the happiness of their own daughters at the alter of society. If these girls are widowed shortly after their marraige, as sometimes they are, no allowances, whatever, are made for their tender age. They have to put up with all the rigours of custom, as long as they live. The women of Bengal seem to have been rather unjustly discriminated against, so far as the Hindu laws of succession are concerned. The Hindu laws do not allow a woman to be a co-sharer of her father's property along with her brothers. A sister has no right, whatever, to inherit her brother's property, even if the latter happens to die without leaving any issue. In the event of a husband dying intestate, his wife is entitled to maintenance only. Under no circumstances, whatever, can a Hindu marriage be dissolved. The lives of how many women are being ruined, being tied to diseased, imbecile and insane persons! But innocent wives are sometimes deserted by their husbands. In the interests of justice and humanity, reformed legislation is needed, so as to concede a larger measure of rights to women. Women have also been denied the right of studying the Vedas and uttering the "Gayatri" mantras. Manu, the great Hindu Law-giver prescribes a perpetual state of tutelege for women, who should never, in his opinion be allowed to be independent of men.

We pride ourselves upon the glorious heritage of the past, embodied in our ancient Scriptures—our Vedas and Puranas. We set so much store by the injunctions of the Shastras, which constitute our infallible guide in the moral and spiritual concerns of our life. But our ancient history is replete with instances of brilliant and notable women like Maitreyee, Gargee, Khana, and Lilabati. Some of them publicly participated in and led debates and discussions on religious and philosophical topics. Many of the religious hymns were composed by women like Visvavara Apala, Sasvati and Lopamudra. Khana and Lilabati were the very authorities on their subjects. So our past history bears witness to the fact that, in ancient times, education and culture were not the special prerogative of men and that women were not excluded from the rights and privileges of intellectual fellowship with men. The great epics of the Ramayana and the Mahabharata too do not bear out the view that women were always relegated to the background in the past. Sita openly accompanied Rama in his exile. This shows that women were allowed some freedom of action and initiative even in those remote days. A husband and a wife had to perfom the sacrificial rites together. Sita was won by Rama, by breaking the "bow of Shiva." The fact is certainly suggestive of the high esteem in which women were held at that time. They were honoured and prized. It has been stated in the Laws of Manu that "where women are honoured, the gods are pleased." * The Mahabharata affords instances of women conducting battles for the protection of a kingdom and ruling a state. Chitrangada, the wife of Arjun, was trained in gymnastics and all the arts of war. It is in India that the dignified conception of the wife as "the mistress of the household, the counsellor and the friend, the comrade and the beloved disciple of the husband in the cultivation of the fine arts "† originated, in very ancient times.

In putting forward our claims, we must be very definite as to what we want. To quote Mary Wollstonecraft, one of the pioneers of the women's movement in the west, we do not want

"to have power over men, but over ourselves." It is not empire, but equality and friendship which women want."

We feel inclined to say to men, like Nora of Ibsen's *Doll's House* :

"I believe that before all else I am a reasonable human being, just as you are."

It has been argued that an emancipated woman is likely to underrate the importance of her domestic duties and throw over the claims of the household and the family, if these happen to clash with those of her individual life. Mary Wollstonecraft has anticipated this question and answered it in her famous *Vindication of the Rights of Women.* She holds that "slavish obedience" on the part of a wife destroys domestic happiness, instead of promoting it.

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* यत्र नार्यस्तु पूज्यन्ते रमन्ते तत्र देवताः ।

† गृहिणी सचिवः सखी मिथः
प्रियशिष्या ललिते कलाविधौ ।

In her opinion, if a relationship of perfect equality is established between the sexes,

"Men would find us more observant daughters, more affectionate sisters, more faithful wives, more reasonable mothers, in a word, better citizens."

Her contention is that a just and "rational fellowship" between the husband and the wife will result in eliminating a good many "vices of tyranny" on the part of the former and "vices of slavery" on the part of the latter. In her opinion "perpetual obedience" impairs the wife's powers of understanding and her sense of responsibility as well as her initiative. It has also been apprehended that the emancipation of women is likely to lead to the abolition of marriage. But there is no denying the fact that if the economic independence of women is brought about, it will cut at the root of a good many evils of marriage. It will stop many undesirable marriages, such as are taking place now-a-days. To quote Mary Wollstonecraft again :

"The possibility of women earning a comfortable livelihood by honest labour tends, in some degree, to prevent them from marrying merely for a living."

Havelock Ellis also has remarked :

"The dominant type of marriage........is founded on economic considerations; the women often marries chiefly to earn her living."

These remarks may not hold good in the case of the women of our country. But if the economic independence of women comes about, many of the social evils, such as the dowry system, child marriage and the like will naturally be eradicated in the course of time. Here my statements are likely to be misconstrued. We, women, do not want to be the competitors of men in their present day hard struggle for existence and spurn domestic bliss and happiness. The capacities and occupations of men and women may differ altogether. But that difference should not affect their happy companionship in any way. Our Poet has given beautiful expression to the idea as to what should be the ideal function of a wife, in the concluding lines of his famous Playlet, entitled *Chitrangada,* and has put into the mouth of Chitrangada, the wife of Arjun, the very claims of the modern emancipated woman :

I am not a goddess. Neither am I a petty woman. I would not like to be extolled and worshipped as a semi-divine being. Neither should I be slighted and thrust into the background as an inferior creature. If you let me stand by you through the perilous path of life and share the burden of your cares and anxieties, if you allow me to lend you a helping hand in the fulfilment of the onerous duties of your life, and to be a comrade and a helpmate to you all through life, in weal and woe, then only you will be able to form a right estimate of my true self.*

The appeal of Chitrangada poignantly touches our imagination. She seems to be voicing the very sentiments of the modern woman, claiming her birthright of comradeship with men.

Education seems to be the *sine qua non of* female emancipation. In Bengal, there ought to be a much larger number of educational institutions for women, founded upon much sounder principles. The custom of child marriage as well as the Purdah system stands in the way of the higher education of women in this province. Still there is a growing desire among the educated parents to give their daughters some elementary education, partly due to the fact that educated brides are in great demand at the present time. By general consensus of opinion, women are now being educated on much the same lines as men. But, at the present moment, people have started questioning the utility of this sort of education for the girls of our country, ninety-nine per cent of whom get married after they leave schools and colleges. Those who object to a uniform education being given to both boys and girls hold that as women are ordinarily destined to play an entirely different part in life, a separate curriculum should be prescribed for them, so as to meet their special needs. Perhaps it will not be quite out of place here to discuss the views of Rousseau on female education. In *Emile,* his famous educational treatise, he says :

"The education of women should always be relative to that of men. To please, to be useful to us, to make us love and esteem them, to educate us when young and to take care of us when grown up, to advise, to console us, to render our lives easy and agreeable: these are the duties of women at all times and what they should be taught in their infancy."

According to him, the sole end of women's life and education consists in making themselves useful and agreeable to men. He tries to tackle the problem from an entirely conventional point of view, and his views seem to be characterised by a certain narrowness of outlook and a remark-

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* দেবী নহি, নহি আমি সামান্যা রমণী.
পূজা করি রাখিবে মাথায় সেও আমি
নই অবহেলা করি পুষিয়া রাখিবে
পিছে, সেও আমি নহি। যদি পার্শ্বে রাখ
মোরে সঙ্কটের পথে, দুরূহ চিন্তার
যদি অংশ দাও যদি অনুমতি কর
কঠিন ব্রতের তব সহায় হইতে,
যদি সুখে দুঃখে মোরে কর সহচরী,
আমার পাইবে তবে পরিচয়।"

able lack of sympathy with the feminine sex. In our country, too, a large number of people subscribe to this view, as in their opinion women are only to be "the ministering angles of the home." But this view of female education does not seem to be quite just and savours of sentimentality, although there is no denying the fact that the present curriculum should be modified a good deal and adapted to the special needs of girls. That the present educational system is defective is an admitted fact. Everybody seems to feel, at the present moment, that something is wrong somewhere. Bertrand Russell has truly observed :

> "The whole educational problem, where women are concerned, has been distorted by the desire for sex equality : there has been an attempt to acquire the same education as that given to boys, even where it was by no means good in itself."

To my mind, provision should be made in the girls' schools for teaching such special subjects as cookery, needlework, hygiene and domestic economy, maternity and child welfare, first aid, home nursing and the like. The Domestic Science Course also may well be provided, as an alternative to the Matriculation Course, and such girls as are not likely to go in for higher University education may be prepared for the school-leaving certificate examination at the end of the course. But women, as a class, should not be deprived of the chances of higher intellectual education and advanced studies. They have a legitimate claim "to be educated as solidly and in the same branches of knowledge as men." But, as Bertrand Russell says, the aim of education should be

> "to discover special aptitudes in boys and girls so that where they exist they may be carefully developed in the later years."

In view of the peculiar conditions of our society it is desirable that the economic indepenence of women should be brought about. A larger number of professions need to be thrown open to women. It should be borne in upon the men and women of our country that there is no disgrace, whatever, in doing honest labour and earning one's own living. In our country, many women would rather starve themselves to death or live a parasitic life than take up an honest occupation with a view to earning their own livelihood. Widow re-marriage being banned, the need of the economic independence of women cannot be stressed too strongly. How many helpless widows are everyday being stranded in an utterly unsympathetic world without anything to fall back upon. Not being trained in self-reliance from their early life, they do not know how to shift for themselves in the world. Hence the imperative need of adult education for women, which is being neglected in this province. Ampler provision for technical education of women needs also to be made. A larger number of industrial schools should be opened for women, and increased facilities for teaching some of the most useful handicrafts and some cottage industries should also be afforded.

Our educational programme will be incomplete and defective, if physical training forms no part of it. Plato, in his famous *Republic*, where he lays down a scheme of ideal education for the "guardians of the state," recognized the supreme importance of physical training for both the sexes. He proposes that the same kind of physical education should be given to both men and women. His immense solicitude for the sound physical constitution of the prospective mothers of the race is highly suggestive of his philosophical insight and breadth of outlook. The health of our women should be an object of supreme concern with those who have the best interests of the country at heart. The weak and sickly mothers cannot be expected to produce healthy offspring. So it is high time that public prejudice against the physical culture of girls should be done away with. The Purdah system should be aboished altogether, and greater and wider facilities for the physical training of women should be provided. In our country, on account of the custom of child marriage, girls become mothers at a very tender age and give birth to weak and ricketty children. This premature motherhood results in ruining their health and the weak physical constitution of the young and sickly mothers is responsible for so many cases of infant mortality in Bengal. Women need to be trained in gymnastics and the art of self-defence too, so that they may be able to defend themselves, whenever any emergency arises. It is a shame that even in these advanced times, abduction cases and crimes against women are taking place, every now and then, in our country.

Another claim which should be put forward by the modern emancipated woman is that she should be judged by the same standard of morality as men, for very often, "the strong lance of justice hurtless breaks" on the latter. Our community metes out an entirely unequal and unjust treatment to the female offenders, the offences of their male accomplices being often connived at. A much more lenient and humane attitude ought to be taken up towards

those unfortunate women, who are sometimes made to suffer for the crimes of others. Those who have gone astray should be reclaimed from the path of sin and should not be abandoned for good by their friends and relations. Homes should be opened for the purpose of affording these unlucky women shelter as well as honest occupations. Organized efforts should also be launched to save our women from the clutches of the ruffians, who constitute such a serious menace to the peace and morals of our country.

We should bear in mind the remarks of Whitman :

"The sole avenue and means to a reconstructed society depended more primarily on a new birth, elevation, expansion, invigoration of women."

It is high time that much larger number of men should be up and doing to further the cause of women in Bengal. Women, the prospective mothers of the race should be fitted and equipped for the high function they are destinied to fill in life, by means of sound education. It is the mothers who are to mould their children's characters and lay the foundation of their future education. So women need to be properly trained for this responsible task, and should be fully alive to the responsibility of their position.

FORGING NEW CHAINS FOR INDIA ?

Secret of Anglo-Japanese Alliance Negotiations

By CHAMAN LAL

OUR politicians must open their eyes now, if they do not want to betray the cause of the nation, as they did during the last great war.

How we missed a great opportunity in the last war, when our leaders believed in pious pledges of British statesmen, is a story known to every Indian. But few people except those who have visited Singapore know that it was the Japanese army which helped in despatching Indian soldiers at Singapore, when the latter expressed a desire to see India free.

WILL HISTORY REPEAT ITSELF?

After more than 20 years, the British are again begging for Japanese alliance and are anxious to use Japan as their "watch dog" in the East. Britain of course values her China trade, which depends on Japan's goodwill, but India, the "Brightest Jewel in the Crown" is more valuable, and Britain is taking all precautions to keep India safe for the Empire.

"Naval Base" at Colombo, the huge Singapore Base, the converting of Aden into a colony, the separation of Burma are all aimed at fortification of India. But these are not enough to convince Britain that she would be able to keep India in the event of another world war.

THE HEAVIEST CHAIN

The heaviest chain to be forged to keep India bound to Britain is proposed in the shape of revival of Anglo-Japanese alliance. Outwardly the revival of alliance is aimed at division of "spoils in China" (trade) and checking the Soviet influence in China, but it will naturally be aimed at India, as it was done in the last war, too. It is as yet too early to say that the alliance will be revived, but it is believed that the new Prime Minister of Britain favours the idea and the despatch of a "Pro-Japanese Ambassador to Tokyo" in the person of Assistant Foreign Secretary also means that Britain is anxious to win Japan's friendship. And Japan's business magnates, who control the purse of politicians, are undoubtedly anxious to win Britain's favour, since their trade depends on Britain's goodwill in nearly half the world.

NEGOTIATIONS BEGIN

The despatch of Prince Chichibu to attend the London Coronation and the changed colour of the Japanese press indicate that negotiations are already proceeding.

The Hirota Cabinet was said to have decided on a rapprochement with Britain as one of the central pillars of its diplomatic policy, but its efforts in this direction were hindred by the British reaction to the Japanese-German anti-Comintern accord and the occurrence of the recent Keelung incident, involving Japanese policemen and British bluejackets. Of late, however, Britain's position in the Far East has

developed to a point where the rapprochement plan must be speeded.

It is understood by the *Nichi Nichi* that the British are proposing that Japan and China first adjust their relations and that Japan then guarantee the rights and interests acquired by Britain in Central and South China and co-operate with Britain in extending assistance to China. In return, the paper believes, Britain would recognize Manchukuo as an independent State and Japan's special concern and interests in North China on condition that Japan renounce all territorial ambitions.

Britain sees in the projected rapprochement a means of checking the Soviet Union in the Far East, according to the newspaper, and Japan sees in it a means of strengthening its continental policy.

Both Are Anxious

The British overtures for Anglo-Japanese co-operation in China have created no small furor in many quarters. Putting aside for a moment how far the two powers may get together in China, which will depend on the Anglo-Japanese negotiations from now on, observers believe it inevitable that Japan and Britain should draw closer in the Far East sooner or latter for two reasons.

First, Britain holds enormous vested rights and interests in the Far East and looks to Japan for adequate protection of those rights and interests. Second, Japan, who considers herself the stabilizer of the Far East is confronted with untold difficulties and has therefore to seek a solution swiftly.

Britain Supreme in China

Britain, which sent Indian soldiers to China, only ten years ago, is now the master of the political situation in China as a result of her unique diplomacy.

Britain's China policy in the past few years and the great change that has taken place in the British attitude toward Japan in that period are worthy of special notice. Britain took instant advantage of the extremely aggravated Sino-Japanese relations, following the outbreak of the Manchurian incident, in recovering her lost ground in the Far East.

With Honkong as the farthest front, she had barely managed to link her chain of territories in the Orient, but the moment she saw her chance, Britain applied her systematic scheme for expanding her vested interests and for strengthening her colonial policy, so as to place her vast overseas possessions on a permanent basis.

Since definitely deciding on a fresh China policy, Britain has made rapid progress, whether in railway construction, monetary reform, investment in key industries, or in the basic reform of the financial structure of China. So incomparably firm is her foothold in China's financial and economic realm today that Britain can virtually make or break China with one stroke.

Britain took into consideration two possibilities prior to attaining her present supremacy, namely, whether the Sino-Japanese relations would culminate in hostilities or whether the relations would return to normalcy.

Britain realized that in the event of another Sino-Japanese conflict, Japan would bring greater pressure to bear on China, which would be liable to crush Britain's vested interests. She also feared that in the event of improved Sino-Japanese relations Japan would strengthen her influence in China, which would be equally disastrous to Britain, since she considered that better Sino-Japanese relations would drive Britain back to her pre-incident predicament.

Having once determined that neither Sino-Japanese hostilities nor improved relations would be beneficial to her, Britain has arranged to strengthen her position and prestige in China immensely. The establishment of the Central Reserve Bank, largely with British funds, is the latest master stroke of British diplomacy in China. The success of Britain in the last few years in China has been such that she has realised every recent aim she has had regarding that country.

London Controls Finances

Britain has gained a grip on the central economic machinery of the Chinese government. She has thus succeeded in getting control of China's finance.

Taking advantage of this situation, William M. Kirkpatrick, representative in China of the export credit guarantee department of the London government is now endeavouring to realise plans for further investment in China.

It is said in this connection that Britain's financial stronghold in China is not temporary but permanent in nature and that Britain can now fish in China's troubled waters without being bothered by rival anglers.

A Warning Sounded

While the pro-British Japanese are very enthusiastic over the revival of negotiations and

Lord Rothermere is feeling secure about Britain's 4 shillings from India in every pound of her income, a Japanese sounds the following warning :

> While no one questions the desirability in principle of the Anglo-Japanese accord, which would obviously be beneficial to both powers, one should not lose sight of the fact that the respective grounds on which Japan and Britain stand in China differ considerably, and the further fact that the Anglo-Japanese accord would do more harm than good should it by any chance compel Japan to recede in her China policy.

The major point of consideration is whether or not Japan, by co-operating with Britain, will commit the blunder of becoming the watch dog of British rights and interests in Japan's sister nation. The Japanese should strictly avoid this.

The realisation of Anglo-Japanese alliance is not so easy, but the attempts of both countries in this behalf are so serious that our politicians in India should not sleep any longer. There is a way to deal with the two Imperialist nations' attempt at joining hands only if our politicians have the wisdom to act now.

Will India act?

OLD MORTALITY AMONG THE MUSICIANS

Puns and Puzzles on Tombstones

By CLEMENT ANTROBUS HARRIS

WHOLE books, if not large ones, have been written on the funny epitaphs which appeared before the days of that Censor of tombstonic levity, the Burial Board. Puns were a commonplace, and the deceased's name and occupation the most usual source of inspiration. Sometimes both were taken advantage of, as in the case of Charles II's trumpeter, whose surname was evidentaly Snow. He died about 1680 :

> Thaw every breast, melt every eye with woe,
> Here's dissolution by the hand of Death!
> To dirt, to water, turn'd the fairest SNOW,
> O! the King's TRUMPETER hath lost his breath.

(Valentine Snow, the famous trumpeter of Handel's day for whom the trumpet obligati in the Messiah and other oratorios were written, and who was sergeant-trumpeter to George II, is believed to have been a son of Moses Snow, a Gentleman of the Chapel Royal and lay-vicar of Westminster Abbey, who died in 1702: if so, it is a not unreasonable supposition that Valentine was a grandson, or more probably great-grandson of the Snow of the epitaph).

Is an organ-blower a musician? If so, we have another problematical connection—distinctly problematical!—with Handel. Meredith Morgan of Llanfylantuthyl (which from internal evidence I take to be in Wales, though I cannot find it in any gazetteer) evidently thought so—that is, that the manipulator of bellows-handles was a musician. For Mr. Suffling, an acknowledged authority on epitaphs, tells us definitely that Morgan was the hero of the well-known story of the blower who abruptly refused to continue his services unless the organist admitted that it was "we" and not merely himself (the player) who were to be credited with the performance—and won his case! (The incident, however, did not take place at Llanfylantuthyl but at some large town which Morgan was visiting and where Handel or some other great organist was giving a recital). Anyway he deserves a place in our musical Valhalla if it is merely because he is the only known organ-blower whose office is referred to on his tombstone :

> Under this stone lies MEREDITH MORGAN
> Who blew the bellows of our church organ.
> Tobacco he hated, to smoke most unwilling,
> Yet never so pleased as when pipes he was filling.
> No reflection on him for rude speech could be cast,
> Though he gave our old organ many a blast!
> No puffer was he, though a capable blower;
> He could blow double C, but he's now a note lower.

A very good example of the pun is to be found in a quatrain written by some wit in Charles II's time when the violin ousted the viola, and as it is of the nature of an epitaph on the outgoing instrument, after its two hundred years of service, it may be pardonable to quote it here, though it never graced a tombstone :

> In former days we had the viol in
> Ere the true instrument had come about,
> But now we say, since this all ears doth win,
> The violin hath put the viol out.

One cannot play Old Mortality for long without discovering that the literature of the grave-yard, like that of the bookshelf, has its classics, that is, well-known formulas and references which appear again and again. The tale is told that a potter and a musician vied with each other as to which of them could write the most appropriate tombstone testimony for his friend. The musician wrote:

> On earth he oft turned clay to delf,
> But now he's turned to clay himself.

And the potter retorted with:

> In beating time his life was passed,
> But time has beaten him at last.

Now whether the story originated in the inscription or the inscription was borrowed from the story, I do not know, but the following lines appeared on a monument in a Suffolk church-yard to a fiddler, and since they would apply, as I have just said, to any musician, it is possible that they were quite common:

> Stephen and Time are now both even:
> Stephen beat time, now Time's beat Stephen.

But the writer of *post-obit* notices did not content himself with puns; he occasionally introduced puzzles of various kinds—anagrams, acrostics, chronograms and riddles. Not many of these have any musical interest, but there are one or two: the unknown author of lines *in memorium* of William Lawes regarded himself as propounding a riddle, and though personally I can find nothing more profound than two or three very transparent puns, it is but fair to give the reader a chance of trying to discover some more subtle enigma himself. Though overshadowed by his younger brother Henry, William Lawes was a man of distinction in his own day, and is still heard in ours through his part-song *Gather ye rose-buds while ye may*. As a Gentleman of the Chapel Royal he naturally took Charles I's side during the civil war, and disdaining a safe post offered him, was killed by a stray bullet at the siege of Chester in 1645.

> Concord is conquor'd; in this urn there lies
> The master of great Music's mysteries;
> And in it is a riddle like the cause
> *Will Lawes* was slain by those whose *Wills* are *Lawes*.

To those unacquainted with contrapuntal devices there will be no doubt about the enigmatical character of a single line—not even whole stave!—of music on Haydn's grave: it is the subject of a five-part canon. (A canon is a composition in which each voice sings the same theme at a distance of pitch and time which in a puzzle canon it is the business of the singers to find out. As a canon may have 2,000 solutions—at least Valentini claimed this number for one he wrote in 1629—I dare not ask the Editor for room in which to discuss the possibilities of this perhaps equally elastic example).

non om — - - - nis mo — — ri — ar

And, as much more than a technical knowledge of music is needed to solve musical puzzles—namely a knowledge of puzzledom itself—probably many readers will, like myself, be unable to say who was buried under a stone bearing the inscription given below, the sole information supplied being that the deceased was a fifer.

EPITAPH ON A FIFER

```
            0——5——4,
     ( 0——4——1——2——8,   )
Hic  { 0——4——1——2——0,   } Jacet.
     { 0——2——80——8      }
     ( 0——2——45——4.     )
```

As taking the numerals to represent note-names in neither the staff nor Sol-fa notations, in either of the two keys in which fifes are usually made, B flat and majors, and consideration of neither Latin nor English words, have enabled me to solve the puzzle, I leave it to some reader of keener wits. Should even such an one be unsuccessful this Fifer's memorial will be by no means the only tombstone puzzle through which the dead still bewilder the living.



Book Reviews

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in The Modern Review. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

--Editor, The Modern Review.

ENGLISH

THE NILE IN EGYPT : *The Life-story of a River. By Emil Ludwig. Translated by Mary H. Lindsay. With 23 plates and coloured maps. George Allen and Unwin Ltd., Museum Street, London. 16s. Net.*

Emil Ludwig, the world-famous biographer, has written two books on the Nile in German. In the first he has given a remarkably vivid account of the source of Egypt's culture, its landscape, plants, and animals. His history of the tribes of the Nile, their kings and their conquerors appears to be complete. It is a romantic, exciting and interesting book. In the second book, entitled "The Nile in Egypt," the author presents the biography of the river and endeavours to relate the history of a mighty stream as if it were the life of a human personality. With descriptions of the landscape, the plants, the animals, and the human inhabitants of the valley of the Nile, he is able to present a remarkable historical picture of a great river, the nucleus of one of the most ancient cultures, and the source of Egypt's life. The nature of jungle, prairie and desert are vividly depicted. The tribes of the Nile, their black and white conquerors, sultans, kings, explorers and adventurers follow in quick succession.

We are told in the Foreword that the second part differs from the first in the relative space devoted to Nature and to history. While three-quarters of volume one were devoted to Nature and only one to history, half of volume two is devoted to history. As in the author's former biographies, pictures take the place of ideas. And, in these pictures, social conditions take precedence of wars, and the feelings of men are more important than their status. In the first volume the feelings of the negro or the elephant were depicted with more sympathy than those of the white man. In the second an attempt has been made to show history, not as Pharaos or Sultans saw it, but from the standpoint of the fellah, the Egyptian peasant, who has, from time immemorial, lived in closer communion with the Nile than its rulers. For, Egypt is the one country in the world in which every son and daughter of the soil lives at all times in sight of the Nile. Dynasties came, used it and passed, but the river, the father of the land, has remained as the provider of water and corn and cotton.

The pictures are well reproduced in the plates.

SECRETS OF JAPAN : *By Chaman Lal. Second Edition. With a Foreword by Mr. S. Takaishi, chief editor of "The Osaka Mainichi" and "The Tokyo Nichi-Nichi," and an Introduction by Dr. James A. B. Scherer. Profusely illustrated. Price not mentioned. To be had at the office of "The Hindustan Times," Delhi.*

Mr. Chaman Lal has written a very interesting book. It reveals the real secrets of Japan's phenomenal rise to power, and its transition from mediaevalism to modernism at a bound as it were. In times past Japan learnt much from India. At present we have much to learn from Japan and other countries—not of course as slavish imitators. As an Indian, the author has written the book with India particularly in mind.

WHAT SCIENCE STANDS FOR : *By Sir John Boyd Orr, F.R.S., Professor A. V. Hill Secr., R.S., Professor J. C. Philip, F.R.S., Sir Richard Gregory, F.R.S., Sir A. Daniel Hall, F.R.S., and Professor Lancelot Hogben, F.R.S., London, George Allen & Unwin Ltd. 5s. net.*

From the destructive uses of science people very often take a one-sided view of it. They lose sight of the good that science has done and is capable of doing. Science gives knowledge and the power to manipulate the forces of nature. It is for man to make either a good or a bad use of such knowledge and power.

The book under review draws attention to the beneficent aspect of the activities of scientists. It contains the following papers: Nutritional Science and State Planning, by Sir John Boyd Orr; The Humanity of Science, by Professor A. V. Hill; The Chemist in the Service of the Community, by Professor J. C. Philip; Cultural and Social values of Science, by Sir Richard Gregory; Knowledge and Power, by Sir A. Daniel Hall; Naturalistic Studies in the Education of the Citizen, by Professor Lancelot Hogben.

These distinguished men of science have a right to be heard.

LIBRARIES AND THE PUBLIC : *By Lionel R. McColvin, Chief Librarian, Hampstead Public Libraries, and Author of "Library Extension Work," &c. 5s. net. London. George Allen & Unwin Limited.*

This is a handy and useful manual which discusses the functions and aims of the public library service, whom it should serve, the essentials of a library service, and other similar questions. Its thirteen chapters dwell on first

principles, books and their readers, the question of supply and demand, of services and facilities, premises, staff, finance, &c. There are, besides, six appendices, in one of which some comparisons are made between libraries and library services in England and America. Another treats of "standards for public libraries" in America. This gives statistics of cities of over 1,000,000 inhabitants down to cities of less than 10,000 inhabitants, with the percentage of their population registered as borrowers of books from libraries, which varies from 25 to 50 per cent. The number of books lent per capita varies from 5 to 10. In a predominantly illiterate country like India the attainment of even the lowest percentage mentioned above is a dream. Two appendices give lists of municipal libraries in England spending less than 1s. per head of population per annum and of county libraries spending less than 3d. per head of population per annum. Do our municipalities and district boards maintain any public libraries? We do not know of any. How many pies or fraction of a pie per head do they spend per annum in subsidizing libraries?

The book should be in great demand among all who have anything to do with libraries.

INDIA TODAY AND TOMORROW : *By Margarita Barns. London. George Allen & Unwin Ltd. 7s. 6d. net. With 19 illustrations.*

This book is a graphic autobiographical survey of the Indian scene since the appointment of the Simon Commission. The author worked, as a journalist, for an Indian news organization (the "Free Press of India"?) and was thus in close touch, both in England and India with Mr. Gandhi and other Indian politicians. This has enabled her to supply much fresh information. One may not agree with all her judgments and conclusions, but they deserve to be known and considered.

The book is divided into three parts. In part I she writes, among other things, about the three so-called round table conferences, Mr. Gandhi and the joint parliamentary committee. In part II she is in India and in touch with Gandhiji again, gives glimpses of the last Bombay Congress and of India at the polls. The last part is devoted to the women of India, youth, the peasant, the industrial worker, the press, the cinema, the radio, the British in India, the "foreigner" in India, legislators of the future, and the future.

CHRISTIANITY—RIGHT OR LEFT? *Which way will Religion Move in the World Crisis? By Kenneth Ingram, Author of "The Coming Civilization" and "The Modern Attitude to the Sex Problem." 6s. net. George Allen & Unwin Ltd., London.*

Though this book is addressed primarily to professing Christians and discusses the part which the Church is destined to play in the crisis towards which the world is rapidly moving, it is of interest also to non-Christians, because it is chiefly the nations who profess Christianity who are, humanly speaking, making history. The author considers Fascism, Communism, Pacifism, and other factors in the situation. In his opinion there are on one side the forces which are working to create a new form of civilization, while on the other the older traditions are mobilizing in resistance. The question is : Will Christianity rally to the side of the old or new—Right or Left? The author's answer is to be found in the last chapter of the book, entitled "Perhaps the Shape of Things to Come." He clearly inclines to the Left. He is in favour of a genuinely Christ-following classless society. "Those who are conscious that Christianity is greater than any of its forms, who do not seek to limit the work of the Holy Spirit to the confines of their own traditional conceptions, are natural allies of the Left." "And those whose minds are not sealed by their own traditions will know that they must seek the new-born Christ not in the familiar Jerusalem, not even in the palaces or the vaticans or the sanctuaries of believers : but in an obscure manger, in some strange Bethlehem, perhaps in the very environment which they have learned to regard as anti-God."

ALTAR-STAIRS—*A sequence of sixty Studies in the Life and Lore of the Spirit. By Rao Sahib V. Ramakrishna Rao, M.A., L.T., Ph.D., Retired Principal, Pittapur Rajah's College, Cocanada, Sir Ashutosh Mookerjee Gold Medalist in Letters, University of Calcutta. Re. 1-8 or 2s. 6d. To be had of the Author at Masulipatam, Madras Presidency.*

The studies which this neatly printed and got-up volume of about 450 pages of royal octavo size contains, are for the most part more or less systematic sketches of spiritual theism—its doctrine, discipline and development. These are all characterized by the author's devout spirit, thoughtfulness and wealth of imagery. There are some essay in literary appreciation and criticism also, *e.g.*, "Keats and Shelley as Odists," "Shelley in the 'Cenci,'" "Coleridge in 'Christabel,'" "Scott the Romancist," etc. These will be appreciated by students and lovers of poetry. The author is never at a loss for the right word in the right place. His defect lies rather the other way about. In places his too abundant vocabulary makes his style cloying. It would gain by rigid economy in the use of words resulting in terseness.

The volume has been very moderately priced, making it possible for our students, most of whom are poor, to possess a copy.

MAN : *Three Lectures delivered at the Andhra University by Rabindranath Tagore under the terms of the Sir Alladi Krishnaswamy Endowment. Re. 1. To be had of the Registrar, Andhra University, Waltair.*

These three lectures are entitled "Man," "Supreme Man," and "'I am He." They are expositions of inspiring spiritual religion.

DEVELOPMENT OF FEMALE EDUCATION IN ENGLAND AND UTILIZATION OF WESTERN METHODS OF EDUCATION IN BENGAL, *being the Report submitted to Calcutta University by Miss Sakuntala Sastri, Vedatirtha, M.A. (Calcutta), B.Litt. (Oxon.), Ghosh Travelling Fellow, Calcutta University. Published by the University of Calcutta. With many illustrations.*

This Report contains much useful information, hitherto not easily available, and some practical suggestions. Promoters of the education of girls and women in India will get much help from it.

D.

INTERNATIONAL SURVEY OF SOCIAL SERVICES, VOLS. I & II. 1933 : *Published in 1936. Geneva. Price 10s. 6d. and 15s. (Second Edition).*

The second edition is a decided improvement on the first which was published in 1933, for the following reasons. Whereas the plan remains the same, *viz.*, the distribution of population by occupations, social insurance, social assistance, housing, family allowances, and holidays with pay, thirty-eight different countries are now taken up instead of the previous twenty-four. The schemes subsequent to 1930 have also been incorporated with the meticulous care we usually associate with the work of the International Labour Office. The period between 1930 and 1933 was most interesting, and it marked the frantic attempts of national states to stem the downward course of the crisis. Dislocated finance and trade would have stopped expenditure on social services completely,

but the Communist menace was always looming before the planners. The cynical spirit of Bismarck, the father of Social Insurance, descended on the Reformists, who sought to take the wind out of the sails of the revolutionary. These two volumes seem to suggest that the attempt was successful. The opposite view may also be legitimately held. There are many who think that though the benefits accruing from the extensive social services did offer some degree of protection to the labourers yet they were either insufficient to cover the total effects of the last crisis or beside the point which was the abolition of the wage-system or such regulation thereof as would remove once for all the source of all such cyclic troubles, *viz.*, the unequal distribution of effective demand, within a country and between different countries. Probably, the impression noted above is natural. It is likely to grow, so long as the other point of view is not put forth with the same encyclopædic endeavour.

Two other criticisms are pertinent. On account of the late publication of the report on 1933 in 1936, many new materials have been missed. Two glaring instances are those of France under the aegis of the Popular Front Ministry, and of India. In our country, such delays are understandable, but not at Geneva. Reports on growing movements are, however, born old. One way out of the difficulty is to print them in such a way that additional up-to-date materials can be stuck to the relevant pages.

Lastly, the cost is almost prohibitive for the middle class book-buyer. My experience tells me that the most invaluable work of the League of Nations and of the International Labour Office remains unknown to most of us chiefly on account of the cost of their publications. Just compare the price of Left Wing Literature with that of I. L. O. publications. And who denies the greater scholarly worth of the latter?

In any case the supreme usefulness of these two volumes is undisputed. Whichever may be the form of government we are likely to evolve, a study of the International Social Services is the imperative duty of all statesmen, scholars and publicists alike. No Indian library can therefore do without these two volumes. I deliberately forbear from a comparative estimate of the social services in India and other countries which are self-governing, for the simple reason that it would not be pleasant to any party, here in India. The social services which the Indian Government have given us and which we demand or are forced to accept are too much mixed with one particular brand of politics in reaction to one special phase of economic exploitation.

Social services, however comprehensive they may be, are being increasingly understood to be curative rather than preventive.

This report, therefore, is more medical than hygienic. Swarajist India will have to combine both methods. And in such an attempt it will be compelled to go to Geneva, which I consider to be the finest Research Institute of Social Sciences in the world.

DHURJATI PRASAD MUKERJI

SCIENTIFIC PROGRESS : SIR HALLEY STEWART LECTURE 1935 : *By six eminent scientists, p. 210. Published by George Allen & Unwin, Ltd. 7s. 6d. net.*

The progress of Science is the general subject of the 1935 Halley Stewart Lectures. The six lecturers are among the greatest of English scientists, and their names speak for themselves. Individual chapters are as follows : Sir James Jeans on "Man and the Universe," Sir William Bragg on "The Progress of Physical Science," Prof. E. V. Appleton on "The Electricity in the Atmosphere," Prof. E. Mellanley on "Progress in Medical Science," Prof. J. B. S. Haldane on "Human Genetics and Human Ideals," and Prof. Julian Huxley on "Science and its Relation to Social Needs."

This is a book intended chiefly for the layman, intelligent layman, who is a rarity among us. These essays will help towards clearing our minds about the foundations of science, and they will also serve to introduce to English-knowing lay readers the new cosmology; and the constructive possibilities of science, with the destructive possibilities of which, too hastily and too highly developed, we are more familiar.

To introduce the book to the reader, we give below one or two extracts. Sir James Jeans in 'Man and the Universe' says "that until early in the present century scientific knowledge was continually compelling man to lower his estimate of his importance and of his position in the universe. It is still too early to attempt any final judgment of more recent events, partly because they are still so near at hand, partly because scientists themselves are not yet in complete agreement about them. But to me, at least, it seems that within the last few years the tide has begun to turn. In the light of recent knowledge gained from the theory of relativity and quanta we seem entitled to take a more hopeful view of our position than Victorian science had been willing to concede. The plain average man, ignorant alike of the problems and of the perplexities of science, has formed a view of his position which was influenced largely, no doubt, by his vanity and self-importance, but was based, on the whole, on his practical everyday experience of life. He believed, among other things, that he was free to choose between the higher and the lower, between good and evil, between progress and decadence. To many, Victorian science seemed to challenge all such beliefs. It knew nothing of higher nor lower, progress nor decadence; it knew only of a vast machine, which ran on automatically and of its own inertia, as it had been set to run on the first morning of the creation. And it would continue so to run, following out its predestined course, to the end of time. We now begin to think that this challenge was a mistaken one, that the universe may be more like the untutored man's commonsense conception of it than had seemed possible a generation ago, and that humanity may not have been mistaken in thinking itself free to choose between good and evil, to decide its direction of development, and within limits to carve out its own future."

Professor Julian Huxley in 'Science and Social Needs' says :—"The way in which the problem of the pest of the prickly pear in Australia was solved provides a good example of the work made possible on the basis of descriptive work by museum specialists. The plant was introduced into north-eastern Australia in the last century, and rapidly spread until large areas of land became covered with forests of prickly pear. I remember a lecture by Dr. Tillyard, the Australian entomologist, in which he was talking about the prickly pear. In it he said, 'I have been talking 11 minutes on the subject; in that time the prickly pear has occupied another 11 acres of Australian soil.' It was a real menace. Then the authorities sent out an expedition to find out what insect enemies the prickly pear had in its natural habitat in Central America. The expedition brought back a number of these; as a result of liberating them in vast numbers a great deal of the prickly pear forest has been done away with, and the pest is now under control. Without the previous work of museum specialists in systematic zoology, such results would be impossible."

J. M. DATTA

EDUCATION IN ANCIENT INDIA: *By Dr. A. S. Altekar, M.A., LL.B., D.Litt., Manindra Chandra Nandi, Professor and Head of the Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture, Benares Hindu University. The Indian Book Shop, Benares City.*

This book gives an illuminating account of the educational system of Ancient India, from the Vedic period down to about 1200 A.D., though in connection with several points the state of affairs as prevailing in subsequent periods even down to the advent of the British has been referred to. In ten chapters it deals with topics like educational rituals, the relation between the teacher and the student, rules of student life, curricula, method of teaching, examinations, vocational education, female education, educational centres and institutions, attitude of the state and the society towards education, and merits and demerits of the system. There are two appendices of which one quotes extracts from the *Taittiriya Upanishad* and the *Carakasamhita* purporting to be what may be called convocation addresses in the present age and the other traces the origin of the *Yajnopavita* or Sacred thread which is stated to have originally been only an upper garment—a conclusion that was already arived at several years back by Mahamahopadhyaya Pandit Vidhushekhara Bhattacharya (*Visva-bharati Quarterly*, Vol. I, pp. 107 *ff.*) though no reference to him is made in the present book. The *Bibliography* gives, *inter alia*, a list of modern works on education. But we miss here the name of a work of Mr. Nagendranath Mazumdar (*History of Education in Ancient India* Calcutta, 1916) who appears to have been one of the pioneers in the field. No reference has also been made in the book to the work done in this line by Prof. R. K. Mukherji whose papers on the subject—about a dozen in number—were published in the *Lucknow University Journal* and elsewhere. Of other omissions mention may be made of the following: In the section on curricula no reference has been made to the traditional division of *Vidyas* into four or fourteen classes. A reference to more women poets and scholars—specially those versed or interested in *dharma-shastra* literature would have been highly interesting in the section on female education. An enquiry into the history of the *Kulapatis* who are supposed to have been in charge of 10,000 students each would have been welcome in the section of educational centres. It would be interesting if in the section on society, state and education a brief notice were taken of the manner in which eminent scholars were publicly honoured in ancient India, a short description of which has been given by the present reviewer in the *Ojha Commemoration Volume*. However, in spite of these minor defects the book will be read with interest and profit by students of Ancient Indian History and Culture and specially by those who are interested in the history of education. It is more comprehensive than any other work on the subject that has hitherto been published. The huge labour and critical scholarship involved in collecting data scattered in various old works belonging to different periods of time, sifting them and presenting them in their proper perspective are noticeable almost in every page of this not a very small work.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

A HANDBOOK OF GWALIOR: *By M. B. Garde, B.A., Superintendent of Archæology, Gwalior State. Alijah Darbar Press. Gwalior, 1936. Pages 2+141, 22 plates, 2 maps.*

This book was specially written for visitors to Gwalior during the All-India Educational Conference held there some time ago. It gives a detailed description of the literary, educational, social, philanthropic and industrial activities of the state; while it also presents a guide to the places of interest within the city of Gwalior.

It should prove helpful to all visitors to Gwalior.

SOME ARCHÆOLOGICAL FINDS IN THE IDAR STATE: *By P. A. Inamdar, M.A., B.Sc. Department of Archæology, Idar State, Himatnagar, 1936. Price one Rupee. Pages 78+30 plates and one map.*

This booklet of 78 pages gives us a description of the ancient temples, sculptures, monuments and inscriptions of the State of Idar in the Western India States Agency. It is illustrated with 56 well-printed plates and one map.

The author must be congratulated on the success with which he has carried out his work of preliminary exploration. He has discovered some very interesting archæological objects which require identification and which are likely to throw light on the cultural affinities of the State. The site named Roda, for example, deserves intensive exploration both on account of its ruined temples as well as on the unique character of some of its sculptures (No. 22).

We hope the author will follow up his researches and give us in future detailed plans and elevations of these temples and possible identification of the sculptures. In the present description, details about the *Vahanas* of different deities is occasionally not given; they would have been useful for the reader in checking up identifications.

The book is very moderately priced, and we hope will form a welcome addition to the library of students of ancient Indian history.

NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE

THE FEDERATION OF INDIA: *By P. R. Lele, B.A., LL.B. Popular Book Depot, Lamington Road, Bombay 7. Pages 182. Price Re. 1-4.*

This is an admirable summary of the Government of India Act, 1935, and will prove useful to those who find the Act itself too technical and complicated but would not be content with simple generalizations about the new constitution. The important sections of the Act which form the very basis of the constitution have been reproduced verbatim and a full and accurate summary of the rest has been given. Provisions bearing on the same topic and found scattered in different parts of the Act have been brought together to facilitate easy reference.

The author examines in his introduction some salient features of the new constitution, pointing out where it departs from the Act of 1919.

PULINBIHARI SEN

THE COBRAS OF DHERMASHEVI: *By S. K. Chettur, I.C.S. Higginbotham Ltd. Madras and Bangalore.*

The book is a collection of short stories originally published in many Indian journals, such as, *The Hindu*, *India Monthly Magazine*, etc. All the stories are not of the same standard of excellence—the plots of the murder stories being particularly thin. They are however all written in an easy and flowing style and are very delightful to read. A vein of healthy optimism and pleasant humour run through all the stories. Though the scenes are mostly South Indian the stories are of universal interest and are not bound by the limitations of space; they thus fulfil the most important characteristics of short stories.

CHARACTER AND PERSONALITY: *Vol. 5, No. 1. September '36. Editor Charles Spearman, London.*

This is a highly technical journal devoted to Psychology. As usual the present volume also contains very interesting and valuable articles written by eminent

psychologists of international reputation. Prof. McDougall of the Duke University has contributed another part of his critical consideration of the Dynamics of The Gestalt Psychology, the latest phase in the development of the science.

S. C. MITRA

GLIMPSES OF WORLD HISTORY, VOL. II: *By Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru; published by Kitabistan, City Road, Allahabad. Price Rs. 9.*

The book under review is the second and concluding volume of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's prison letters to his daughter, Indira, giving a summary of world history from the earliest times to 1933. The first volume is a survey of world history from the dawn of civilization to the age of Napolean and thus brings the story to the threshold of the modern age. The second volume begins from the fall of Napolean and carries the story to 1933. In this volume the history of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries has been dealt with in great detail so as to bring out the root causes underlying the political and economic phenomena which confront the world today. The industrial and political revolutions of modern Europe and America, the growth of imperialism and the working class movement, the national movements of the eastern countries, socialism, communism, facism, the world depression of 1929 and onwards, Hitlerism, and the Roosevelt drive in America have all been considered in relation to one another.

While reviewing the first volume we had nothing but unstinted praise for the author's treatment of the subject, which was thorough and masterly, while at the same time instructive and interesting. In the second volume, though the same reputation has been maintained in most places, still sometimes we miss the depth and lucidity we admired so much in the first volume.

Yet, the book is an unusual one and though it is primarily meant for the young, still it will help grown-up people also to understand, to a great extent, the tangled web of world-affairs today, and Indians can see in this work a picture of their own national struggle in proper perspective with the world as background. Pandit Jawaharlal has humanised the dry story of history and in this respect his work is unique. No Indian who wants to have a knowledge of world affairs and our national struggle can ignore this book.

SUKUMAR RANJAN DAS

AN ANALYSIS OF THE GEETA: *By Sailendra Nath Chatterjee, M.A., M.L., B.C.S. Published by Sourendra Nath Chatterjee. Price One Rupee.*

In this book, the author has stated the essential truths contained in the Gita. The author believes that the dialogue between Krishna and Arjuna, is merely the vehicle through which Veda-Vyasa has presented his solutions of the problems of life to the whole human race and it is not in fact the utterance of Sri Krishna, although stated as such by Vyasa himself in the Mahabharata, of which the Gita forms a part in the Vishma Parba. The author's analysis is based on a rational interpretation of the Gita. He gives an analytical summary of the arguments of Sri Krishna chapter by chapter. The author has also given a brief survey of the teachings of the religious books preceding the Gita. The conclusion arrived at by the author is highly interesting and shows the amount of reverence with which he has approached the subject. He has also a deep insight into the religious philosophy of the Gita, and tries to prove that it is the synthesis of all the religious teachings which preceded it.

JITENDRA NATH BOSE

SANSKRIT-ENGLISH

BRAHMA-SUTRAS—*with text, word-for-word translation, English rendering, comments, index as well as introduction: By Swami Vireswarananda, published by himself, Advaita Asharama, Mayabati, Almora. Price Rs. 3 only.*

This edition of the Brahma-Sutras will be found valuable by those who desire to read the Vedanta of Sankara, but has neither sufficient time nor mastery over Sanskrit to undertake the study of his Bhashya. Though based on the Bhashya, the book is neither a translation nor even an abridgment of the same; all that is important in the Bhashya has been embodied in the English commentary; while no essential point has been left out, a few of the pregnant hints scattered throughout the Bhashya has been elaborated in the commentary; the inclusion of the exposition of *Adhyasa*, rarely to be found even in Sanskrit works of this class, has added to the worth of the book and the insertion of the gist of Adhikaranas, to its usefulness.

The introduction is the outcome of the editor's deep study; in it he has given a critical and comparative estimate of the views of the great Acharyas on the Sutras and in so doing he has also incidentally attempted to refute the charge of Sankara being disloyal to Badarayana; though, by tradition, and probably by conviction also, the editor belongs to the school of Sankara, his criticism of Ramanuja and other Acharyas is characterised by that spirit of toleration which is natural to a follower of Sree Ramakrishna.

In conclusion, I hope that the editor will append the complete adhikaranas in future editions; this will make the book a little larger, but fuller, and therefore more useful to the reader.

ISANCHANDRA RAY

TELUGU

TARANGINI: *By Kandukuri Ramabhadra Rao, Innispet, Rajahmundry. Pp. 38. Price Annas Four.*

The work under review is a collection of poems on various topics, seventeen in number, sung by the author in his poetic ecstacies, spontaneous and free. Attempt at style and rigid rules are far from the work, which comprises topics on Love, Nature, Patriotism and finally Social Evils.

B. SUNDER RAM RAU

KANNADA

BUDDHA VACANA PARICAYA & MILINDA PRASNE. *Pp. 12+210+134. Demy Octavo. Cloth Bound. Price Rs. 4; Library Edition, Rs. 7-8.*

PALI PAJJA PUPPHANJALI: *Pp. 64. Double Crown 1/16. Paper bound. Price Annas Eight.*

Translated and edited by G. P. Rajaratnam, M.A., and published by Sakya Sahitya Mantapa. P. O. Malleswaram, Bangalore.

Mr. Rajaratnam is a well-known figure in Kannada literary circles. His bout-songs (RATNANA PADAGALU) and books for children were highly appreciated. He is now trying to place the teachings of Lord Buddha before the Kinnada public by translating classical Buddhist literature into Kannada. This work was long overdue and Mr. Rajaratnam deserves the gratitude of Kannada public for his laudable attempt. The first of these two books is divided into four parts, which contain fifteen parables, Eight Jatak Stories, Four Sutras and Ten incidents of Buddha's Life with the three first books of

Milinda's Questions. The translation from the original Pali sources in chaste Kannada in an elegant style is to be appreciated.

Pali Pajja Pupphanjali is a collection of selected Pali verses along with their translation in Kannada verses. It is rather a difficult task to translate poems of one language into poems of another language, but Mr. Rajaratnam with his command of language has come out successful in this task. These two publications are fore-runners of a series on the subject. The printing and get-up is excellent and do credit to the publishers.

SHILA MUKHA (Stone Face) : *By M. V. Seetharamiah, M.A. Pp. 110. Price As. 12. Published by The Bharathi Sahithya Mandir, Avenue Road, Bangalore City.*

The book is a translation of the famous American writer Nathaniel Hawthorne's *Stone Face* and two other stories, written in easy style and simple language.

HUVVINA ASE (The desire for flowers) : *By the same author. Paper bound. Pp. 80. Price As. 12.*

A social drama depicting the woes of virgin widows. The plot is well arranged. The book is interesting and the get-up is good.

A. NARAYANASWAMY AIYER

GUJARATI

TRILOCHAN : *By Kakalbhai Kothari and Gunavantrai Acharya, published by the Saurashtra Karyalaya, Ranpur, Kathiawad. Cloth bound. Pp. 226. Price Re. 1-4-0 (1935).*

The book contains three stories, like the three eyes (Trilochan) of god Shiv. The stories are called Kumari, Anil and Ila. The problem that the joint authors have set themselves to tackle, is the eradication of the old system of marriage and the substitution of companionship between boys and girls in social service : such companionship may or may not eventuate in marriage. American writers and books have made us familiar with the problem, and even there with all her advancement and progress, America has not yet been able to throw off the old shackles; much less is it possible in India and more so in Gujarat and Kathiawad. However in the garb of an interesting story Messrs. Kothari and Acharya have woven a fanciful picture of the life of a lifelong spinster who desires to eschew the world and cannot do it, on an island, inhabited by Backward classes. It is an alluring picture but all the same fanciful.

AME BADHAN : *By Dhansukhlal K. Mehta and Jyotindra H. Dave, M.A., published by Mulshankar Somnath Bhatt, Raopura, Baroda. Cloth bound with pictures. Pp. 389. Price Rs. 2-8 (1935).*

The inhabitants of Surat are said to be the jolliest in the whole of Gujarat, and they are very pleasure loving also. Two such youngmen of Surat have combined their inborn genius for depicting humour, which is always found by those who have the proper "trump" lying concealed in the every day incidents in the life of a Surati. It is rare to find a humorous work jointly written because cooperation is difficult in this direction. So far as is known only one such book has been written before. The "Hasya Mandir" by the late Sir Ramanbhai Nilkanth, (belonging to Surat) and his wife Lady Vidya Gouri Nilkanth. In the present substantial volume of four hundred pages the authors have treated, from first hand knowledge every outstanding event in the life of a "Surat born and bud" child from birth to marriage, with the brush of a humorous caricaturist, who has not failed to notice even the most trifling item in the domestic life of Surat Hindu Society. The Surati's love of kite flying, the barber's daily visit, the tailor's adventures in cutting and sewing, the washerman's duties and a hundred other daily rounds of visit of artisans and others are set down with a faithfulness which only one living in Surat can appreciate. These phases of life are however disappearing slowly but steadily under the pressure of our new life and it was indeed a very happy idea to try to preserve them for the generations to come, in book form. We welcome these "Cameos" from every point of view; the reader would not fail to be amused even if he takes up any chapter out of the twenty-seven at random and reads it. The mode of teaching of the orthodox schoolmaster or the confusion at the time of a Surati's wedding, the search of a proper bride, these are some of the chapters which can be sampled with advantage.

K. M. J.

BOOKS RECEIVED

LAW OF THE CYCLE OF CIVILIZATION : *Enunciated by L. M. Pal, M.D. Hahnemann Publishing Co. Price Re. 1. Pp. 28 and a chart.*

THE ETERNAL TRIANGLE : *By N. Thiagarajan, dramatic assistant Madanapalle College. Pp. 14.*

WORLD PEACE AND HOW TO ESTABLISH IT : *By D. N. Deb, Zindabazar, Sylhet, Assam. Price two annas.*

THOUGHTS ON THE PRESENT WORLD-DISTRESS : *By H. V. Chinmulgund (Rao Bahadur). Published by Mr. A. V. Patwardhan, B.A., at the Aryabhusan Press, 936/3, Bhamburda Peth, Poona 4. Price four annas.*

CHRISTIANITY FROM THE HINDU EYE : *By C. R. Jain. To be had from L. Panna Lal Jain, Bookseller, Bara Dareeba, Delhi. Pp. viii+100.*

PILLARS OF INDIA : *By Sundara Sarma, B.A.(Sc.), Calcutta. 1936.*

EX-KING EDWARD VIII (THE STORY OF HIS LIFE . *Men of Today Series, Book I. By H. R. Aiyer. C. S. Raja & Co., Dandia Bazar, Baroda. Price As. 4. Pp. 48.*

NOTES IN A NUT-SHELL : *By Tanguturi Sriramulu, Halkett's Gardens, Rajahmundry. Published by the author. Price annas eight.*

THE HAND-SYMBOLS IN KATHAKALI

By KUTTIKRISHNA MARAR

I. Subject Matter

Action (abhinaya), the very essence of the Indian pantomime—the harmony of the three elements Nritta (dance) Gita (song) and Vadya (musical accompaniments)—has been divided into four kinds, the Angika (gestural), the Sattvika (emotional), the Vachika (oral), and the Aharya (external). The external, wherein the effect is mainly the result of dress, is borrowed from architecture and painting; in respect of the oral action in which the recitation of prose and verse is an essential element, song and literature play no little part: while the gestural and the emotional are entirely two independent arts.

The representation of the psychic conditions that cause perspiration, tears, trembling, change of voice, change of colour, horripilation, petrifaction and fainting is the action of the emotional kind (Sattvika). The gestural action is more physiological. In fact, gesture holds sway over more than three-fourths the realm of action; and it shall not be wrong even to define action approximately as the representation of things, thoughts and emotions by the art of gesture. Dress, words and emotional representations may then be said to be so many aids to the art of gesture.

II. An Art Arising from the Movement of the Limbs

It is alleged that in the earliest times, before man had learned the use of language for the expression of thoughts, gesture had been the effective substitute. When man took leave of the lower orders of creation and turned to the path of civilisation, the art of gesture, perhaps, was his first achievement. Even now, when the language of civilization has acquired the highest powers of expression, that art still persists and remains intimately associated with the life of man. When talking, man often significantly moves, though only to a slight extent, his eyes, neck, hands, and other parts of the body; and especially so when he is subjected to emotion; nay more, when a man's talk is either bereft of all gestures or accompanied with inappropriate gestures, it is dull and insipid. Gestures betray a most natural relation to man's thoughts and emotions. The arch of a brow, the glance of an eye, the throb of a cheek, a sharp turn of the neck, a shake of the hand—all these, we know, quickly and vividly portray thoughts and emotions far beyond the reach of words.

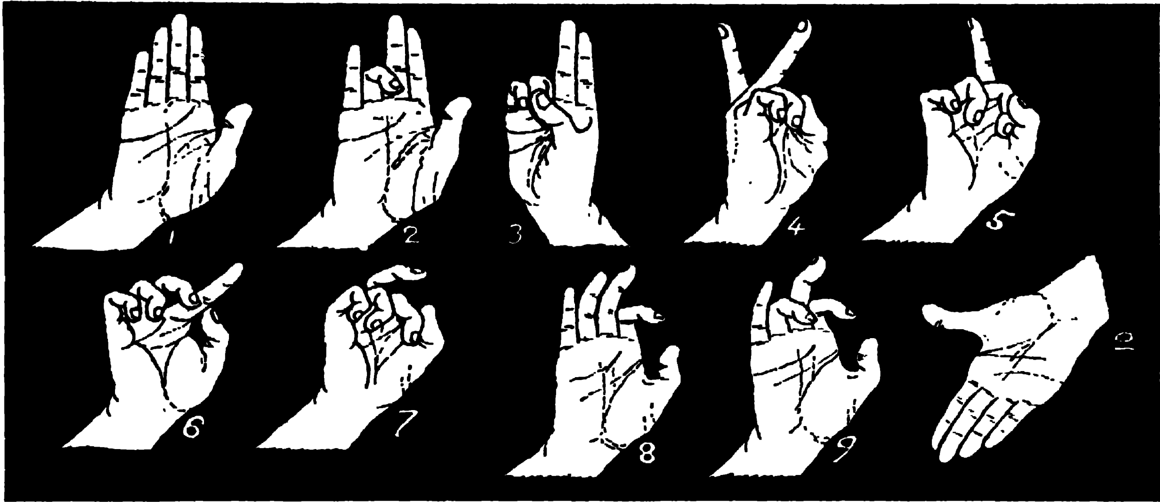
Action originates from gestures in the same way as literature does from language and song from the varying pitches of the human voice. Action, with the help of symbolic gestures of the hand (Mudras), is able to illustrate and illumine as many beautiful thoughts as literature with all its descriptive powers has been able to do. Action with its rhythmic movements of the limbs has struck many a sweet note of harmony in our minds in the same way as song that works with its different notes of varying pitch and frequency.

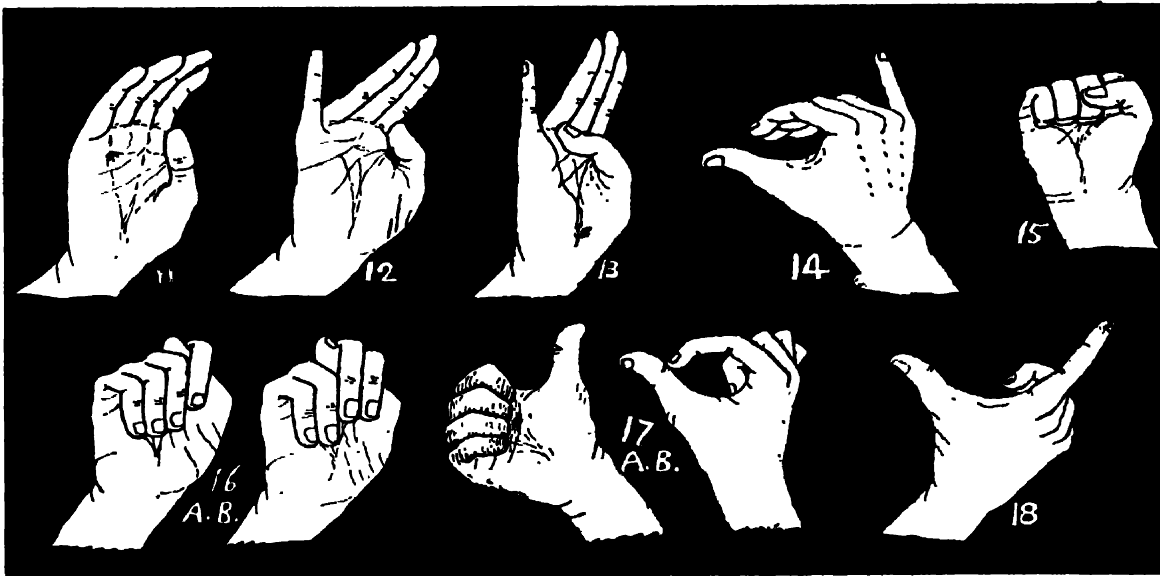
III. India's Art of Action Lives in 'Kathakali'

The art of action in India has long been perfected. Due to the blessings of Nature, Indians could for many centuries lead a life of comparative ease without being much subjected to the severe struggle for existence; in those days they turned their thoughts to the development of arts and philosophy. Even in respect of the single art of action, more than fifty books are known to have been written in Sanskrit; and the inscriptions and engravings such as are found in the caves of Ajanta and in temples like Chidambaram are silent but eloquent commentaries on these works. But today, it is a matter of pride for the people of Kerala that this great art of action persists in its fullness and purity only in 'Kathakali.'

In their attempt to perfect 'Kathakali,' our ancestors were obliged to throw the oral into the background so that the psycho-physiological elements of action might be at their best; thus the element of song along with the musical accompaniments had to be shifted to such a position that they played only a secondary role. It is a matter of common experience that facial expression of emotion is not quite compatible with talking and singing. It is thus that technical knowledge became indispensable for an adequate appreciation of 'Kathakali.'

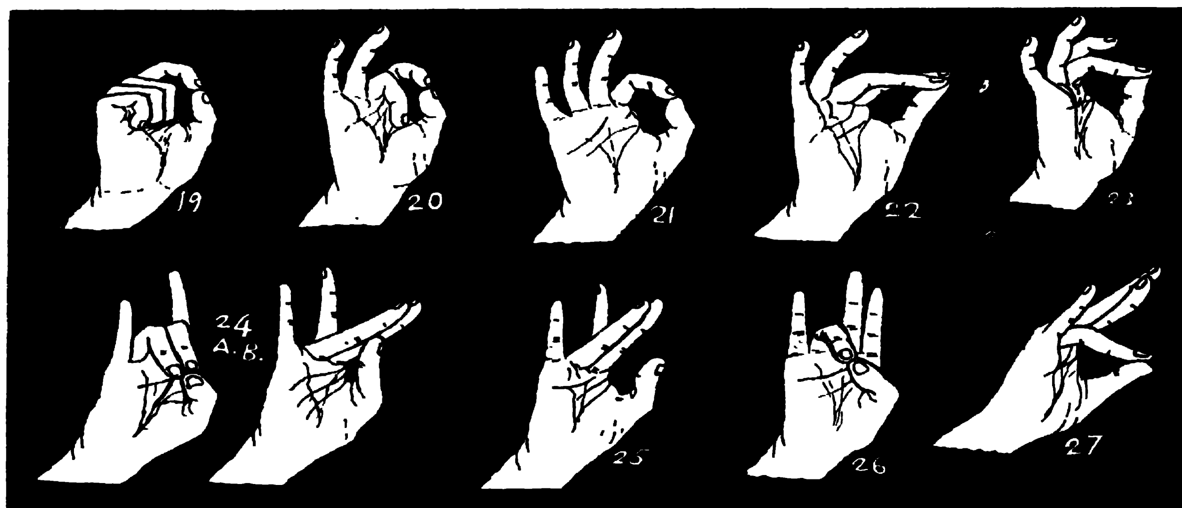
THE HAND-SYMBOLS IN KATHAKALI

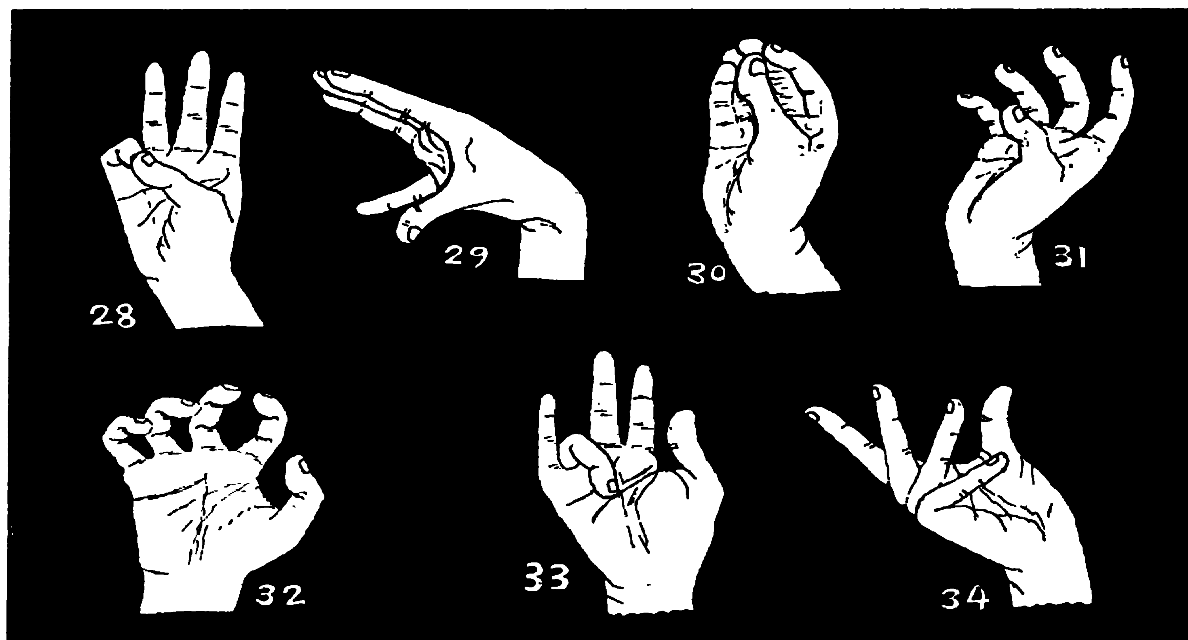




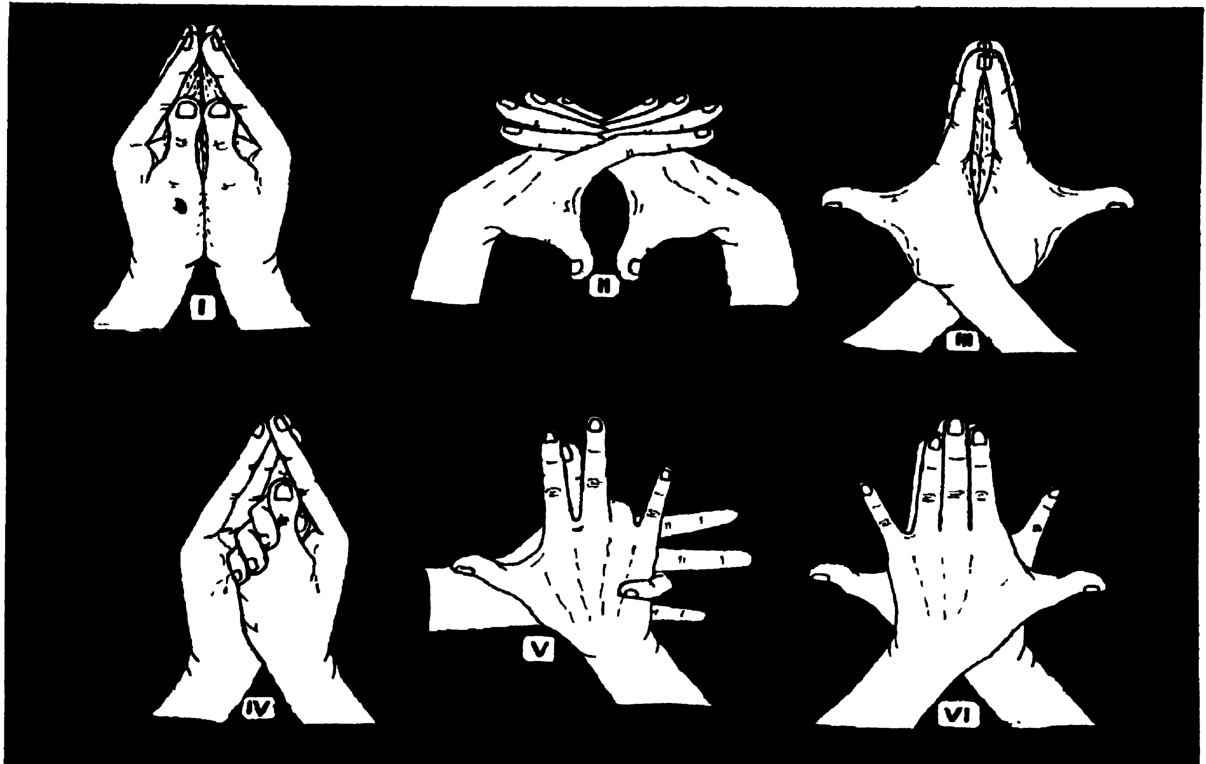
The art of action in India has long been perfected, and this great art lives in its fulness and purity in Kathakali. In this dance, symbolic representation of the hand should be such as to express, with the aid of the eye, the brow and other limbs, all human sentiments.

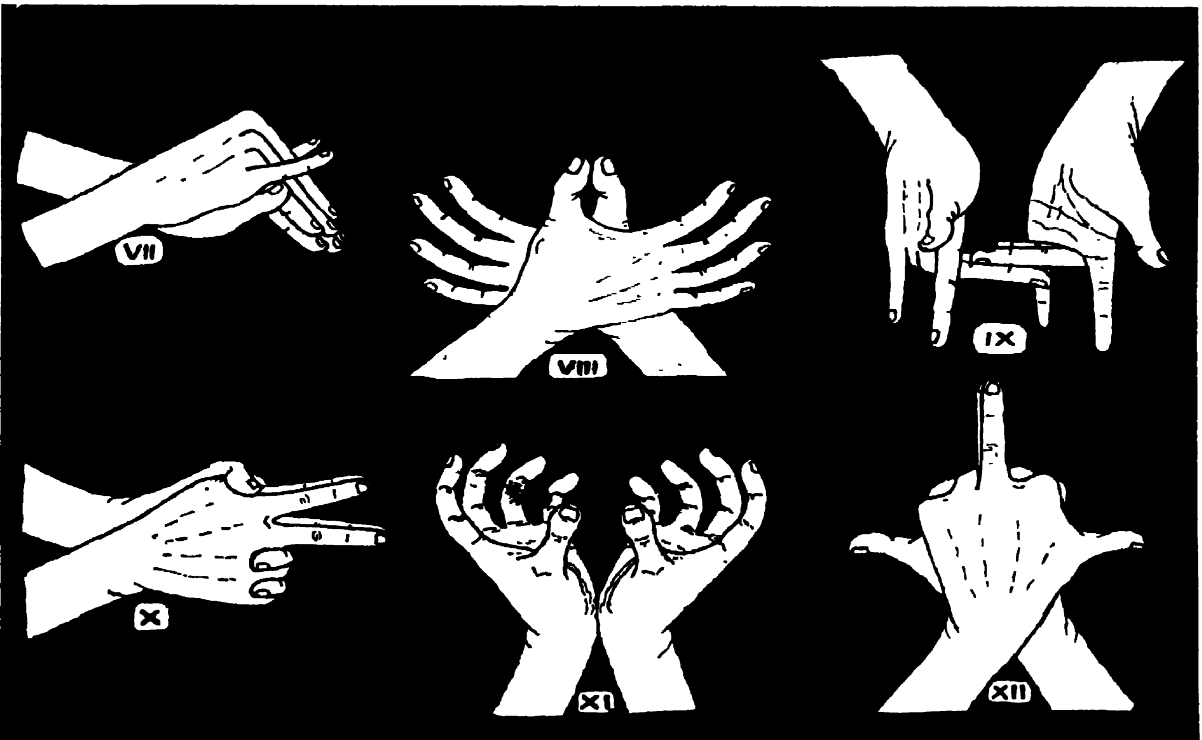
For explanation of the poses, see text.





'Where the hand is, there the eye must go; where the eye goes, the mind must follow...' A living imagery is portrayed in Kathakali by movements of the hands, facial expressions and different poses of dancing.





Combined-hand poses in Kathakali






Chau (Mask) Dance of Seriakella, Singhbhum. Men alone can take part in this dance which depicts episodes from the Ramayana and the Mahabharata

IV. THE BEAUTY OF THE KATHAKALI TECHNIQUE

To appreciate any art in full some degree of technical knowledge is indispensable. Experience shows that, before acquiring a high degree of literary knowledge, it is impossible to properly appreciate any great literary work. And for a proper appreciation of the Indian Dance—Kathakali—the chief technical aid necessary is a knowledge of the symbolic gestures of the hand; and these gestures, beautiful as they are, are never dull or uninteresting to the student.

And this technical part of the art is one that represents even the commonest thing in a most beautiful manner by a proper manipulation of the hand, the palm and the fingers. Let us take one example. The statement "a bee flies away from an open lotus after sucking up the honey" is a most prosaic one that strikes the ear with no sense of beauty; but the same fact when represented by a expert actor becomes a feast for the eyes. The two concave palms of the actor are brought together (Kapota symbol) and gradually raised up—a manipulation that does not fail to remind the spectator of the coming up of a lotus bud. The fingers then are gradually opened backwards just like the petals of the blossoming lotus until the resemblance to the blossom is complete (two padmakosa mudras together). During all these manipulations the eyes of the actor are steadily fixed on the flower symbol and his face manifests a pleasure such as is caused only at the sight of a real lotus. Then he draws off the right hand and manipulates his fingers in a peculiar way (Mukura symbol) moving the palm up and down and sideways and steadfastly fixing his gaze on all these operations with the result that we have the imagery us of a bee approaching on its wings. The right hand under such manipulations is brought and fixed above the left hand that still symbolises the open flower. The action of sucking up the honey is effectively portrayed by an acrobatic movement of the eyes. A few moments more and the bee flies away. In this illustration, though the symbol of the lotus flower is too technical, the apparent resemblance is not at all difficult to detect. The illustrative symbol for the bee is far less convincing; but the movements that approximate to the peculiar flight of the bee easily bring home to our minds the intended resemblance.

Herein is the secret: the words of our language have become either too technical or uninteresting by frequent use: they therefore fail to arouse in our minds the appropriate feelings and emotions. Therefore it is that poets have had recourse to figures of speech. But the actor in representing the objects concerned with his hands manages to evince also the appropriate feelings on his face and connects them through his eyes with the objects represented. Thus because the symbols and the appropriate feelings converge at a common focus, the representation becomes replete with life.

The great masters of gesture say:

'Netra bhroo mukha ragadei rupangai rupabrimhitah
Pratyangaischa karah karya rasabhava pradarsakah'

(Symbolic representation of the hand should be made expressive of sentiments with the aid of feelings conveyed through the eye, the brow and the facial colour and the different limbs of the body).

'Yato hasta statodristi ryato dristi stato manah
Yato mana stato bhavo yato bhava stato rasah'

(Where the hand is there the eye must go; where the eye goes the mind must follow; and the object contemplated by the mind must bring out the natural and appropriate feelings; herein lies the sentiment of action.)

Thus when an actor signifies a mountain, a lion, deer, a serpent, a king or a beautlful maiden he will readily subject himself to a hallucination and we are shown the same feelings as we would experience on seeing these objects in life; the feelings of the actor are naturally reflected in our own minds.

V. THE ORIGIN OF HAND-SYMBOLS

According to students of research symbolic representation by hands (Mudras) owes its origin to the ritual of the Vedic Age (Tantras) in the worship of the Gods. Whatever that may be, the hand symbols of 'Kathakali' have undoubtedly been evolved from the *Natya Sastra* (the science of dancing) which has for a very long time been the proud possession of India. But the Sanskrit book called the *Hastalakshna Deepika* (the light of hand symbols), which finds circulation, perhaps, only in Kerala and pretends to be the sole and the first authority on hand symbols in 'Kathakali,' is very misleading. The twenty-four symbols described therein are in name found in the *Natya Sastra*, but the details of manipulation are often entirely different and contradictory; in other words in the actual manipulation of the hands there is nothing common between the two. And we are led to doubt that the 'Kathakali' symbols might be after all the peculiar possession of the Dravidians or the Malayalees. One of the most undesirable results of such a doubt has been the publication of the chart *Hand-poses in Hindu Art* by the archaeological department of Travancore. The chart contains about 150 poses avowedly accord-

ing to the *Natya Sastra*, the *Hasta Lakshna Deepika*, the *Abhinaya Darpana* and the *Chilappathikara;* but we have to add that one who attempts to study these is far on the high road to madness.

According to Bharata, single handed poses are 24 in number, combined hand 13 and dance poses 28. Of these the dance poses are but beautiful poses of the entire arms at the time of dancing and have no special significance. The other two kinds are significant and attempt as far as possible to approximate to a resemblance of the object symbolised; and in certain places a living imagery is portrayed by movements of the hands, facial expressions and different poses of dancing.

Of these let us examine the poses of the single hand. In the book *Abhinaya Darpana* (the mirror of gestures) however, which is of a far later date than the *Natya Sastra* and in my opinion more South Indian in atmosphere, the single handed poses are 32 and the combined 23. All the poses described in the *Natya Sastra* have been almost literally transcribed, though nine or ten new poses have been added. This clearly proves that in the days of the *Abhinaya Darpana* hand poses had developed and made substantial progress. Of these 32, 29 have been incorporated into the 32 poses in 'Kathakali' which has therefore three adventitious poses. But the *Hasta Lakshna Deepika* describes only 24. Nay more, in the *Natya Sastra* and other similar treatises the symbols have been named after the objects which they at least, remotely, resemble, but in the *Hasta Lakshna Deepika* everything is in confusion (*e.g.,* Kartaree Mukha—Scissor tips, see fig. 4). From all these we are led to conclude that the *Hasta Lakshna Deepika* is a spurious work that has borrowed without discretion and made confusion worse confounded and that it never was, is or will be an authority for 'Kathakali.'

We shall now illustrate these differences with the help of a table. The numbers on the left side and the names in the first column represent the order and names of the symbols described as in the *Natya Sastra* while the numbers on the right side of the same column show their order in the *Abhinaya Darpana*. The second column contains the names and represents the order given in the *Hasta Lakshna Deepika* for the same poses against which they are noted.

1.	Pataka	1	Tripataka	17
2.	Tripataka	2	Pataka	1
.	Ardhapataka	8	Kapitha	7
3.	Kartarimukha	4	Sikhara	9
.	Mayura	5		..
4.	Ardhachandra	6	Hamsapaksha	8
5.	Arala	7	Bhramara	14
6.	Sukatunda	8		..
7.	Mushti	9	Mushti	4
8.	Sikhara	10	Vardhamanaka	20
9.	Kapitha	11		..
10.	Katakamukha	12	Kataka	3
11.	Suchi (mukha)	13	Suchimukha	15
..	Chandrakala	14	Ardhachandra	12
12.	Padmakosa	15	Anjali	11
13.	Sarpasiras	16		19
14.	Mrigasirsha	17		..
..	Simhamukha	18	Mrigasirsha	18
15.	Kangula	19	..	..
16.	Alapallava Alapadmaka	20		..
17.	Chatura	21	Pallava	16
18.	Bhramara	22		..
19.	Hamsasya	..	Hamsasya	10
20.	Hamsapaksha	24	Kartarimukha	5
21.	Sandamsa Hamsasya	23	Mudrakhya	2
				..
..	Sandamsa	25		..
22.	Mukula	26	Mukula	23
23.	Urnanabha	..	Urnanabha	22
24.	Tamrachuda	27	Sukatunda	6
..	Trisula	28		..
..	Vyaghra	29		..
..	Ardhasuchi	30	Arala	21
..	Kataka	31	Mukura?	13
..	Palli	32		..
..		..	Katakamukha	24

The Ardha Suchi pose of the *Abhinaya Darpana* is not correct. The verse describing the Kataka pose has lost some of its letters and it is only a guess of mine when I try to identify it with the Mukura pose of the *Hasta Lakshna Deepika*. Of the poses given in the first column, Sukatunda, Vyaghra and Palli have failed to find affiliation in 'Kathakali.'

The second column shows the misnomers of the *Hasta Lakshna Deepika*. Pallava, Vardhamanaka, Anjali and Mukura are the new names. Of these Pallava may perhaps have been culled from Alapallava of *Natya Sastra*. Vardhamanaka and Anjali are according to Bharata the names of two combined hand symbols. Moreover the name anjali to the symbol of this name in the *Hasta Lakshna Deepika* is entirely unsuited for the word 'anjali' means both hands closed against each other for purposes of salutation.

VI. Single handed poses

It must be understood that the real criterion of most of the symbols is the pose of some of the fingers or the connection between them. The positions of the others may be altered slightly for convenience and beauty. Since the actor has to show many symbols consecutively he does not observe these slight variations. If we do not bear this in mind the small variations found would lead us astray.

The mode of description I adopt here is not of the different books on dancing but a new one easy to describe and simple to understand. The figures are all drawn as they are used in Kathakali. In places where there are variations according to the different texts those differences would be shown within brackets. As for the names of the different symbols they are taken from the *Natya Sastra* and the *Abhinaya Darpana* as they are our authoritative texts.

1. *Pataka=Flag.* (Fig. 1).—If all the fingers are held straight and tight, the thumb being slightly bent the symbol Pataka would result. (Hasta Lakshana Deepika says that the bent thumb should touch the root of the forefinger. But in practice no such rule is observed).

2. *Tripataka=three (fingered) flag.* (Fig. 2).—From this if the ring-finger is bent the resulting symbol is called Tripataka. (Though there is no rule the fingers are slightly parted in actual working.)

3. *Ardha pataka=Half flag.* (Fig. 3).—If the little finger also is bent Ardhapataka would be the result. (Hasta Lakshana Deepika says that the thumb should be placed over the tip of the third finger).

4. *Kartareemukha=Scissor tips.* (Fig. 4).—In this (*i.e.*, Ardha pataka) if the forefinger and the middle finger are outspread, the former backwards, and the latter forwards, it would become Kartareemukha. (According to the Natya Sastra and the Abhinaya Darpana the little finger also should be pulled back and the thumb need not rest on the ring finger).

5. *Suchi Mukha=Needle end.* (Fig. 5).—If the middle finger of the same hand is bent and the thumb placed over it it would be Suchi Mukha. (According to Hasta Lakshana Deepika the thumb is to be placed over both the middle and the ring fingers. Natya Sastra and Abhinaya Darpana insist on the third and the little fingers being partially straight. See Katakamukha fig. 20. Practice also is more or less so).

6. *Ardha Suchi=Half needle.* (Fig. 6).—In Suchi Mukha if the tip of the forefinger is bent slightly and the thumb rests on the middle line of it Ardha Suchi would result. (Hasta Lakshana Deepika says that the other fingers should be bent at the second joints. See Kapitha fig. 19).

7. *Tamrachuda=cock.* (Fig. 7).—If the forefinger of the Suchi Mukha is bent at the tip we get Tamrachuda. (According to Natya Sastra the thumb should touch the middle finger and the ring and little fingers should be bent and placed in the palm. The three fingers from the middle one should touch the thumb; says the Abhinaya Darpana. See Mukula fig. 30. In Hasta Lakshana Deepika it is said that the thumb should be placed over the ring finger).

8. *Arala=Bent.* (Fig. 8).—Holding the forefinger in the same pose if all the other fingers are held straight, *i.e.*, if the forefinger tip is bent in Pataka (fig. 1) the new symbol would be Arala. (Natya Sastra says that the other three fingers should be slightly parted from each other and bent to a small extent at the tips. In practice both are seen).

9. *Sukatunda=Parrot's beak.* (Fig. 9).—If the ring finger also is bent the result would be Sukatunda symbol. (Not seen in use).

10. *Ardhachandra=Half-moon.* (Fig. 10).—In Pataka (fig. 1) if the thumb is stretched out it would become Ardhachandra. (According to Natya Sastra all the fingers are to be bent, as a whole, slightly).

11. *Sarpasiras=Serpent's head.* (Fig. 11).—If Pataka (fig. 1) as a whole is bent forward slightly *i.e.*, if the palm is hollowed, the resulting symbol is Sarpasiras. (According to Natya Sastra the thumb is to be placed close to the forefinger. Though this name is seen in Hasta Lakshana Deepika no definition is to be found).

12. *Hamsa Paksha=Swan's wing.* (Fig. 12).—In Sarpasiras if the three fingers from the forefinger are bent a little more and the little finger pulled straight we get the symbol Hamsa Paksha.

13. *Chatura=?* (Fig. 13).—In this if the thumb is applied to the root of the ring-finger Chatura would result. (Three are different opinions as to whether the thumb should touch the root of the middle finger, or the middle line of it. According to Hasta Lakshana Deepika the middle finger need not bend).

14. *Mrigasirsha=Animal-head.* (Fig. 14).—'Chatura' with its thumb pulled straight and the bent fingers, *i.e.*, the first three fingers, bent again downwards, will constitute Mrigasirsha. (In Abhinaya Darpana the fingers need not be bent downwards. It is enough if the thumb and the little finger are pulled straight).

15. *Mushti=fist.* (Fig. 15).—If all the fingers are bent completely and placed in the palm and the thumb is placed over these *i.e.*, if we form a fist, the symbol thus formed is 'Mushti.' (According to Hasta Lakshana Deepika the thumb is to be placed by the side of the forefinger).

16. *K a t a k a m u k h a—Dridhamushti=Hard-fist.* (Fig. 16A and B).—In this, instead of the thumb being over the fingers, if it is forced in through the first and second fingers 'Katakamukha' symbol is got. (This is the 'Katakamukha' of Hasta Lakshana Deepika. But all the objects to be symbolized according to Hasta Lakshana Deepika by these two symbols, the 'Mushti' and the 'Katakamukha,' are represented in Kathakali, by the same Mudra with the thumb forced through the second and third fingers. And since the name 'Katakamukha' is given to another pose we shall call these poses (*viz.*, fig. 16A and fig. 16B) by a common name 'Dridha Mushti').

17. *Sikhara=peak.* 17B. *Vardhamanaka =growing.* (Fig. 17A and 17B).—If the thumb is erected in Mushti (fig. 15) it would become 'Sikhara'. In its place in Hasta Lakshana Deepika there is no symbol described. But the symbol 'Vardhamanaka' described as the hand in which the forefinger touches the middle of the thumb and the other fingers partly bent may be a modified form of the 'Sikhara.' Both are used).

18. *Chandrakala=digit of the moon.* (Fig. 18).—From 'Sikhara' if the forefinger also is opened, but not to the extent as in 'Suchi Mukha' 'Chandrakala' is formed. (The other three fingers would be slightly bent at the second joints).

19. *Kapitha=Elephant apple.* (Fig 19). —In this if the tips of the forefinger and the thumb meet, the resulting mudra is 'Kapitha.' (All the other fingers, are firmly closed as in 'Mushti.') If the forefinger from this is outstretched 'Ardha Suchi' would result : thus says Abhinaya Darpana. The 'Vardhamanaka' of Kathakali may be a modification of this 'Kapitha.'

20. *Katakamukha.* (Fig. 20).—If from this the ring finger and the little finger are opened and held half bent we get 'Katakamukha.' (The definition in Abhinaya Darpana is not clear. See 'Kangula fig. 33. Natya Sastra and Abhinaya Darpana say that this with the forefinger erect would be 'Suchi Mukha' Fig. 5).

21. *Sandamsa=Bite.* (Fig. 21).—If in 'Katakamukha' the middle finger also is held as the third and the fourth fingers the result would be 'Sandamsa.' (In Abhinaya Darpana this is the symbol 'Hamsasya.' For the 'Sandamsa' of it see definition of 'Padmakosa' fig. 31).

22. *Hamsasya=Swan-beak.* (Fig. 22).—In this 'Sandamsa' if the middle finger also touches the thumb 'Hamsasya' would be formed. (Natya Sastra and Hasta Lakshana Deepika say that it should be shown, the thumb rubbing against the other two fingers. Abhinaya Darpana does not say this).

23. *Bhramara=bee.* (Fig. 23).—If from this the forefinger is withdrawn and held the tip being bent, the consequent mudra is called 'Bhramara.' (It is not seen in Hasta Lakshana Deepika and its use also is scarce).

24. *Simhamukha=Lion's head. Harinasirsha=Deer's head.* (Fig. 24A and 24B).—If the middle and the ring-fingers are applied to the tip of the thumb and the other two fingers held straight we obtain the 'Simhamukha' mudra; in this if the thumb touches the middle of the two bent fingers we get 'Mrigasirsha' of Hasta Lakshana Deepika. (The Simhamukha is not used in Kathakali. Let us name this Mrigasirsha as 'Harinasirsha' to distinguish it from the Mrigasirsha of Natya Sastra. fig. 14).

25. *Mukura=Mirror.* (Fig. 25).—In this if the thumb and the two fingers, the middle and the ring finger are held as if they are about to touch the former, 'Mukura' results. (Hasta Lakshana Deepika).

26. *Mayura=Peacock.* (Fig. 26).—If the middle finger is erected from 'Simhamukha' (fig. 24A) the symbol 'Mayura' is got. (This is not seen in Hasta Lakshana Deepika; and use also is rare).

27. *Palli=House Lizard.* (Fig. 27).—In this if the middle finger is placed at the back of the fore-finger 'Palli' would result. (Not used in Kathakali).

28. *Trisula=Trident.* (Fig. 28).—The symbol, in which the little finger and the thumb touch each other and the other three fingers are held straight and apart from one another, is 'Trisula.'

29. *Vyaghra=Tiger.* (Fig. 29).—If the thumb and the little finger are brought near and the other two fingers are held leaning above them we get the mudra 'Vyaghra' (not used in Kathakali)

30. *Mukula=bud.* (Fig. 30).—If the tips of all the fingers meet, 'Mukula' is the result. (Abhinaya Darpana says that 'Tamrachuda' will be formed if the forefinger is taken out from this and held with its tip bent).

31. *Padmakosa=lotus-bud.* (Fig. 31).—If the Mukula hand is opened slightly we get 'Padmakosa.' (This is the Anjali of Hasta Lakshana Deepika. According to Abhinaya Darpana 'Sandamsa' fig. 21 is the opening and closing of the 'Padmakosa' again and again in rapid succession).

32. *Urnanabha=Spider.* (Fig. 32).—In this if the fingers are pulled more to the back and bent at the second joints *i.e.*, if formed like the legs of a spider, the mudra formed would be 'Urnanabha.' (Both Natya Sastra and Hasta Lakshana Deepika agree in saying that a tiger is represented by this symbol. But then, Hasta Lakshana Deepika says again that a blossomed lotus should be represented with this. Natya Sastra is of the opinion that the 'Padmakosa' symbol should be used).

33. *Kangula=Picking up Ragi grains.* (Fig. 33).—From 'Padmakosa' (fig. 31) if the ring finger is bent to the palm 'Kangula' would result. (If we look at the definition of 'Katakamukha' fig. 20 of Abhinaya Darpana it would seem that this 'Kangula' with its little finger also bent constitutes it).

34. *Alapallava=moving tender-leaf.* (Fig. 34).—If the fingers from the second one are bent nearer and nearer to the palm 'Alapallava' symbol would result.

VII. Combined-hand Symbols

In an article like this which attempts to gather the historical details about the root symbols in Kathakali, it is not possible to deal with these combined-hand symbols at any great length. They are all devices to represent different objects, by peculiar combinations of the hands. The ten or twelve symbols in addition to those described in the *Natya Sastra* found in the *Abhinaya Darpana,* more or less resemble the objects represented and are used in Kathakali. Without trying to bore the reader with an elaborate description of each, we annex here some of their diagrams. Let them speak for themselves.

Fig. I Kapota—Dove Used to show lotus bud, worship etc. If the hands be in the reverse order and point downwards 'a boar' is denoted.	Fig. II Karkataka—Crab Denotes 'skin' &c.	Fig. III Swastika Symbolizes 'shark'
Fig. IV Sankha—Conch	Fig. V Chakra—Wheel (One of the weapons of Lord Vishnu)	Fig. VI Matsya—Fish In 'Kathakali' the little fingers are not held straight and the thumbs move.
Fig. VII Varaha—Boar This is different in 'Kathakali'. (See fig. I)	Fig. VIII Garuda—The king of eagles. Not used in Kathakali.	Fig. IX Khatva—cot Not used in kathakali.
Fig. X Hamsa—Swan Garuda also is denoted by this in Kathakali. If the opened fingers in this are closed and the others opened in the same manner as in this then a 'peacock' is denoted	Fig. XI Lotous flower	Fig. XII Tortoise.

Out of these the first nine are described in the *Abhinaya Darpana.* The rest are used in 'Kathakali.,

For a proper understanding of these the *Hasta Lakshana Deepika* does not at all help us. In this also, a class of gestures known by the name combined-hand symbols are to be seen. But they are to be shown by both hands separately at the same time and not by any combination of the hands. Moreover they are over 300 in number.

More than 500 words can be represented by the single-hand poses described above and by the combined-hand poses. (Only a few are shown in the diagram). Let us take an example. The symbol Sandamsa (fig. 21) on the right hand held against the chest with the palm facing down and the fingers moving in different ways connote mind, knowledge, doubt, thought, wish and joy. (Both hands should be used for this).

All these can only be learned from a teacher; it is difficult to understand these poses from an article like this. And even if understood, only patient study and persistent practice would enable one to make a beautiful display of them. Moreover, in Kathakali each symbol is attended by a dance; the limbs also should move in a regular, systematic and rhythmic manner. In short, each word in 'Kathakali' is a short dance.

(Translated from Malayalam by K. P. Narayana Pisharoti, B.SC.)

AT THE BIRTH OF NEW NATIONALIST POLITICS

By BEPIN CHANDRA PAL

[A Chapter from his unpublished work on the Life and Times of Ananda Mohan Bose]

THE psychology of British imperial policy in regard to India may be well said to have been marked from the very beginning of British rule in this country by two things, namely, Repression and Conciliation, which alternately followed each other. The repressive measures of the Administration of Lord Elgin (1894-1898) were expected therefore to be materially modified, if not openly reversed, by Lord Curzon, who succeeded him in the Viceroyalty. Ananda Mohan made indeed pointed references to this hope in his address from the Presidential chair of the Congress. . . . . . .

> "To Lord Curzon will fall the honour of carrying for the first time British administration of a united India to a New Century. May that century open in sunshine and brightness and hope free from the shadows which linger over the land not only from the calamities of nature but also from the weaknesses of man."

Ananda Mohan added that

> "all India, irrespective of creed or nationality, ventures earnestly to hope that his lordship will direct his great capacity and his great energy to initiating an era of domestic reform, of educational progress and industrial development and leave a contented, prosperous and progressive India with its countless millions as the best bulwark and the strongest defence, yea, as an *invulnerable* barrier against any foreign foe who may be misguided enough to assail India's peace or threated India's frontier."

These hopes were not realised. On the contrary, almost from the very commencement of his administration Lord Curzon initiated a policy which was, instead of being progressive, distinctly retrograde from the stand-point of Indian politicians. Lord Curzon came out to India, credit may be given to him for this, with a clear grasp of the problem before him. That problem was to tighten the links that bound this great dependency to the British Empire. Educated and politically-minded India had already become openly restive at the domination of an irresponsible permanent official class, imported from another country, representative of the political and economic interests of another nation and responsible to the Cabinet and Parliament of that nation. Almost for a century past, India had been striving through her educated and accredited spokesmen to work up a permanent reconciliation between the interests of her children and those of the stranger within her gate who had secured possession of the machinery of her government and administration. In the earlier years English educated Indians, bound to their foreign political masters by the strongest ties of intellectual sympathy and moral admiration, devoutly desired the continuation of England's connection with their country. They had imbibed the soul-stirring inspiration of a new freedom from their study of English literature and modern European history. They recognised the spirit of the British administration established over them as dominated by the Spirit of Law to which both the rulers and the ruled were equally subject, as distinguished from the spirit of Personal Rule that characterised the administration of the Mahomedan rulers of this country. They had lost touch with the ideals and actualities of the pre-Moslem polity and government of their country. All that they knew was that the British had given them a settled government in place of the almost universal anarchy which followed the decadence of the Mogul Power; that they had established absolute equality between the rich and the poor, the learned and the ignorant, the holy Brahmin and the untouchable Pariah, in the eye of the law and administration of the country. People's person, property and honour were made safe by the new Government. All this had created a strong partiality for this Government in the minds of the educated intelligentsia of the continent. The new spirit of freedom that was awakened by the new schools and colleges recognised in the continuance of the British Power its greatest guarantee of permanence and further progress. This was the solid foundation of the new loyalty to the British Power that characterised both the masses and the classes alike in the middle of the last Christian century in India.

This was the politico-moral atmosphere in which Ananda Mohan was born. This was the character of even the enlightened self-interest and intelligent loyalty that found such exuberant expression even from the platform of the Indian National Congress when it was first started. The Congress criticised no doubt the policy and

action of the Government sometimes in very severe terms, but it was the criticism of a friend anxious to save and not of an enemy out to destroy. The protests of the Congress, clothed in the language of prayer, however, helped to create a new political consciousness and breathed a new political courage in the people. The condemnation of the policy of the suzerain Power that might otherwise be punished as sedition was or had to be tolerated when incorporated in petitions and memorials to Government itself praying for reform and relief. The relief did not come from them as quickly as people wanted. The petitions and prayers by their failure to receive favourable consideration at the hands of the authorities left behind them the sting of official oppression and tyranny in the public mind. The very spirit of loyalty of the Congress and our earlier political agitations, treated with utter indifference, if not open contempt by those responsible for the government and administration of this great dependency, in its reaction upon the public mind provoked deep and widespread discontent. People commenced to lose faith in the bona fides of British policy and the beneficence of British rule. In the earlier years of the Congress the politically-minded Indian believed in the sincerity of the solemn assurances of the British sovereign and responsible ministers of the Crown.

The Queen's Proclamation of 1858 had for nearly half a century been recognised by advanced Indian politicians as the Magna Charta of Indian liberties. One of the first acts of Lord Curzon was to practically repudiate that Proclamation by trying to explain it away. Though not directly responsible for mangling the Calcutta Corporation which had become by the preponderance of the representatives of the Indian rate-payers in its direction and control an eye-sore to the British officials and merchants, the new Calcutta Municipal Act which executed the mischievous policy of his predecessor was passed by Lord Curzon. Like the Calcutta Municipality, the Calcutta University also had become an eye-sore to the British Bureaucracy in India. Like the Corporation the University also had more or less passed into the control of the Indian Fellows. Lord Curzon on the pretence, as people believed, of reforming the University practically by a new Universities Act officialised it, reducing it from an autonomous corporation into a subordinate department of the British-dominated Educational Service. His Excellency's utterances both in the legislature and from the chair of the Chancellor of the University wounded the deepest sensibilities of an awakened people. His condemnation of Indian culture, his ignorant interpretation of the ethics of the Mahabharata and the Ramayana, all these laid the train which was ultimately fired by the most ill-fated of all his measures, the administrative partition of the old province of Bengal. This was the last straw on the camel's back. It was the last challenge to the newly quickened self-respect of the people, and the result was the birth of a new spirit of nationalism which, born first in Bengal, soon captured the mind, the soul and the imagination of the entire Indian people. This new naitonalism proclaimed a new political gospel. It brought into being a new political criticism which condemned or more correctly ridiculed the methods of prayers and petitions and protests of the old Congress as "political mendicancy." Indian politics had been hitherto wanting in both self-respect and self-confidence. It had been building up all its hopes of the future upon the cruel actualities of India's relations with the suzerain Power, which ruled her political and economic destinies. Lord Curzon did this great good to the Indian people, namely, he brought out into the open the inwardness of British imperialist policy in regard to India. He publicly confessed to what had always been secretly recognised and worked out, namely, the almost organic relation in which the British administration in this country stood to British exploitation of India's raw materials and unprotected markets. He brought out the fundamental conflict of interests between India and the British Empire. And the result of it all was the birth of a New Nationalism which has been the Regulative Idea in our current political evolution from 1905.

The partition of Bengal made the Bengalee 'worm' turn. Bengal prayed, petitioned, argued and almost went down on its knees to prevent this hurt to her national being and solidarity. But Lord Curzon paid no heed to it. He rode roughshod over the tenderest sentiments of the Bengalee people, which had already become sore by the destruction of the autonomy of the Calcutta Corporation and the Calcutta University, by the partition of Bengal. And Bengal that had hitherto stood loyally by her British masters, that had, in fact, saved India to the British during the dark days of the Mutiny, at this outrage turned away from them in righteous indignation.

Lord Curzon had ridiculed the resolutions of the Indian National Congress as mere gas. They

were like the explosion of soda water bottles. Bengal now resolved almost as one man to prove to her self-complacent masters that she could make other resolutions also. The resolutions of the Congress had hitherto been an appeal to the Government. The resolutions of the New Nationalism that came into being through the travails of the partition of Bengal, were of another category. They were appeals not to the Government for crumbs of bureaucratic favour, but to the people themselves to stand upon their own rights and by the might of their own determination to bring a haughty political Power down on its knees. And among the older leaders of Indian politics, Ananda Mohan, who had not lost his inner youth, was perhaps more than any other in complete accord with this new national spirit. Ananda Mohan was not spared to us to lead this new nationalism to its divinely appointed fulfilment. Ananda Mohan was the first among the older leaders of Indian politics who called for a reconsideration of the older methods and the initiation of a new national policy. In the autumn of 1905 he was seriously ill, an illness that a year later took him away. And from his death-bed, as we now know it, he wrote three letters anonymously to the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* in which he warned his people against relying upon the good graces of British politicians for working out the salvation of India. On the 7th of August, 1905, Ananda Mohan wrote :

"Let those amongst us who wish to do so, proceed with agitation in England against the already decided question of the partition of Bengal, though I for one, I may be mistaken, do not believe that any good will result from it in the existing state of affairs. The Conservatives are past praying for, and the Liberals, when come hereafter into power, after the turmoil of a general election, which will swallow up everything else, will plead the logic of 'accomplished fact,' over an administrative question like this as they have done before."

And he added :

"Let us resolve, as far as may be done, by every means in our power to avoid all English goods and to use those of Indian manufacture instead. Efforts should be made at the same time to make it possible to use Indian goods, by introducing manufactures and industries in our country. It ought perhaps to be noted that the object is not to injure Manchester or any English manufacturers. Let their trade extend and expand, and they grant us national liberty as they granted physical liberty to slaves at one time. All that we aim at is to give resolute and earnest vent to our patriotic feelings, further our indigenous industries, and draw the attention of English people to our sad grievances, a sentiment with which all true Englishmen will sympathise . . .

We must drive all feelings of despair from our heart and instead be manly, patriotic, brave and God-inspired. If we are *men,* then from our present adversity shall issue measureless prosperity and joy. Let us remember that from the dark and threatening clouds descends the life-giving showers, that in the muddy 'parted' earth is planted the blessed seed which sustains our life. Let us thank God that in the midst of our lethargy and spiritless life, He has sent us this source of energy and manly effort."

The 7th of August was an epoch-making date in the history of modern Bengal. On that day a great demonstration was held in the Town Hall of Calcutta over which Maharaja Manindra Chandra Nandy presided, which proclaimed a boycott of British goods as a retaliatory measure for the outrage of the Bengal partition. On the 9th of August Ananda Mohan wrote a second letter in which he said :

"Now that the great meeting has been so successfully held, and so many speeches delivered, let us come to our true work—earnest and resolute *action* in the place of oration however eloquent.

"That Bengalees can speak has been shown on a hundred platforms. Let them now show that they can *act.*"

Ananda Mohan's third letter to the 'Patrika' was written after the official announcement of the partition had been made. In this he wrote :

"The blow has been struck, and my humble and most earnest and strenuous appeal to my countrymen is not to be discouraged, not to lose heart in any degree. Nay, let them rather rejoice at this division of the province by the Government, and continue with redoubted vigour their agitation of the last three or four weeks. Lord Curzon has done us indeed a signal service and enabled us to lay the priceless foundation of a new national life, if we are only true to ourselves and carry on the work which we have begun. During these weeks we have read in the papers reports of meetings full of grim determination, of immense and unprecedented enthusiasm, of fiery and burning eloquence. The time has fully come when we must translate all this into action, and God helping, so translate *we shall.* Take this vow and resolve, my friends. If the bolt has fallen on us, let us not forget that the grace, grandeur and beauty of the Lord is as manifest in the thunder as it is in the gentle dew."

In view of the police prosecutions of persons engaged in the agitation, which became very common about this time, he suggested that committees of pleaders and barristers should be formed everywhere to defend, without fees, all who might be implicated in law-suits arising out of the partition. Above all, he advised the people to devote their energy primarily to the development of the industrial resources of the country.

"Business,—industrial, manufacturing, and otherwise, —and not Government service, from which we are in fact being driven away day by day, must be our hope in future. Let us remember that it cannot be by foreigners, but by ourselves, that our true salvation must be wrought."

There was a new spirit in Bengal. It was the spirit of a new self-assertion in opposition to the action of the Government. Lord Curzon had by a proclamation of his severed the ancient unity of the Bengalee-speaking people. He had

tried to destroy the new political power of Bengal by dividing the province into two halves. The Eastern province was designed to be a predominantly Mahomedan province, so that the more pliable Moslem populations of Bengal might be cearly cut off from the quiescent Hindu populations who dominated Calcutta and Western Bengal. The leaders proposed to issue a counter proclamation in the name of the Bengalee people. And Ananda Mohan was brought up from his sick bed to officiate as the high priest of this sacred function, the function, namely, of the birth ceremony of the new Bengalee people and the new Indian nation. The people's Proclamation was signed by Ananda Mohan. The terms of it had been settled after serious consideration by the leaders and were as follows :

"Whereas the Government has thought fit to effectuate the Partition of Bengal, in spite of the universal protest of the Bengalee nation, we hereby pledge and proclaim that we as a people shall do everything in our power to counteract the evil effects of the dismemberment of our province, and to maintain the integrity of our race."

Ananda Mohan was then confined to his bed. His life was hanging literally by a thread. And though (as his biographer puts it) any address from him was out of the question, yet his mere presence would be, it was felt, a stimulus and an inspiration greater than the most eloquent speech could be. The situation was critical. It was felt that the new epoch into which Bengal and all-India was entering would be an epoch, not merely of political activities, but of all round national activities, in which politics should certainly have a legitimate place but they would have to be sanctified by the spirit of the true religion. And there was no man living amongst us then with an assured position in the leadership of the nation which his occupation of the presidential chair of the Congress had given him who could preside over the laying of the foundation stone of the Federation Hall, which was meant to be a monument to the Unity of the Bengalee people except Ananda Mohan. Considerations of personal health and domestic anxieties and even the natural hesitations of medical attendants were overcome by the call of duty to God and Motherland. Ananda Mohan was carried in a chair from his sick bed. His medical advisers walked on each side of him, and remained with him throughout the proceedings, feeling his pulse from time to time. Ananda Mohan accepted this duty as a religious sacrament. He went to the grounds bare-footed, fasting and in pure Bengalee dress. In spite of his weak health, he spoke a few words in Bengalee. He had dictated from his bed a short speech in English which was read out to the assembled multitude estimated at half a lakh by Surendra Nath Banerjea. To him the function of that day was "the birth of a nation."

"I come amongst you as one almost risen from the dead to see this moment of a national upheaval and of national awakening. Drawn from my sick bed where I have been secluded from the world by serious illness, for nearly a year, allow me to express my grateful thanks to you for the great and signal privilege you have conferred on me by associating me with yourselves on this great and historic occasion which will live in the annals of Bengal and mark an epoch in its history."

This was Ananda Mohan's last public appearance. This remarkable speech of his was as Surendra Nath characterised it, Ananda Mohan's "Swan-song." The months that followed this memorable meeting were characterised by official repression. First came what is known as the Carlyle Circular, by which the Government wanted to restrain the students of our schools and colleges from associating with these national activities. Ananda Mohan was forbidden by his medical attendants to see anyone except his own family at this time. And from the seclusion of his sick bed he sent what in the providence of God became his last message to me. Referring to the Carlyle Circular he sent words to me asking me to announce to the public that our reply to this Circular must be

DEFIANCE.



INDIAN WOMANHOOD



Members of the Indian Delegation to the Seventh Session of the World Educational Conference to be held in Japan in August next



Srimati Hemaprova Mazumdar
Member, Bengal Legislative Assembly



A portrait sculpture of
the Maharajah of Jeypore, Orissa.
Pro-Chancellor, Andhra University.



BIRTHDAY

By RABINDRANATH TAGORE

Entangled in the meshes woven by countless gazing eyes,
he is drawn into a whirl of noise,
the man of fame.
Alas, he has lost his rank among those
who are privileged to remain unaware of the date of their birth,
whose recognition in the world is slight,
even as the leaves are that lightly swing on the branches
and drop on the dust unnoticed.
He lives in his solitary cell among the crowd
with a chain of honour ever jangling round his limbs.
Take pity and free him
in the world of cool light, green shade and sweet reticence,
in the unbounded dust,—
the primeval playground of the eternal child.

When the ferry boat from the dark
brought him to the landing on the shore of fresh knowledge,
he had nothing to cover him from the light
that touched his nakedness
as it touches the sail unfurled in the air.
In the simple freedom of that morning
flowers without name bloomed in the grass,
and the spring hour spread its golden wings
in an immensity of leisure.
In that holiday's solitude
his name received its infinite worth from a sweet voice
whose far-away music makes him wistful
in the languorous afternoon of March
and whose date is lettered today
in this glistening quiver of *ashath* leaves.
He had his poet's welcome from the river Padma
and the morning star through the intervals of bamboo leaves
on her bank.

The quantity of known peat in the United States exclusive of Alaska, calculated as air-dried peat, is estimated at 13,827 million tons. Seventy five per cent of the deposits occur in Minnesota, Wisconsin and Michigan. America's proved reserves of petroleum on January 1, 1935, amounted to 12.18 billion barrels according to the American Petroleum Institute calculations. They include only petroleum which may be extracted by ordinary current methods of production under prices prevalent on January 1935, and do not include an indeterminate quantity left underground by present productive methods, but recoverable by advanced methods of production such as water drive, under higher prices. The bulk of the reserves are found in Texas (5.5 billion barrels), California (3.5 billion barrels) and Oklahoma (1.2 billion barrels). Her total production of crude oil to the end of 1934 totalled 16.6 billion barrels, approximately 60% of the total world production for the same period. America's crude petroleum production registered a new high record last year with 1,093,492,000 barrels. Apart from the prevailing " law of capture " which results in colossal and almost criminal waste of natural power, there are other clouds in the American oil industry horizon in the form of unhealthy building up of gasoline stocks, redundant drilling in proven fields, labour unrest and above all lack of important new discoveries. Natural gas was first put to industrial use at Pittsburg U. S. A., in 1879 for puddling iron and the country's total production of natural gas till the close of the 1934 amounted to 30.31 trillion cubic feet, while proved reserves at the same time were estimated at 40.00 trillion cubic feet *including 10 trillion cubic feet liable to be wasted, if the law of capture prevails.* Much of the supply of both oil and gas is used in the producing regions as California and South-West where coal is dear.

The United States is the world's largest producer of iron ore, pig iron, tonnage steel as well as special steels. The immensely rich Lake Superior iron ore deposits have already yielded more than 1,600 million tons of ore and have a known reserve of nearly twice that amount. America's iron ore production (exclusive of ore with 5% or more of manganese) totalled 48,618,000 gross tons in 1936, while ore shipped from mines during the same year came to 51,380,000 tons. The Lake Superior district furnished 86% of the iron ore shipments, the Birmingham district mined over 4 million tons and the North-Eastern States another 2 million tons. Her pig iron output totalled 30,618,797 tons and steel ingot production 46,919,362 gross tons last year. The operating rate of the steel industry for the first quarter of 1936 was close to 55% capacity and it moved up to 78% in the last quarter.

The modern world's rapid and many-sided industrial developments, the increasing speed of transport services and the armament boom have all contributed to a marked rise in the demand for alloy steels. And ferro-alloy minerals are of vital importance to America's mammoth steel alloy business. The United States is wholly dependent on foreign sources for her nickel and chrome requirements and relies on other countries to make good her deficiency in high-grade manganese ore and tungsten. Canada and New Caledonia have, between them, a monopoly of nickel production. The World's vanadium market today is virtually in British hands, while African, Canadian and German producers have, since 1935, been controlling the world market for cobalt. Colorado in the United States has the largest known deposit of molybdenite in the world at Climax and was responsible for 90% of the production of molybdenum in 1936. The American Anaconda concern controls the Green Cananea Consolidated Copper Co. of Mexico, the second leading producer of the mineral. Molybdenum is an excellent substitute for tungsten in which America is deficient and knowledge of this fact was put to good use by Germany during the Great War. Much of the *spiegeleisen* of the U. S. A., is made from American zinc ores containing iron and manganese in requisite proportions. Exhaustive experiments conducted by the U. S. Bureau of Mines have shown that manganese can be extracted from low-grades ores carrying only 10-15% of the metal by electrolytic methods. If this process could be made commercially profitable, America can make good use of her immense low-grade domestic manganese ore deposits. The following 1935 figures bring out the great dependence of America on foreign countries for her supply of ferro-alloy minerals :-

Manganse ore		
Domestic production	.. 440	long tons.
Imports for Consumption	.. 383,501	long tons.
Nickel		
Domestic (byproduct from refining copper)	.. 145	metric tons.
Imports (ore, matte, alloys, pigs and bars and oxides)	.. 37,847	metric tons.
Chromite		
Domestic production	.. 440	long tons.
Imports	.. 259,063	long tons.

Wolfram

Domestic production (equivalent to 60 per cent WO_3 ..	2,395 short tons.
Imports (ores and concentrates, metal and compounds) ..	891,876 lb. WO_3 Content).

Vanadium

Ore imports ..	166 long tons.

America has an ample supply of base-metals—copper, lead and zinc, and was responsible last year for 34.43% of the copper, 25.5% of lead and 32.14% of zinc production respectively of the world. The U. S. lacks tin *in toto*, though cadmium, a byproduct recovered from the electrolytic reduction of zinc, is to a strictly limited extent taking the place of tin. America is the leading producer of aluminium in the world and has extensive bauxite deposits. Her reserves of mercury are inadequate to satisfy her domestic demands. She can produce 70% of her mercury needs from American sources if the price of the liquid metal ranges between 100 to 125 per flask. American antimony resources are negligible and the bulk of her imports come from China, though of late Mexico and Bolivia are furnishing her with an increasing proportion of antimony at China's expense. The United States has exceptionally important reserves of copper. Arizona has yielded between 1801 and 1930, 6,271 000 net tons of copper (or 16% of the total copper mined in the world during that period). The copper district of Michigan has produced 8 million tons of metal since 1845. Over 5 million tons of copper has come from the Butte district, Montana. Between 1900 and 1930 (inclusive) the Bingham deposits, Utah, have given America 204 million tons of ore with a copper content of 1.75 million tons and the total amount of disseminated copper in the monzonite rock is reckoned at 800 million tons of ore. The States of Arizona, Utah, Montana and Nevada produced the bulk of American copper last year. W. R. Ingallis estimates that the U. S. consumed in 1936, 725,000 to 750,000 tons of "old" and new copper. Missouri, Idaho, Utah and Oklahoma are the leading lead producing States of America. For several years before the Depression lead from domestic mines was produced and consumed locally at the rate of 750,000 tons per annum. Even though lead production averaged only 27,000 tons a month between years 1931-35 it left increasing stocks behind—a sure indication of the severity of the Depression. American zinc production centres in the Eastern States, Oklahoma, Kansas and Montana and it increased from 431,499 tons in 1935 to 524,270 tons last year. For the 10-year period ending in 1930 the United States produced 37% of world's aluminium metal and 25% of bauxite, and her reserves of bauxite (mostly found in Arkansas, Georgia and Albama) are estimated at 37 million tons. Last year she led the world with a production of 112,460 metric tons of aluminium, the plants at Massena, N. Y. producing 41%, Alcoa, Tenn., 30% and Badin, N. C., and Niagara Falls, N. Y. 29%. America's domestic production of antimony from the Valley County, Idaho, only amounted to 44 tons and hard lead to 1,136 tons, whereas her imports totalled 7,441 tons in 1935.

The United States has, for decades past, been an important producer of gold and silver, the latter for the most part recovered from base metals and the accompanying production figures are of interest.

Production of Gold and Silver in the United States

	1792 -1934	1935	1936	
Gold	231,957,178	3,115,514	3,713,187	(Troy ozs.)
Silver	3,276,583,224	38,322,000	62,150,000	" "

The increased gold price, from $20 to $35 an ounce, has made available large tonnages of ores considered non-commercial six years ago. California, South Dakota, Alaska and Colorado are the leading gold-producing States, while Idaho, Montana, Utah and Arizona are responsible for the bulk of America's silver production.

Barring mica and graphite of desirable grades and qualities, the United States is well-endowed with diverse non-metallic minerals, which are as a rule characterised by bulk and low unit value. American production of fertiliser minerals has staged a gratifying recovery. The annual cash income of the farmer after ranging about 10 billion dollars prior to the Depression dropped to 4 billions in 1932 and exceeded 7 billions in 1935. The income for 1936 is estimated at 8.1 billion dollars and this has given a fillip to the consumption of potash, super-phosphate, phosphate rock and nitrates. The natural brines of Searles Lake, California, and the potash minerals mined in New Mexico since 1931 are the chief sources of American potash. There are three major potash producing companies whose plants have a combined capacity equivalent to 250,000 tons of K_2O under normal operating conditions. European potash producers, however, have a marked freight advantage over domestic manufacturers in those parts of the U. S. which consume over 82% of the fertiliser. American phosphate rock is found

in Florida and Tennessee and while its production amounted to 3 million long tons, exports during 1936 are estimated at 1.3 million long tons. America consumes some 3.5 million short tons of super-phosphate she produces from local sources. The invention of the Frasch process for the extraction of sulphur has made America the leading producer of that element in the world. Texas and Louisiana lead in sulphur production and over 1.1 million long tons were consumed locally in 1934. As regards mica, the market for "punch" and scrap is laregly met by domestic mines, while local deposits contribute less than 5% of its splittings and 15 to 35% of its consumption of sheet mica.

According to the United States Federal Commission's Report, electricity produced in America in 1936 for public use amounted to 113,473 million kwts. Of this stupendous total 72,580 million kwts. were raised from fuel burning stations and 40,893 million kwts. from water power. No wonder, America leads in the production of metallic aluminium, zinc and other metals reduced by electrolytic processes.

Secondary metal production is an exceedingly important sub-branch of the metal industry in the United States. The value of metals reclaimed annually rivals the value of virgin metals won from the underground. This is not surprising, since America is the spiritual home of mass production manufactures and high-pressure salesmanship and the demolition of things (automobiles for example) is more rapid and extensive in the United States than in Europe. Firms of the standing of the American Metal Company, American Smelting & Refining Company, National Lead Company, and Nichols Copper Company are engaged in the recovery of "used" metals. Scrap as a factor in the metal market was ignored until the late 80's when it played a crucial part in the collapse of the Secretan Copper Syndicate. The World War added enormously to the prestige of secondary metals and the American National Association of Waste Material Dealers organized a metals division in 1914 and from then on consumers got used to buying metals (primary or secondary) on specification and the prejudice formerly attached to secondary metals disappeared. During the twenties, the primary producers entered the secondary metal business.

Secondary metals exert a stabilizing influence on market prices. Trends in the growth of secondary production of individual metals vary according to the degree to which the metal is dissipated in use. Thus, the scrap from aluminium is growing fast, while that from zinc has been fairly constant. In a period of contracting consumption the proportionate use of old metals increases and in a period of expanding consumption the reverse is true as the reconditioning of old metals from obsolete materials is more nearly constant than is the rate of consumption in the aggregate. The answer to the question, is the future of "used" metals likely to injure or destroy the business of the virgin metals, is both yes and no. 'Yes' because producing mines cannot compete with the price of the used metal and 'no' in the sense that used metals can never 'come back' in sufficient quantity to meet the needs of the world market. Secondary metals perform the supremely important national service of *conserving* the irreplaceable mineral resources of the country.

While the value of primary or new non-ferrous metals produced in the U. S. *increased less than three-fold* (from $ 200 million to $ 570 million) between 1909 and 1929, that of non-ferrous metals *from scrap increased fourteen-fold* (from $ 24 million to $331 million) during the same period. Secondary metal production accounted for 12% of the primary output in 1909 and 58% in 1929. In the latter year the value of metals recovered in the United States from materials entering the waste trade approximated one billion dollars, while the value of the American metal-mine products fell short of 1½ million dollars. During some of the Depression years the salvage of scrap metals has actually exceeded the output from primary sources. In 1934, secondary metals were valued at $ 127 million, when the primary metals accounted only for $ 107 million.

According to Mr. C. H. Strand of the U. S. Tariff Commission, no less than 256 million tons of scrap iron and steel were consumed by the American iron and steel industry between years 1925-1934. This scrap contained 28% more iron than all the iron ore mined during the same period and the scrap used in steel manufacture alone almost equalled the iron content of the ore raised. The use of scrap at this rate extends the life of the American iron ore reserves by one-half. In 1929, Class I rail-roads collected freight revenues from iron and steel scrap alone of nearly $30 million. Iron and steel scrap valued at the equivalent of pig iron amounted to $ 443 million in that year. Last year, the U. S. iron and steel industry consumed nearly 35.6 million tons of steel scrap. Normally scrap iron and steel account for approximately

half of the total value of secondary metal production. The U. S. Bureau of Mines has calculated that one ton of reclaimed steel scrap takes the place roughly of a little less than two tons of iron ore, from ¾ to 1 ton of coke and ½ a ton of limestone. America's annual utilization of millions of tons of scrap thus displaces from 3 to 4 times as much mineral raw materials which would have gone into the production of an equivalent amount of pig iron. The importance to America of recovery of secondary tin, antimony, nickel and platinum cannot be exaggerated, as she is deficient in all those metals.

The following table brings out the amounts and value of some secondary metals recovered in the United States during 1935, the latest year for which figures are available.

	Short tons.	Value in dollars.
Copper (including that in alloys other than brass)	364,300	60,473,800
Brass scrap retreated	120,800	16,683,600
Lead as metal	156,113	21,632,000
Lead in alloys	113,600	
Zinc as metal	55,400	5,662,800
Zinc in alloys other than brass	8,950	
Tin as metal	9,600	27,498,200
Tin in alloys and chemical compounds	18,300	
Aluminium as metal	23,500	19,018,000
Aluminium in alloy	27,900	
Antimony as metal and in alloys	9,600	2,703,400
Nickel as metal	700	1,365,000
Nickel in non-ferrous alloys and salts	1,250	
Total	910,700	155,036,800

NOTE :—Secondary platinum recovered in the U. S. amounted to 47,107 troy ounces in 1935. Also, substantial amounts of gold and silver are annually recovered as secondary metals.

Although the United States surpasses all other nations in the abundance and variety of its mineral resources, it *lacks a complete supply of all the minerals necessary for modern industry*. This is the natural corollary of nature's unequal distribution of mineral deposits (which is a function of geologic history and processes) and necessitates industrial specialization, reciprocity and large-scale mineral movements between nations. The Mineral Policy Planning Committee in summarizing the U. S. mineral reserve situation added the important rider that factors of price, new industrial demands and technological improvements are likely to up[illegible] most exacting reserve estimates. [illegible] of the United States are sufficient t[illegible] four to five thousand years. Iron ore, alumin[illegible] and molybdenum should last far beyond the period for present concern. Petroleum, lead, silver, gold, copper and zinc, on the other hand, are minerals whose reserve life can be calculated in decades, considering only their present rate of consumption and disregarding economic and technological factors. Of these, oil is likely to last another forty years; lead and silver could conceivably be exhausted in twenty years; while copper and zinc should last somewhat longer than lead and silver. The domestic supply is already deficient as regards manganese ore, chromite, tungsten and mercury, while tin and nickel are virtually non-existent. Manganese, nickel and tungsten are vital to the nation's mammoth steel and alloy industry. In fact, eight mineral commodities (antimony, chromite, manganese, mercury, nickel, platinum, tin and tungsten) present a "strategic" problem to the United States. Without them, she would be industrially sterile and militarily impotent. America could, however, under stress or behind high tariff walls considerably augment her domestic production of chromite, manganese, mercury and tungsten.

Mining in the United States still lags behind general national recovery. It contributed 2.3% of aggregate national income in 1929, the percentage dwindled to 1.2 in 1932 and only crept up to 1.7 in 1935. The industry has made marked recovery last year. There was increase in production as well as consumption of minerals and metals. Prices registered an upward trend and stocks were reduced to normal proportions. More remunerative prices brought back to life many erstwhile abandoned gold, copper, zinc and mercury mines. The advance in consumption goods was led by automobiles, tinplate and pigments and in capital goods by railroads, machine and tool manufactures, and to a lesser extent by building and utility corporations. The domestic steel production was only 12% under the record output of 1929. Import of manganese ore doubled, while those of chromite, nickel and cobalt showed substantial increases. Domestic consumption of copper increased 45% over 1935, lead 20%, zinc 14% and tin 25%. There was a higher output of by-product silver and gold production (inclusive of Philippines) registered a 20% increase over 1935. Consumption of mercury, aluminium, antimony and magnesium

also showed increases. Recovery has, however, been more marked in foreign countries than in the United States, as the following figures of consumption of metals and fuels bring out:

Items.	Year 1929.	Year 1936.	Ratio Years 1936 / 1929.
Pig Iron (millions of gross tons) :			
U. S. A. ..	43	32	0.75
Rest of World ..	54	58	1.07
TOTAL ..	97	90	0.93
Steel (millions of gross tons) :			
U. S. A. ..	56	48	0.86
Rest of World ..	62	76	1.23
TOTAL ..	118	124	1.05
Copper (thousands of short tons) :			
U. S. A. ..	889	627	0.70
Rest of World ..	1,229	1,173	0.95
TOTAL ..	2,118	1,800	0.85
Lead (thousands of short tons) :			
U. S. A. ..	693	360	0.52
Rest of World ..	1,239	1,209	0.98
TOTAL ..	1,932	1,569	0.81
Zinc (thousands of short tons) :			
U. S. A. ..	568	533	0.94
Rest of World ..	1,055	1,087	1.03
TOTAL ..	1,623	1,620	1.00
Coal (millions of short tons) :			
U. S. A. ..	590	467	0.79
Rest of World ..	1,129	1,068	0.95
TOTAL ..	1,719	1,535	0.89
Petroleum (millions of barrels) :			
U. S. A. ..	940	1,078	1.15
Rest of World ..	557	697	1.25
TOTAL ..	1,497	1,775	1.18

NOTE :—The data for the world are production figures but are assumed to be approximately equal to consumption. They refer to new or "virgin" metals except in the case of pig iron and steel.

This is due to a variety of reasons. Industrial activity in the United States during the last decade was relatively greater than abroad. In the interval the more backward countries including the U. S. S. R. have increased their output. Above all, both in Europe and Japan, building, rearmament activities and self-sufficiency campaigns have accelerated metal and fuel production, whereas in the United States the improvement in production is a normal process, assisted no doubt by post-Depression demands. Barring labour lockouts, the barometer is set fair as regards the recovery of American mining and metallurgical industries.

America's mineral policy as formulated and followed by President Roosevelt's administration is worthy of examination, though it only forms part of the major problem of recovery, trade expansion and increasing utilization of raw materials, both within and outside the United States. The phenomenal industrial productive gains of 1923-29 were diverted to the small privileged group in control of finance and industry, who between 1929-1933 abandoned Americans to unemployment and the untold attendant misery it entailed. America was plunged from the pinnacle of prosperity to the almost bottomless trough of depression. The utter absence of anything like a nation-wide system of relief organization for the alleviation of distress and destitution aggravated the malady of the situation. The difficulties of the American mining and metallurgical industries were brought to a crisis by the Great Depression. "Metal mining—a handmaid of the capital goods industries—was prostrated. The oil industry struggled with a glut intensified by the phenomenal east Texas field. Coal mining saw the near collapse of the machinery of collective bargaining and wages in some fields sank to starvation levels. The plight of mine-workers became among the most tragic of any section of the American people." One has to bear in mind this background in judging president Roosevelt's "New Deal" measures. Acting on a suggestion from the Science Advisory Board, the President appointed in April 1934, a Planning Committee for Mineral Policy consisting of professor C. K. Leith and Messrs. J. W. Finch. W. C. Mendenhall, and J. W. Furness under the aegis of the National Resources Board.

The proposals of the Mineral Policy Committee made public in mid-December 1934, are of primary importance in that they put forward the proper and desirable relation that should subsist between the Administration and the mining industry. They aimed at the rehabilitation of the mining industry, its establishment on a sound basis and, most important of all, the conservation of the country's irreplaceable mineral resources. The Committee underlined the fact that minerals are exhaustible and non-reproducible and the closing down of a mine may result in losses greater and far more serious than the shutting up of a factory. Also, the country lacks some minerals in adequate amounts essential for national welfare and possesses an exportable surplus of certain other minerals. The remote geographic location of some of the deposits from consuming centres within the country demand a revision of the railway rates policy. The special hazards attaching to mining as an occupation call for vigorous remedial

measures to combat them. There is imperative need for the elimination of excessive competition with its attendant waste.

Equally important and no less illuminating are the detailed proposals regarding minerals of which America has an exportable surplus and those in which she is deficient. Regarding the former the Administration should facilitate American participation, when desirable, in international cartels. With respect to deficient or "strategic" minerals—those essential to industrial operations but are available only from foreign sources or wholly under foreign control—the Mineral Policy Committee recommended Government encouragement to exploration of such deposits, State-aid to technical researches for making domestic low-garde supplies commercially profitable, development of substitutes, regulation or even prohibition of export of scrap metals, and some degree of stock maintenance.

The reorganized and enlarged U. S. Bureau of Mines is doing extremely valuable work with regard to prompt collection and release of mineral statistics covering the whole world, survey of scrap and secondary metals (and their importance as a factor in curtailed or diminished demand for primary supplies), fundamental fact-finding studies such as the international movement of minerals and short-term forecasting of demand for them from which it is hoped to evolve the national mineral policy and electro-metallurgical studies for producing on a commercial scale manganese, magnesium, chromium and potash from domestic (often low-grade) deposits. The Bureau studied in the first instance, the international movement of minerals at the request of the U. S. War and Navy Departments relating primarily to "strategic" minerals with a view to determining how the United States would maintain its necessary industrial and military supplies in case either the Atlantic or the Pacific were closed to the free movement of shipping. Now, the same subject is being studied on a broader basis—from an industrial rather than a narrow military angle. The aid given by the U. S. to the Cuban manganese mining industry is dictated solely by strategic considerations, for the maintenance of supplies in emergency without attempting to keep open long lines of ocean haul. The Reconstruction Finance Corporation last year loaned $2,842,500 to needy applicants for mining in a small way. This is inclusive of $940,500 authorized prior to 1936. Total repayment of loans to the Corporation as of December 31, 1936, amount to $495,000.

In December 1934 Mr. Baruch (Chairman of the old War Industries Board) recommended Federal purchase of a stock of tin—it may be remarked parenthetically that the U. S. consumed last year 48% of the world production of tin all of which was imported to be held in reserve. A Bill introduced in Congress in February, 1936, which, should it be enacted into law, would authorize the Government to acquire stocks of manganese, chrome, tungsten and pig tin on a barter basis or in payment of foreign war debts or by outright purchase, a measure inspired no doubt by gathering war clouds over Europe. Already America has prepared alternative sources of supply for minerals and metals in which she is deficient, in case either the Atlantic or the Pacific is closed to her shipping, which list, because of its interest, is appended below:

DEFICIENT MINERALS AND ALTERNATIVE SOURCES OF SUPPLY

Commodity.	Principal Source.	Alternate Source.
Bauxite	Surinam	British Guiana.
Chromite	Rhodesia	Greece, New Caledonia, Cuba, Portuguese Africa, Turkey, U. S. S. R.
Manganese ore	Russia	Brazil, India, Gold Coast, Cuba.
Mercury	Spain	Italy.
Mica	India	Canada, Madagascar.
Nickel	Canada	New Caledonia.
Tin	British Malaya	Hongkong, Netherlands, United Kingdom.
Tungsten	China	Bolivia, Burma.
Antimony	China	Mexico, Bolivia, Czechoslovakia, Algeria.

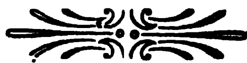
Passing from domestic to foreign and international matters, 1935 marks a milestone in World's history in that the majority of the member countries of the League of Nations attempted a large-scale application of economic sanctions against Italy to prevent aggression and the supreme strategic value of minerals was demonstrated by the major place they occupied on the list of raw materials banned or proposed to be banned, though, as irony would have it petroleum was not included in the schedule for fear of precipitating a greater international conflict than already existed. Though the United States is not a member of the League, it would not go against the finding of more than fifty other nations desirous of disciplining an African aggressor. Steps were taken in

September 1935 for the registration of companies manufacturing arms and munitions with the *Office of Arms and Munitions Control* which is to function in accordance with policies formulated by the Munitions Board comprising the Secretaries of State, Treasury, War, Navy, and Commerce. The Act requires the Board to register and license all manufactures and exports of "arms, munitions and implements of war" before November 30, 1935. Exports may be regulated under orders of the President. In all cases publicity is to be given to production licenses and permits for future arms shipments to foreign countries. Restrictions imposed merely on exports of munitions of war are clearly inadequate, while an extension of the list to include, for example, copper and petroleum could not at present be imposed effectively as too many business interests and far too many people would be adversely affected. The neutrality legislation, which was due to expire on February 1936 has been extended without radical alterations to last until May this year. Only it imposes in addition a limitation on financing or giving of credit for belligerent activities.

In mid-November 1935, Mr. Hull declared, "no permanent world recovery can be counted upon until world trade barriers have been scaled down to reasonable dimensions." Mr. Henry Grady the American economist declared at the Geneva Raw Materials Conference that the United States had already concluded sixteen commercial agreements providing for reciprocal tariff advantages based on the principle of unconditional most-favoured-nation treatment as a result of which more than 500 specific tariffs had been lowered. The American Delegate also mentioned that the preferential treatment meted out by the U. S. to the Philippine products was only provisional and pleaded with Great Britain for the abolition of Empire preference. He remarked very truly that the expansion of international trade and the removal of artificial barriers would do more to contribute to the cause of economic prosperity and political appeasement than any other solution—a sane and practical utterance which one only regrets was not made by Sir Fredrick Leith-Ross.

President Roosevelt passionately believes that in a dynamic world where democratic nations have to live alongside of dictatorial regimes the promotion and preservation of peace calls for a periodic revision of settlements and treaties so as to remove the sense of economic suffocation and injustice felt by genuinely aggrieved powers. By contracting bilateral trade agreements with sixteen different nations so far Roosevelt is making a real contribution to recovery all-round.

The Report of the President's Committee on Administrative Management is a document of first-rate importance. It recommends, among other matters, that the President is to have direct control and immediate responsibility for personnel, fiscal policy and planning and the setting up of a National Resources Board to act as a central planning bureau. The existing temporary committee has made many valuable studies in the best use of the land, water and minerals. President Roosevelt believes that conservation of non-replaceable mineral resources and the avoidence of unnecessary waste of metals is a solemn obligation resting on the Administration no less than on the Mining Industry. He wants to go one step further and conserve the soil of the States, control the floods, and "iron out" the violent fluctuations occasioned by business cycles (in the form of alternating booms and depressions) by well-thought-out schemes of public works—a measure recommended years ago by the League as a remedy for reducing unemployment. No matter what final form the neutrality legislation takes or how the more momentous Supreme Court issue is settled, if only President Roosevelt succeeds in the task he has set out to accomplish, he willl at once earn the gratitude of his fellow citizens and give a lead to other democratic countries of the world. For, even Great Britain lacks a central planning agency, an organization responsible for the best use of her national resources.



FOREIGN PERIODICALS

The Problem of the Middle School in India

In the course of an instructive discussion of the immediate problems of Indian Education, Principal F. G. Pearce makes the following observations in *The Asiatic Review* with regard to the middle stage which he considers to be 'the most crucial because it is the stage when the seeds of adventure, of desire for knowledge, discovery and invention, can most readily be cultivated, and when enthusiasms and devotions can be most easily aroused and directed, for good or ill'.

This middle stage is in several respects the most important of all, in the present condition of India . . . because it is the critical stage at which for the vast masses of the population their cultural background, their civic outlook, will be formed. This is so . . . for the more fundamental reason that it covers that stage of the child's psychological growth when the emotions are the dominating factor. It is, broadly speaking, true that whatever the child learns to love and whatever he learns to hate, at this stage, he will continue, more or less consciously, to love or to hate throughout life. His later intellectual training, whether in educational institutions or in the school of life, may help him to repress or to develop those loves and hates, but it cannot wholly counteract or change them. It is therefore of far-reaching importance, from the point of view of the child's own harmonious growth, as well as for the sake of society in the country where he lives, that he shall at this stage be helped to love those things which may lead to his own all-round peaceful development and serviceableness to others, and to be averse to things tending in the opposite direction. The influences which can guide him in those directions (or away from them) are very largely those of the middle stage of education. It is not for nothing that Mussolini has compelled all Italian boys of this age to enrol in his corps of "*balilla*," and Hitler has suppressed all youth movements in Germany except those of the Nazi party.

The problem of the middle school is a problem of emotion, because the middle stage is the stage of development chiefly through the emotions. The problem then is to arouse the right kinds of interests and desires; the suggestion and discussion of means to satisfy them belongs mainly to the next stage.

What are the "right" kinds of interests and desires? Your answer to that depends, surely, upon your ideal for the country, as well as on the possibilities of the people you are dealing with Macaulay's famous Minute on Indian education envisaged "a class of persons Indian in blood and colour, but English in tastes, in opinions, in morals, and in intellect." Few Englishmen and no Indians would now subscribe to Macaulay's idea. The Hartog Committee naturally advocated the aim of "producing a competent electorate," or, in wider terms, "the training of broad-minded, tolerant, and self-reliant citizens." But even this aim needs qualification according as it relates to the citizenry of a rural or of an urban electorate, and this is particularly the case in a country like India, where the difference between rural and urban conditions is so marked. . . . It is of the greatest importance that the interests and desires awakened during the middle stage of rural education should be such as may lead to the service and uplift of the villages and *not to their neglect and desertion.*

This is the time, when the curriculum should be as wide as possible, and scope and encouragement should be given for the immediate application of newly acquired information to affairs of daily life. In short it is the time for Practical General Knowledge, or Citizenship Training in its most attractive guise, such as collective projects, scouting, and school outings. In India, owing to the fact that high-school teachers are generally better paid than middle-school ones, the more capable men are generally found in the high classes, where, instead of their initiative being encouraged through time being made available for activities of the kind mentioned above, they are expected to devote practically all their energy to cramming their pupils for the High School or Matriculation examination, from the results of which their efficiency and that of their school is very largely judged (by the public as well as in most cases by the educational authorities). Here, then, it is perfectly clear on what lines reforms must proceed, but the problem is how to make a start.

Reorganisation of Secondary Education in Germany

Some of the transitional provisions for the unifying of German secondary education which came into force by ministerial decree in March, 1937, are here reproduced from *News in Brief* :

The outstanding characteristics of the *Oberschule* (secondary school) *for Boys* are shown by the following points :

1. In future only two foreign languages are to be set as obligatory subjects of study, and a third foreign language will as a rule only be studied as an optional subject in the upper classes.

2. The upper section of the Oberschule for Boys is to be divided in future into two branches : one devoted to languages, and the other to natural science and mathematics. This will enable a clear separation of upper section instruction into two main lines—a measure of decisive importance in safeguarding a further succession of candidates for the professions, and of students for the

universities and technical colleges. It will thus be possible for boys to start already at school their preparation for the profession they will take up later on.

Besides the main form of secondary education set up in the Oberschule, which is preceded by a four years' —or in the case of especially gifted pupils three years' attendance of the Grundschule (junior elementary or 'grounding' school), there is also provided for boys and girls the *Aufbauschule* (intermediate school) as a special form of secondary school to be entered after six years' attendance of the Volksschule (public elementary school). This will thus serve also as a means of transferring gifted elementary school pupils to the secondary school stage.

The *Gymnasium* is still to be carried on as an additional form of secondary school, provided that there is in the same town at least one Oberschule of the decreed main type.

All *Secondary Girls' Schools* are to be uniformally *Oberschulen*. The Girls' *Aufbauschulen* correspond in educational aim to the *Oberschulen*. The subjects of study, in contradiction to those in boys' schools, are related to the special tasks and duties of woman in the upbuilding of the nation, and are concerned mainly with the various department's of women's activities. To balance off the greater pressure of studies on that side of the curriculum, the *Oberschule* for girls is limited in the lower and intermediate classes to the study of one single foreign language : English.

Appropriately to its special aims the upper section studies in the secondary girls' school are also divided off on different lines from those in the boys' schools. The main line of study for the upper forms, in conformity with the clear and definite aims set for the education of girls by National-Socialist policy, is devoted to matters of domestic economy, constituting a one or three years' *Frauenschule* or Woman's School.

Another important feature of the type of higher school now being developed is the reduction of the period of school attendance from 13 years to 12, and for exceptionally gifted children even to 11 years, which put a stop to what had come to be called the "overschooling" of German youth. Where as hitherto a pupil did not obtain his leaving-certificate until the age of 19, or even 20, he will now leave school when he is 18 or 17.

Carnival in Munich

R. N. writes in *The Living Age* :

For many years the *Munchener Neuesten Nachrichten* has published a frolicsome carnival number. This year it contained so much frank criticism of the Nazi regime that one wonders whether the Propaganda Ministry deliberately relaxed its censorship in order to give the impression that criticism is permitted after all. At least,, the editors must have felt that it was safe to unloose a few darts at the regime.

As is well known, the art criticism had been replaced for a time by pure 'description' in accordance with Dr. Goebbels's decree, partly revoked since. The *Nachrickten* satirized this decree in the following review of a performance of Carmen :

> The popular curtain with the well-known Goddess Aurora went up and disclosed a stage which appeared to have a width of about 100 feet" and a depth of 60 feet. All the singers and musicians were occupied with their respective tasks at various times throughout the performance. . . .

It has become increasingly apparent that German literary genius is no longer as prolific as in former days. Even the Nazis seem to realize it. One of the sketches tells of a young man who tried to enter one of the new buildings in the Wilhelmstrasse where all the new 'Chambers of Culture' have been housed at night by means of a ladder.

> We are reliably informed that the man in question was a poet who wishes to remain anonymous. He was merely trying to pay a visit to his Muse, who is now stationed in the new Reich Chamber of Culture. (The Editors wish to emphasize anew that the Muses are now *employed by the State* and that they can be interviewed only during office hours and by persons showing membership cards in the Chamber of Culture. Even geniuses will kindly take notice).

Another slap at the attempts to curtail free expression in art and at the support which the Nazis have given to old and conservative artists is entitled 'Courageous Cultivation of Art.'

> The Municipal Gallery has acquired five new canvases. The total age of the painters in question amounts this time to a mere 395 years because there is a spry youngster of seventy-five among the octogenarians. Nobody can describe the joy on the face of the youthful master when the Purchasing Commission entererd his modest studio. 'I know,' he said, 'that to be thus honored in one's youth tempts one to become conceited and arrogant, but I shall in the future remain worthy of this honor.'

Russia's Greatest Victory

Maurice Hindus writes in *The New Republic* about agricultural improvements that have taken place in Russia under the impetus of collectivisation :

The Crimea and the Southern Ukraine always had to import seed potatoes. In recent years Professor Lysenko, by his method of vernalization, that is, starting growth in the cellar, has made it possible for these territories to raise their own. In the past year 10,000 collective farms in the Ukraine no longer had to import seed potatoes. Meanwhile White Russia, though especially suited to potatoes, is cutting down its potato acreage and planting more and more flax. The peasants there had long ago been told that flax was more profitable than potatoes, but habit, inertia, dread of innovation—ancient foes of progress in the Russian village—kept them from making the shift. Now under collectivization the shift is being readily achieved.

In 1927, one-third of the peasantry had no draft animals. One-fifth had no cows. Of those who had horses, one-half had only one horse per family. With the best of intentions these peasants could not use heavy plows—one horse could not pull them—or any other modern machine. The size of the average individual farm was a little over eleven acres, and few owners of such small holdings could hope to attain a degree of prosperity that would enable them to buy modern agricultural implements. That was why about three-fourths of the Russian peasantry sowed their grain by hand, a process as slow as it was wasteful. Nearly half of them did their harvesting by hand. Peasants with no horse or with only one horse—and they were in the vast majority—could

use only a light plow or a *soha*, a wood-framed plow, neither of which could turn up a furrow of more than ten or thirteen centimeters. In the absence of heavy disk harrows they could not prepare proper seed beds, and a marked feature of their fields was their lumpy condition. In time of drought, the sun quickly baked up their land and when fall or winter came they faced starvation. That was why famine was such a frequent visitor in certain parts of the Russian countryside.

Now 20,000,000 families, or 89 per cent of all, organized into collectives, till an area of 285,000,000 acres. Each collective averages over 1,100 acres, "more than a decent mouthful," as a Russian agronomist once said to me, "for one of our 60 horsepower caterpillar tractors." Nearly 5,000 tractor stations, with a fleet of 355,000 tractors and all the necessary accompanying implements—gangplows, disks, cultivators, grain drills, etc.—do most of the draft work in nearly three-fourths of the collectives. This year they are working a much larger area and by 1938 there will be enough machinery in the country to enable them to do all the draft work on the collectives. Thus for the first time in Russian history the peasant lands are plowed to a depth of twenty and twenty-five centimeters. They are well disked and seeded and more and more of them are being properly cultivated.

In the Ukraine and in the Kuban, Russia's chief grain-growing regions in Europe, there were no rains last summer. Yet wherever I travelled in these sections, crops on the average were as good as and often better than the year before. Again and again older peasants told me that never in all their experience as farmers did they remember a time when crops resisted so successfully the onslaught of the drought. Even in the Volga regions where the drought was most severe, the collective farms, because of superior tillage, managed to save about a third of the crop. Of course the proper selection of seeds, which in the old days most peasants completely ignored, the cultivation of special seeds for dry areas, the increasing use of manure and commercial fertilizer, timely sowing and harvesting, which, with the help of modern machinery, is comparatively easy, have helped immensely in the fight for better crops.

For a long time it had been held that wheat could not profitably be grown outside of the black-earth regions. Little of it for example was sown in the so-called consumers' areas north of the black-earth belt—by 1928 only about 400,000 acres. Yet by 1936, 6,000,000 acres had been seeded to wheat in these very areas.

The Future of Handicrafts in India

S. K. Raja concludes his survey of the situation of handicrafts in India (published in the *International Labour Review*) with the following observations on their future :

The industrial evolution of a country is conditioned by its social structure. Where, as in India, the rural type of economy predominates, the traditional industries are carried on in small units and are generally combined with agricultural work. The separation of industry from agriculture, due to the increasing specialisation of industry, results in a change from rural to urban economy; but such a change is not easy, neither can it be rapidly achieved. The rigidities of the social structure will not allow a sudden depopulation of rural areas and a rapid growth of the urban population, and it becomes necessary therefore for the large-scale industries concentrated in towns to depend to a large extent for their labour supply on the villages. Much of this labour continues, however, to be migratory because of its stake in agriculture; consequently, the development of its efficiency is impeded. Further, the factory industries have a large turnover of labour, with the result that their labour costs are increased and they are at a disadvantage in competition with highly industrialised countries. These phenomena seem inevitably associated with the super-imposition on an agricultural country of modern forms of industrial organisation.

It has therefore frequently been argued that handicraft industries, apart from other reasons for their maintenance, are more economical than large-scale industries in predominantly agricultural countries. The requisite stable supply of skilled labour is more readily available; and the labour costs are lower because the rural worker can subsist largely on the produce of his own strip of land.

The existence and efficiency of handicraft industries depends, however, on their adaptation to modern economic conditions. In order to survive they must be able to command a high standard of technical knowledge and skill, suitable machinery and commercial organisation. Among tne methods of organisation suggested is that of co-operative societies, with a central co-ordinating agency for one or more handicraft industries. A beginning has been made in this direction in India with the handloom industry.

It has been further suggested, that, instead of forming separate co-operative societies for handicraftsmen, the existing credit societies might take up the additional functions of financing the artisans and marketing their products. Tnis idea is based on the experience of other countries, where it has been found that a society with multiple functions offers a greater resiliency in periods of stress and strain than a specialised society. Where there is a scarcity of capital and want of proper management it is more economical and advantageous to have, in any one area, one credit society with additional functions such as purchasing, marketing, etc., than to have two or more societies, each with a different object. It has also been suggested that credit societies with commercial functions might affiliate themselves, in respect of their secondary activity, to a central society whose main object is to market the products of handicraftsmen.

Other proposals for the development of handicrafts in India include that of organising production in small rural factories using the best machinery available and, wherever possible, electric power. That this is practicable is shown in the case of Mysore, where the weavers are being organised in small workshops using power looms. In the metal industry also there are some workshops, *e.g.*, in Nasik and Poona, which use mechanical power and operate as small-scale undertakings. A complementary proposal is that, in this scheme of mechanisation, a central co-ordinating agency should take up the preparatory and finishing processes.

The Mind of Aldous Huxley

L. H. Butterfield writes in *The Christian Register* :

• The acuteness, the witty cynicism, in general the more sparkling and superficial qualities of Aldous Huxley's work, are habitually applauded by critics and writers of jacket-blurbs. The habit is misleading, since beneath the brilliance of his style, and informing it, lie both a strong moral ardor and an extraordinary fund of knowledge. Of the first, one may only say here that a serious

view of life is indispensable to any great satirist and that never, after his very earliest work, has Huxley been cynical for the mere sake of being cynical.

Something more may be said of the second trait. Huxley is one of the most nearly omniscient men of our times, and that fact accounts for much that is peculiarly excellent and peculiarly defective both in his fiction and in his essays and travel-books. Incidentally it is what makes his fiction and non-fiction so much alike. He once said himself that his ideal novel would be "a hold-all," "a perfect fusion of the novel and the essay," into which he could put all his ideas. This is why so many of the scenes in his stories take place in country houses and restaurants; his only concern as a novelist is to get people together so that they can talk like essayists. His purpose is fundamentally intellectual, not imaginative, and it proves tedious to those less interested in ideas than entertainment. (Ernest Hemingway once accused him of "putting his own intellectual musings" in the mouths of puppet-like characters merely because novels sell better than essays). To define more closely, his purpose is to ridicule false thinking and false feeling. And this is why his novels are crowded with (to put it mildly) unpleasant people, the kind of people whom superficial readers make the mistake of confusing with Huxley himself when they give up his books in disgust.

Huxley himself, it must be observed, mistrusts erudition and the habits of life which a too-cultivated mind imposes. In "Point Counter Point," the novelist Quarles (Huxley in transparent disguise) compares the action of his mind in absorbing knowledge with the action of an amoeba in flowing around its food. In this era of science and universal education, he holds, the head has grown too large for the body. The reflection leads him into many ramifications. Now it is precisely in the ramifications of a subject—which may be anything from an amoeba to a camel, from a Mayan carving to a Bach fugue—that Huxley proves fascinating. To Quarles this intellectual game may appear a decadent trait; to readers of Huxley it is delightful.

Back to Home-Music

Dr. Karl Heinz Dworczak observes in the *Oesterreichs hoehere Schule*, Vienna :

"Back to home-music" was the motto of the music-week celebrated at Graz last September. There is no sense in declaring a war against the radio, the gramophone and the tone-movie and hindering technical advance, but these ought to be tolerated only as instruments of training and cultivating the art. It cannot be denied that they have popularised and 'socialized' music to an unexpectedly vast extent, and yet they represent only such substitutes as can never compensate for the living breath of the art, inasmuch as they result in a suppression of the personality and of the natural urge towards self-activity. The consciousness of its being a 'mere radio,' a 'mere talkie' kills in us the feeling for the originality and the immediacy that the artist can offer. The theatre and the concert-hall which awaken in us the expectant joy of being able to live a more beautiful and more elevated life, will threaten to be deserted if we do not try halt to the luxuriant growth of mere mechanical art. The cultivation of home-music, which was and still remains the foundation of all musical training and culture, can alone help us in this respect. Only by singing and playing for oneself is it possible to develop an actual inner feeling for music; it frees one from inner conflicts, inasmuch as it demands concentration and constant effort... The youth of today, who do not even suspect what is being lost to them through the disappearance of living music and living theatre, and who look up in idolatry to all virtuosi, must be taught to understand and feel the spirit of music. We must awaken in them a respect for the art, that represents real skill and ability and is the most potent messenger of peace—a respect also for the artist, who has always been the interpreter of the meaning of life, inasmuch as he sacrifices his own heart for being able to speak to the hearts of others. We must preserve our sense for living music, which Franz Listz calls the universal language of mankind.

Fascism, Communism and Capitalism

Charles P. Bruehl observes in *The Christian Front* :

Those who fondly believe that Fascism will save the world from Communism are laboring under a fatal delusion. The ideologies of these two are too closely allied to render them absolutely contradictory. They have too much in common and their differences can be readily effaced. The three, Capitalism, Fascism and Communism, are links in a chain; inperceptibly the one passes into the other. None of them has much use for a religion which looks to another world; for each one of them has a religion of its own, which if closely viewed, is the same. Fascism deifies the national state. Communism deifies the industrial state, and capitalism deifies the servile state, that is, the state in which organized money power will control the destinies of the people and the world. All three are fundamentally materialistic, secularistic, totalitarian.



Mayor Wu Teh-chen who has been appointed Governor of Kwantung leaves Shanghai for his new post. He is seen inspecting the Chinese guard of honour.



Mimic warfare by the Japanese army. the 8th Regiment of the field artillery, Satagaya celebrating the regiment festival.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru photographed on arrival in Rangoon

Pandit Nehru before addressing a mammoth meeting at the Fytch Garden Square, Rangoon

INDIAN PERIODICALS

Buddha and his Final Illumination

On the full moon of the month of May is the anniversary of the day which saw the birth, enlightenment and demise of the Buddha. Swami Vividishananda writes in *The Vedanta Kesari*:

We shall narrate here an incident which marked the turning point of his life. Consumed by a burning desire for the realization of Truth, Buddha gave himself up to ceaseless contemplation and meditation, denying himself even the bare physical necessities. In the enthusiasm of spiritual exercise sleep, food and rest were forgotten till his strong frame broke down under the pressure of exertion. Reduced to a skeleton, he was extremely weak and feeble, having not even the power to think. Not knowing what to do, he was almost ready to give up his attempt through depression and discouragement. A troupe of dancing girls was passing that way at the time, singing merrily as they played their guitar. Buddha listened. The song they sang perhaps did not mean much to them, but to Buddha it carried a message full of deep spiritual significance. The song was:

"Fair goes the dancing when the *sitar's* tuned,
Tune us the *sitar* neither low nor high,
And we will dance away the hearts of men.
The string o'erstretched breaks, and the music flies,
The string o'erslack is dumb, and music dies,
Tune us the *sitar* neither low nor high."

Buddha realized that he should not overstrain his body in his spiritual strivings, nor should he pamper it, for that would defeat its own purpose, and since then he adopted the golden mean or the middle path avoiding extremes.

He had his bath and was waiting for food, when Sujata, a woman of extreme piety and charm, came with a golden bowl of delicious pudding, made of the purest milk and honey and seasoned with spices, and fed him with great love and devotion. It brought strength and energy to Buddha's weak and emaciated body, and courage and determination to his drooping soul. He sat firm and determined under the famous Bo tree, and plunged himself into meditation, diving deep into his inner being, saying to himself: "Let my body dry up, my skin, bone and flesh go to rack and ruin! Never shall I get up and move from this seat until I get the illumination I have been striving for all these years."

Buddha's determination is unique in spiritual history. He was tempted in many ways by Mara, the personification of one's lower nature, but heroically he faced him and resisted all the allurements that were placed on his path. The victory came and along with it the long-sought-for illumination—the glory of Nirvana which passeth all understanding. Buddha the seeker became the illumined saviour and deliverer. His face was suffused with a divine radiance and his personality surcharged with a supernal joy and blessedness. In the tumult if this ecstatic experience he got up from his seat and danced around the Bo tree for seven consecutive days and nights, oblivious of the rest of the world. As he was coming down to the normal plane, his heart was filled with supreme love and compassion, and with a desire to share this experience with humanity.

Buddhistic Nirvana

The scheme of life that the Buddha—the Illuminated one—set up before men and women was a scheme of life-long endeavour and earnestness. Buddhistic Nirvana which, as preached by the Buddha, is the *summum bonum* of human life, appears, at first view, to be a doctrine of mere negation and nothingness. Nirvana as nihilism could never have been the view of the Blessed one. Writes Prof. Phanibhusan Roy in *The Calcutta Review*:

The creational theory of the Vedas can be related in a few words. Before creation, the world was enveloped in darkness and was immersed in water (which was nothing but creative activity kept in abeyance) and on this universal flood of water floated Prajapati on a lotus-leaf. This floating Prajapati, in some dateless time, was seized with the desire of creation (*Kamastadagre* . . . "In the beginning was *Kama*, desire, the earliest seed of mind, and the sages in their hearts with wisdom found out the bond of being in non-being.") and this desire of creation led Him to the path of creation. Thus the Vedic theory lays a special emphasis upon the fact that the act of creation, which was instantaneous and never ending, was due to the cosmic desire of Prajapati.

The Buddha accepted this desire-theory of the creation of the world but drew from it a diametrically opposite conclusion.

Prajapati—desire—creation . . . this sequence represents the creational theory of the Vedas. The Buddha accepted the doctrine of desires as the root cause of creation but creation he viewed with utmost disgust and abhorrence—for creation to him was duhkham (imperfection or sin as the Christians would put it).

However that be, we are now in a position to define the Buddhistic Nirvana. The Buddhistic Nirvana is nothing but "Wishless Prajapati," the extinguished, non-desirous, non-creating creator; and the attainment of Nirvana is nothing but the merging of creation in this Wishless Prajapati. The Buddha seemed to have proceeded upon this assumption. If the source be contaminated, the thing that flows from that source will also be contaminated; if the creator (Prajapati) be desirous, it will be idle to expect the creatures to be non-desirous; so he held up the ideal of Wishless Prajapati (the creator that has been cured of His creative fervour) before men and called Him by the name of Nirvana. The Buddha might have got his inspiration from the

Nasadiya Sukta of the Holy Rigveda which describes the pre-creational (*i.e.*, non-desirous) Prajapati most sublimely; if he did not, then also we may call Nirvana the Wishless Prajapati—for the conception of the Wishless Prajapati is the aptest explanation and interpretation of the Buddhistic doctrine of Nirvana. Nirvana is neither existence nor non-existence. If Nirvana is neither existence nor non-existence, then it must be some state about which existence or non-existence can neither be affirmed or denied. The sublimest exposition of this state is given in the tenth Mandala of the Holy Rigveda (as mentioned before) where the Vedic Seer, in a mood of ecstacy, sings of the pre-creational or the Wishless Prajapati. Indeed, pre-creational Prajapati must be looked upon as neither existing nor non-existing —because without desiring He cannot exist as without existing He cannot desire—so Nirvana's most logical explanation must be found in this sublime conception of the Wishless Prajapati. Therefore it is that the Buddha characterised Nirvana as Gambhira (sublime) and Aprameya (unfathomable) and it is obvious that mere nothingness cannot be either sublime or unfathomable. But then the Buddha might have called it Atman or Brahman, as Oldenberg pertinently raises the question. The Buddha could never have done that—because the theory of Nirvana itself stood in the way. He might as well have then accepted the philosophy of the Lokayatikas and called Nirvana nothingness or non-existence as he could have accepted the Atman philosophy of the Upanisads and looked upon Nirvana as Atman or real existence. Both the procedures would have been absurd—for Nirvana was, to the Buddha, neither existence nor non-existence. So avoiding the Scylla of Lokayatikism on the one hand and the Charybids of Atmanism on the other, he steered his philosophical vessel safe to the serene haven of Nirvana. Therefore it is that he confidently broadcasted his message of "not-to-become" all over the world and asked men and women to withdraw their transfixed gaze from the superficial, wavy tumult of the sea of creation and resolutely dive down to the stilled depths of it (deeper than the depth of waters stilled at even)—beyond turmoil —ecstasy—and frenzy of passion . . . into the tranquillised equilibrium of Nirvana. Nirvana is, indeed, this cosmic calm; Nirvana santam—Nirvana is bliss profound.

An Unpublished Letter of Sister Nivedita

We reproduce from the *Prabuddha Bharata* the following extract from a letter written by Sister Nivedita on January 4, 1899 :

I am finding great riches in Bengali. If your husband would learn it, he would make a competence by translation. I have undertaken a play. I cannot understand why we have never heard of these things. From all accounts this play would stand comparison with "Ibsen's Brand." Is it that the only English who learn Bengali are Officials and Missionaries, and has not a single member of these classes ever had the wit to interest himself in the literature of the people? I cannot believe it.

Oh, what a country this is! Some day I will write you a letter, giving you characterizations of people I have met. Against the monotonous collective-coloured background of these Community Houses and unlettered women, you get every now and then a vividly painted individuality which is like a romance, and always, always the expression is in religion. So far I have not been able to find anything that I could satisfy myself was honest Fetish Worship at heart, but as—all assure me that India is idolatrous, I must wait a little longer to be sure.

The Glory of Ayurveda

It is regettable that even some Indian practitioners of the Western system of medicine, not to speak of the average European, indulge in sweeping denunciation of the Ayurvedic system, which has survived centuries of neglect. The following is an excerpt from the text as published in *The Hindustan Review* of the convocation speech on the subject delivered by Sachchidananda Sinha at the Ayurvedic School :

It is not surprising that Indian surgery should have been of so high an order, for Sushruta lays down that "whoever wishes to practice surgery must prepare a corpse in the proper way, and see by careful dissection every part of the body in order that he may have definite and doubtless knowledge." Compare with this what Dr. Puschmann says in his "History of Medical Education" about the practice of dissection in Europe :—"Dissection of the human subject was in the first centuries of the middle ages opposed by religious and political ordinances and also by social prejudices." Similarly a reference to Charaka shows that circulation of blood was understood with fair clearness long long before the much-talked-of discovery by Sir William Harvey in the seventeenth century. Let me quote a passage here to illustrate this :—"From that great venture (the heart) emanate the vessels carrying blood into all parts of the body—an element which nourishes the life of all animals and without which life would be extinct. It is that element which goes to nourish the foetus in utero, and which flowing into its body returns to the mother's heart." And so, wonder of wonders, what had been discovered in ancient India over two thousand years ago came as so great a surprise to most medical men in Europe in the seventeenth century that "no doctor above the age of forty could be persuaded to believe in the impossible suggestions" of Harvey, who was condemned and hooted out of society for his discovery, as is graphically set forth in Hume's "History of England." If you keep all these facts in mind, you will easily understand why Dr. George Clarke, of Philadelphia, reading Charaka Samhita, even in translation, recorded the following remarks : "As I go through Charaka, I arrive at the conclusion that if the physicians of the present day would drop from the Pharmacopoeia all the modern drugs and chemicals, and treat their patients according to the methods of Charaka, there would be less work for the undertakers and fewer chronic invalids in the world."

Sex in Human Life

Writing on the subject of sex in human life Dr. Bharatan Kumarappa observes in *The Aryan Path* :

So far as human progress goes there are no short cuts. The longest way round is the shortest in the end. Mental and moral progress is not obtained cheaply. One has to earn it by untiring efforts. Young America may seek to improve mankind in one generation by mechanical means, but she has yet to learn the limitations of artificial devices in dealing with the human species.

The only sound solution to this problem has two sides—one negative and the other positive. Negatively, people should be educated in matters of sex in such a way as to be warned against the evils of indiscriminate

indulgence, so that they will learn to exercise self-control in matters of sex. But such negative repression is likely to lead to nervous disorders and abnormalities unless coupled with an outlet for their vital energy. *Positively, therefore, the solution lies in occupying oneself with pursuits which interest one and take up one's time.* In psychological language, the sex impulse should be sublimated to other ends—religious, social, political, scientific, artistic, and so on. When this is done, it will be found to lead inevitably to the growth and development of the individual, for then the most precious power within him, instead of being wasted or allowed to run away with him, will be harnessed to worthy ends and in them will find its fulfilment.

Ultimately the problem resolves itself into a choice between two alternatives. In one this marvellous energy finds expression in sex indulgence, and leads at best to no results beyond momentary gratification, and the providing, as it is claimed, of a physical basis for married love. In the other, where it is conserved for the purpose of offspring and directed to supplying energy for other ends which promote the full growth and development of the individual, it leads to love which becomes purified and spiritual. So far as the Indian idea in regard to marriage goes, the choice is unmistakable.

Indian tradition has always regarded marriage as a stage in man's spiritual development—a schooling or process of discipline through which he passes in attaining spiritual fruition. The element of personal infatuation which underlies marriage in the West is carefully excluded, so much so that two people who have never yet set eyes on each other are often united in matrimony and expected to get on together as best they may. While, in the West, marriage is essentially a matter of personal gratification where the couple often do not think of progeny when they come together, the Indian idea has been that it is a social institution in which the couple are brought together for the purpose of procreation and discipline. Married love in our country is not an end in itself, but only a means to spiritual development, the husband even being required after a certain period to renounce the householder stage "when his grandchild plays at his knees." In this renunciation, with which began the Vanaprastha or forest-dwelling stage, his wife often accompanied him in his retirement. The view that marriage should involve sex indulgence for its own sake, without reference to parenthood, is altogether contrary to our tradition. With remarkable foresight the founders of our civilization harnessed to higher ends this great power within us, which, left to itself, might have led us into dissipation and savagery.

Western civilization, which in the machine age has shot up like a mushroom, seeks through mechanical means to promote man's happiness, little realizing that the devices employed for facilitating sex gratification without its natural consequences can lead only to greater indulgence and ultimately to man's ruination by the loss of his most precious possession. It is the duty of lovers of mankind to save the West and all the world from such a catastrophe. True freedom comes not of bondage to lust but of mastery over oneself.

Industrial Development of India and Cottage Industries

The industrial progress of India is practically impossible without a wise and bold policy of protection, operating solely in India's interest. Cottage industries may fill a real gap in our national economy. In the course of an article dealing with the problems of industrial development in India *Science and Culture* observes :

A word may be said about the question of cottage industries. Of late both the central and provincial Governments seem to have given some attention to this question in connexion with rural uplift work. The revival and establishment of cottage industries have also formed part of the programme of several non-official organizations. The matter has, therefore, been fairly prominent before the public eye. There is the possibility that some improvement may be made in the economic condition of the people by such means. But nobody who has thought about the matter will pin his faith on such activities for the industrialization of India. Real industrial progress of a nation connotes organized industrial activity based on a sound well-thought-out policy, which considers among other things the available resources in the country both as raw materials and as sources of power, the needs of the home and outside markets, and the interrelationships between industries. Comprehensive plans obviously require State patronage and support. Without sufficient confidence in this direction it is idle to expect the requisite capital to be invested in really largescale industries. There has been, nevertheless, some progress in this matter, but everybody will admit that the progress has been inordinately slow. The increase in population at the same time has been relatively rapid and India's need of agricultural and industrial products is far outstripping home production. Nevertheless, we feel that, if cottage industries are encouraged not in a sporadic manner but with the same efficiency of organization and sincerity of purpose as in Japan, they can be made to fill a real gap in our national economy. In Japan, although the production takes place in individual homesteads, there are highly efficient organizations for collecting the products, finishing them further if necessary, transporting them and finding their suitable markets. It is well known that without organized facilities by way of collection, distribution, and particularly transport (especially with reference to shipping) in all of which the State played and plays an important part, the Japanese cottage industries could not have held the position that they do today. In our country also this organizational question is of paramount importance. If we are to get all that we can out of cottage industries, immediate steps must be taken in this direction. It is good to see that the Industries Department of the Government of Bengal is going into this question of collection, transport, and marketing in connexion with the small coir industries that are developing in certain districts of Bengal. But the pace of progress, we are afraid, is very slow. The same method should be pursued without delay in connexion with the other cottage industries.

It would, however, be a pity if this question of cottage industries diverts our attention, as it sometimes tends to do, from the major problems of industrial development. Concerted action is necessary in this direction. Apart from questions of State policy, over which we cannot have effective control, it seems to us that the present unsatisfactory situation concerning industries can be remedied to a considerable extent by providing necessary contacts.

• Pure and applied science are more than ever coming into collaboration for the good of the community. We plead, therefore, for greater co-operation between the scientific departments of our universities and the industrial organizations of the country.

Indo-British Trade Negotiations and Lancashire

Imperial preference has for India all the drawbacks of free trade without the advantages of protection. India is more planned against than planning. G. L. Mehta concludes his article on Indo-British Trade Treaty in the *Financial Times* with the following remarks :

I come to the intensive agitation carried on during the last few months by Lancashire interests with a view to putting pressure on the Secretary of State and the Government of India to ensure privileges for the British textile industry. Lancashire's use of political pressure and influence through Parliament and the India Office for generations has already earned for it an odium which it will not get rid of easily. We still remember the words of H. H. Wilson, the British historian, as to how "the foreign manufacturer employed the arm of political injustice to keep down and ultimately strangle a competitor with whom he could not have contended on equal terms." It is singularly unfortunate that during the last few months, organised efforts are being made by the British textile interests to force the hands of the Government of India and the Secretary of State. This propaganda tends to prejudge the Indo-British trade negotiations when they have hardly begun and might even prejudice their further progress and prospects. It appears as though the cotton duties would be the pivotal point of the forthcoming trade negotiations which would succeed or fail on the issue of preference to British imports. Lancashire has changed its slogan and its tone but the basis of its demand has not altered. Hitherto the favourite Lancashire slogan was of "the interests of Indian consumers being in danger" owing to the development of Indian textile industry behind a tariff wall; now it appears the hearts of the Lancashire manufacturers bleed for Indian agriculturists and they are extremely keen to buy our cotton. The old plea was both over-worked and out of date and a new theory is sought to be advanced more in consonance with the spirit of "reciprocity" and "partnership" so widely advocated now-a-days after the commercial safeguards have effectively restricted India's initiative in economic matters. It appears as though the Indian consumer who was so anxious to buy in the cheapest market that he preferred Lancashire's goods to those manufactured in his own country has made way for the Indian agriculturist for the love of whom Lancashire buys Indian cotton. It does not matter that this cotton was being produced all these years by India, but Lancashire never dreamt of purchasing it. The hearts of the Lancashire manufacturers were filled with Imperial emotion only when they could not market their goods in India and after Japan entered into bilateral arrangement with India based on purchase of cotton against export of cotton piecegoods. Moreover, the increase in the purchase of Indian cotton by the United Kingdom during the last three years has been mainly due to the price parity being in favour of Indian cotton as compared to American or Egyptian cotton. But even this limited *quid pro quo* can hardly bear examination. The purchase of Indian cotton by the United Kingdom came to Rs. 2 crores in 1934, to Rs 2½ crores in 1935 and Rs. 3½ crores in 1936 as against the import of Lancashire piecegoods into India of Rs. 8¾ crores in 1933-34, Rs. 11 crores in 1934-35 and Rs. 9 crores in 1935-36. On the other hand, Japan whose case is always cited as an illustration of *quid pro quo* by Lancashire apologists, increased its imports of Indian cotton from Rs. 11 crores in 1935 to over Rs. 16 crores in 1936 and exported piecegoods during these two years to the value of Rs. 3¾ crores and Rs. 6 crores respectively. I believe it is held by experts that the United Kingdom can take more of raw cotton than it has been doing hitherto and as against 5 lakhs bales that it takes now, which constitutes, I believe, about 20 per cent of the total cotton imports of the United Kingdom, it can easily take 9 lakhs bales. But Lancashire is definitely against any preferential duty being imposed on imports of raw cotton and wants to have a free hand regarding her purchase relying as she does more on political pressure on the one hand and platitude of goodwill and reciprocity on the other than on any definite commitment and undertaking. It is necessary for Indian commercial and public opinion to warn the Government against yielding to this incessant clamour of Lancashire and to see that no further preference to the United Kingdom textile industry is given in this country.

The Transport Problem in India

Competition between the railways and the motor is a necessary stage in the evolution of transport. It is not by placing a few legal restrictions on the motor transport that the Indian Railways can get out of the financial morass in which they find themselves. B. Mukerjee of the Lucknow University deals with the transport problem in India in the *Indian Journal of Economics* :

The Railways in India are face to face with a serious crisis. The competition of motor transport is telling heavily on their finances. Traffic in passenger and goods is—for sometime past—steadily gravitating from the railways to the motor lorry. Commodities having small bulk and bearing high railway rates are looking more and more to the lorries for transport. Even bulky goods are being transported through several provinces in lorries at rates cheaper than what the railways can quote. For instance, cotton is going from Amritsar to Bombay or to Howrah by means of motor lorries. No wonder that the railways are losing heavily in face of this new competition. It is estimated that the loss amounts to Rs. 3 crores per annum.

Transport by motors has certain advantages which the railways cannot provide.

The motor collects the passenger almost from their houses and drops them almost at their exact destinations. It thus saves them the time, expense and trouble involved in two long journeys to and from the railway station at both ends. Similarly, it collects the goods from the sender's godown or factory and delivers them at the exact place where the consignee wants it. He has not to dance attendance day after day at the goods office in order to save demurrage. The handling of goods is reduced to a minimum and special packing becomes unnecessary. Goods can be despatched at any hour convenient to the sender or to the factory and the motors give quicker delivery as they are not subject to the usual restrictions on goods trains in the railways as regards loading, unloading, marshalling and speed. The railways do not guarantee delivery within a particular time as motors generally do. The quicker delivery means more rapid turnover of capital and therefore greater profit. That is how the ultimate cheapness of the motor freight arises. Freights, fares and rates are usually lower in motors than in railways and, due to overloading, the motors can

quote uneconomic rates. The charges for conveyance and cartage to and from the station for passenger and goods traffic are saved. Further, goods are so carelessly handled in railways that there is a great loss through damages and breakages. Pilfering is also far too common in them. There is no tyranny of the railway risk notes in motors. However strongly a consignment may be packed, the railway receipt will always note that the stiches are weak or the packing is not strong so as to save the railway from any future liability. In motors there is no perquisites to be paid as in the case of the railway clerks. The collection of fares in buses is simple which even the most illiterate villager easily understands and appreciates. It is easier for him to find out which bus will carry him to his exact destination than in the case of the railways. The majority of the people in the country travel only short distances for which motor transport is more convenient than the railways. And, lastly, there is no insulting treatment, no lordly attitude which is far too common in the railways. The railways have become unpopular with the masses because of the scant consideration shown so long by the railways towards the third class passengers who yield the maximum amount of revenue. The grossly discourteous and arrogant attitude shown towards them is responsible for the steady drift from the railways to the motor during the last 20 years. There are some of the advantages which the public or the trade appreciate. They have been educated to ask for such facilities now and if the railways cannot or will not provide them it is certainly not the fault of the motors or of the public that the railways are losing their custom.

It cannot be denied that the motor has provided the country with an alternative means of transport which is at once cheap and convenient.

It has helped the railways by opening up undeveloped areas which act as feeders to the railway in passenger and goods. It is opening up and developing the countryside—specially those parts of it which are beyond the reach of the railways. As such, it has considerably helped the agriculturalist and the villager by linking the village with the cities. It has induced thousands of people to travel who formerly never moved beyond the limits of the village. It has thus changed the entire outlook of the illiterate villagers and considerably widened his physical and mental horizon. It has given rise to a large number of subsidiary industries and it has given employment to a large number of people. A large amount of capital is invested in this industry. It is yielding a handsome revenue to the Government in rates and taxes, customs and petrol duty. Lastly, it has brought about competitive rates and it has forced the railways to lower their charges. But for the competition of motor transport, railway charges would have been higher than what they are. It has rescued the country from the domination of a monopoly. Wherever motor transport has come, the old monopoly has been forced, in self-interest, to improve itself so as to retain the goodwill of its customers. The Calcutta Tramway Company is a case in point. Before the advent of motor transport, its fares were high, its service was bad and its speed was slow. It cared little for the comforts or the convenience of the passengers and its treatment of the public was both haughty and indifferent. Now, the whole thing is changed. It has improved considerably in every respect. All this, the public owes to the competition of motor transport.

We can at once concede that in spite of its many advantages, motor transport is very badly in need of reform. There are very substantial reasons why it should be improved and controlled. Public safety must be the first consideration. A reasonable standard of safety and convenience must be insisted upon in the buses that are allowed to run. A standardisation of the buses would be desirable in the interest of public safety and convenience. It would be necessary to prevent overcrowding—and this applies to railways also—and overloading. The payment of fair wages should be provided for and hours of work must be regulated. There should be some control on rates and fares which must be reasonable. Regularity of service must be enforced and it would be equally necessary to provide for an equimarginal distribution of transport routes so that all parts of the country are adequately supplied—but not oversupplied with service. There must be neither too much nor too little of it.

Such being the broad outlines of the problem, the country has to find a real remedy for it. The remedy proposed by the Government in the new bill before the legislature has been very strongly attacked as very unfair to the motor industry. By controls, restrictions, licenses, regional and route limitations it will effectively throtle motor transport it will make it very difficult for the industry to compete with the railways. The Government, it is complained, is looking at the problem from the point of view of the railways alone because it is financially interested in them. It is co-operating with one competitor in order to drive the other out of the field. The problem of transport is vital to the economic well-being of a country and yet, instead of the problem being examined in the larger interest of the country as a whole the entire issue is being judged from the point of view of balancing the railway budget.

The League of Nations and its Futility

The League of Nations which was established at the termination of the Great War, has not justified its existence in inducing the Great Powers of Europe to any special sense of disarmament. The war between China and Japan, the war between Abyssinia and Italy, the Spanish Civil war now going on have shown the futility of the League as a supreme directorate to prevent war. C. N. Zutshi, in the course of his article on the possibility of permanent peace in *The Twentieth Century* discusses the psychology of the establishment of the League and the danger of war threatening the world :

Just as drowning men catch at straws, so did the war-oppressed world Powers hail the idea of the League of Nations at a time when the ashes were still hot in the wake of their destroying. The same truth as dawned upon Asoka after the battle of Kalinga, *viz.*, to sheathe his sword for ever afterwards in the realization of his new dream of peace, probably illumined the heart of the great seer the late President Wilson who gave the idea of the League of Nations to the militant world. But just as the new dream of Asoka died away after his death, leaving behind it only the dimming memory of a great past, so has the world now ceased to be under the charm of that great move in the interest of world peace. Time is a great healer; the horrors of the Great War have been forgotten, and a false glamour has grown around it, as it does grow around all the wars of the past,

so that the world has now again fallen back to its pre-War mood of mad war-dance. Rearmament, and not disarmament, which is the objective of the League, has now come to be regarded as a measure for peace. Britain, U. S. A., Japan, Germany, France, Italy, etc., are all busily engaged in planning schemes of rearmaments at the cost of huge expenditures. An idea of such vast expenditures may be formed from the White Paper issued by Britain on the 16th February, 1937, and passed in the House of Commons on the 19th February, '37, which gives a detailed statement covering the whole range of her rearmament at an expenditure of £1,500 million. Similar plans are afoot in almost every great country of the world. In respect of one item, *viz.*, 8 inch cruisers, the numbers of such cruisers completed or being built by the Powers are: The British Commonwealth 15; U. S. A. 18; Japan 12; France and Italy 7 each; and Germany 3. This shows that history repeats itself. Europe is again as full of organization for war without satisfactory organization for peace as it was before the Great War, despite the great experiment ever tried by the ingenuity of man in the interest of peace in the form of the League of Nations. Its faliure is inherent in the fact that it is a mechanism propped up under an imposing name, and its structure, airy and unsubstantial framed of shining and too often visionary idealism, is incapable of guarding the world from its threatening dangers and of protecting mankind from itself.

He also speaks of the economic factor which is one of the most disquieting elements in the European situation, and is working up the world to a war:

The present economic trouble has its roots in the empire idea which has turned the heads of the strong nations. This very idea is responsible for the monopoly in colonial markets possessed by the imperialist nations, which, while creating a ready outlet for their own products and resources for raw materials, tends to restrict markets for the products of the weak nations, and to guard their access to raw materials on the face of the earth. Dr. Schacht making the official demand to return Germany's Colonies in a speech at the Geographical Statistical Society, Frankfurt on December 9, 1936, declared: "The lack of raw materials is even greater than the lack of foodstuffs, and that her position would remain an element of revolution in the European situation unless remedied." While imperialist nations have at their disposal miles of unoccupied territory for expansion and growth, the weak nations of the world, such as Japan, Germany and Italy, are labouring under severe disadvantages—pressure of population, restricted markets, stringent trade regulations imposing prohibitive duties on exports and imports, scanty outlets for labour and capital. These are some of the causes of ill-feeling, bitterness, and heart-burning, which have made the world a hayrick waiting for its match. A secret German-Japanese Treaty, reported by the Tass Agency (dated Moscow, November 18, 1936) providing for a concerted action in the event of one of the two signatories becoming involved in a war with the third state, and a barter agreement reported in the daily press (dated November 27, 1936), under which German arms will be exchanged for Japanese raw materials, prove the fat in the fire, and clearly show the way in which the wind is blowing in the world.

To Africa

In that early dusk of a distracted age,
when God in scorn of his own workmanship,
violently shook his head at his primitive efforts,
an impatient wave snatched you away, Africa,
from the bosom of the East,
and kept you brooding in a dense enclosure of niggardly light,
guarded by giant trees.

There you slowly stored
the baffling mysteries of the wilderness
in the dark cellars of your profound privacy,
conned the signals of land and water difficult to read,
and the secret magic of Nature invoked in your mind
magic rites from beyond the boundaries of consciousness.
You donned the disguise of deformity to mock the terrible,
and in a mimicry of a sublime ferocity
made yourself fearful to conquer fear.
You are hidden, alas, under a black veil,
which obscures your human dignity to the darkened vision of contempt.

With man-traps stole upon you those hunters
whose fierceness was keener than the fangs of your wolves,
whose pride was blinder than your lightless forests.
The savage greed of the civilised stripped naked its unashamed inhumanity.

You wept and your cry was smothered,
your forest trails became muddy with tears and blood,
while the nailed boots of the robbers
left their indelible prints
along the history of your indignity.
And all the time across the sea,
church bells were ringing in their towns and villages,
the children were lulled in mothers' arms,
and poets sang hymns to Beauty.

Today when on the western horizon
the sun-set sky is stifled with dust-storm,
when the beast, creeping out of its dark den
proclaims the death of the day with ghastly howls,
come, you poet of the fatal hour,
stand at that ravished woman's door,
ask for her forgiveness,
and let that be the last great word in the midst of the delirium of a diseased Continent.

Translated from his original Bengali by Rabindranath Tagore in *The Visva-Bharati Quarterly*.

BRITAIN'S YOUTH HOSTELS

By DHARAM YASH DEV

From township to township, o'er down and by the village
 Fair, far have we wandered and long was the day;
But now cometh eve at the end of the village,
 Where over the grey wall the church riseth grey.
There is wind in the twilight; in the white road before us
 The straw from the ox-yard is blowing about us;
The moon's rim is rising, a star glitter over us,
 And the vane on the spire top is swinging in doubt.

—William Morris

We had covered nearly twenty miles and had left a number of villages behind us. William Morris' beautiful landscape stood before us. We had been walking the best part of the day and it was getting dark and chilly. The day had been long and sunny. All we needed was a bed and some food to make it a "perfect day." We reached our destination—Youth Hostel, Holmbury, St. Mary, when a clock in the distance struck seven. We were greeted by a cheerful and a hearty hallo and the Warden's friendly handshake. Inside there was light and warmth and good companionship.

It was the end of a perfect day, and the beginning of a very pleasant evening. And the memory of that day has been a cherished possession ever since.

That was my first contact with this wonderful scheme of Youth Hostels in Great Britain.

The Youth Hostel's Association of England and Wales was formed in 1930. Cycling and walking became very popular after the War and the development and growth of Y. H. A. are bound up with these and with the growth of open air activities. It was started by a joint effort of various out-of-door organizations. It has the support of the National Council of Social Services and is based on the model of the German *Jugenderbergen.*

During the 19th century there was steady drift to the towns and town life. Since the War there has been a reaction against that and the young people are disinclined to be confined within the city bounds. Cycling and walking are the means of escape and each week-end young girls and boys in their hundreds go out into the country. They flee from crowded streets to seek green fields and breathe fresh air. They go tramping off the beaten track. This is one of the cheapest and healthiest way of enjoying a brief holiday and seeing the country: perceive there are birds in the trees and fish in the streams: meet people in the villages—real people of flesh and blood, people who greet you with a smile and a friendly nod.

The term "Youth Hostel," though comparitively new to England, originated in Germany some twenty-five years ago. Youth Hostels as they are known all over the continent and in England came into being when Herr Richard Schirrmann opened the first one in Germany in 1909. Herr Schirrmann was a school teacher who conceived the idea of wandering about Germany with school children. His only need was cheap and comfortable accommodation, but he did not find it easy to get it; and because he did not get what he wanted, and what suited his purse and his requirements, he set about to provide such accommodation himself. He started with the spare school rooms. He used the farm buildings and empty barns and converted them into simple living apartments. His scheme spread rapidly. Slowly the scope of the scheme was enlarged. In the beginning it was limited to school children. But very soon it was enlarged so as to include those, who while young were no longer school children. The aftermath of the War gave the movement another push. Germany was impoverished, and youth had to economise in recreation as in everything else. The *Jugenderbergen* became very popular. Later on Herr Schirrmann was assisted by the government. Many of the fine old castles and baronial mansions which were at that time unoccupied were placed at his disposal.

Today the German Youth Hostels number over 2500 and over 700 of them are actually owned by the Youth Hostels Association of Germany.

Britain followed suit in 1930, when the first Youth Hostels were opened by some Mersyside enthusiasts in Wales. With the aid of the National Council of Social Services, the Carneige Trustees, and many other public spirited people, the movement in Britain is growing stronger,

Today it has a membership of nearly 60,000 and can offer the use of nearly 300 Hostels.

The membership, which is open to both sexes, costs very little. It is half a crown for those under twenty-five and five shillings for those over twenty-five. This confirms the right to use the Hostels on payment of one shilling for each night's stay.

With a few exceptions, each Hostel is equipped with cooking stoves, utensils and crockery. Members can prepare their own meals if they wish to do so, but it is possible to buy breakfast and supper at extremely moderate charges.

There is a common room to talk and read. A number of books and magazines are to be found scattered here and there. There are separate dormitories for each sex. Blankets and pillows are provided but members must use their own sleeping bags and do their own chare.

These are the minimum facilities. Much more is available at a large number of other Hostels and the Hostels that have been newly built. There is running hot and cold water in the kitchens and bath rooms. There are showers and swimming pools. Electric cookers and kettles are provided.

Objects

The chief object laid down by the association reads something like this : To help all, but especially those who are young, to a greater knowledge, care and love of the countryside, particularly by providing hostels or other simple accommodation for them in *their travels*.

It must be clearly understood that these Hostels are not just cheap " lodging houses " or " inns " or anything of that sort. *These cheap lodgings are provided as means and not as an end.* And the rules are framed in order to make this possible. No one is allowed to stay more than three consecutive nights at a Hostel. The Hostels are closed between the hours of ten in the morning and five in the evening. Everybody must be in by nine and the ' lights-out ' hour is ten-thirty. Most of the visitors are in by seven or seven-thirty. Immediately they get busy with preparing their meals. After dinner they have to do their own washing up and cleaning.

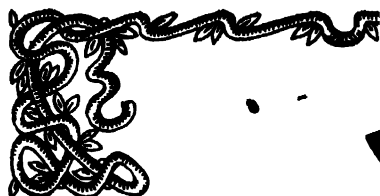
Step out and step up,
On your wanderings, friend!
With a morsel to sup,
And a trifle to spend.
To learn that the storm
Is as good as the sun,
And the winds can blow warm
And cold where they run.
But your body's your own,
On the up and the down,
With the earth for your throne
And air for your crown.
Step out and step up,
On your wanderings, friend!
And come in for a cup
And a bed at night.

A night of peace is over and refreshed they all wake up with the morning sun. Baths. Breakfast. Everybody is busy. One by one they all disappear. On they go, wandering to some other village, some other beautiful landscape. White road before them, light of heart and purse. O, it is so tempting and interesting! A bed in the bush with the stars to see....bread I dip in the river!

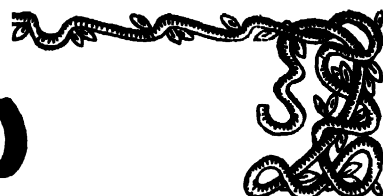
But the thing does not end there. The Association aims at making a contribution on the most natural terms towards a better understanding between the younger people of the different classes, opinions, and nationalities. Youth Hostels attract a very large number of University students. Factory and artisan workers are drawn in. And these groups of people have a chance of coming in contact with the tillers of the soil. It is therefore possible to glean views on all topics from individuals of widely different upbringing and outlook. Drawn together by the common tie of membership, with all its implications, they join each other in the common room and pool their varying experiences.

Tramping and cycling require effort and enthusiasm and breed *esprit de corps*. Healthier bodies and minds for a large number of the nation's youth is the other important aim of those who are running the Association. And all these lead to the promotion of closer sympathy between the town and country folk, and a better understanding by the former of the peculiar problems of the latter.

And above all : the Glory of the Open Spaces : and in the words of Russell there is no life like it, this living in the clean fresh air of the country........Truly our greatest blessings are very cheap......and who amongst us will dare refute it? Sunlight, water and the rain, freshening winds and the air we breathe, speech, sight, love, friendship, slumber and the starlit night—all are ours without the asking or paying. Do we ever give it thought? Do our students bother about these? I wonder.



Notes



The British Empire A " Free " Union of Liberty-loving Nations !

The May-June number of *International Affairs,* organ of the Royal Institute of International Affairs, contains a brief article on " The Coronation " by the Lord Meston, K.C.S.I., LL.D., which has been given the place of honour. In course of it the writer says :

> Three thrones, said Ruskin, have been set upon the sands of time,—" Tyre, Venice and England. Of the first of these great Powers, only the memory remains; of the second, the ruin; the third, which inherits their greatness, if it forget their example, may be led through prouder eminence to less pitied destruction." The British Commonwealth does not forget the examples of Tyre and Venice. It seeks an eminence which is prouder than theirs, without their arrogance. Its form of Empire is a free union of liberty-loving nations, ..."

This brief extract contains several implied falsehoods.

The word commonwealth, when applied to a state or a union of states, connotes one having a republican form of government. Though Britain has a monarch and though the British Dominions pay homage to him, their form of government is substantially republican. Hence they may be considered crowned republics.

But the vast majority of the inhabitants of the British Empire do not live under a republican form of government, either in name and form or in substance. They live in subjection. Of the 493 millions of inhabitants of the British Empire, more than 350 millions live in India. He would be a very bold utterer of untruth indeed who would call India a commonwealth. Therefore, the expression British Commonwealth applies only to Britain and the Dominions.

Whatever imperialists like the Lord Meston may believe or profess to believe, it is not true that British imperialists are without arrogance. Those who live in bondage in the British Empire have occasion to feel the arrogance of imperialism every day of their life. Of course, it is true that Britain is without arrogance on some occasions *vis-a-vis* some nations; for example, in recent times in her diplomatic dealings with Japan, Italy, Germany, etc.

The Lord Meston says that the form of Empire of the British Empire is a free union of liberty-loving nations. Is the union free? It is true that the Dominions have the right to secede, and that, therefore, so long as they do not secede their union is a free union. But even in their case the union was not a free union in its origin. Ireland did not become united with Britain of her own free will. She had to be coerced. So she is now practically going to secede from the British Empire to become an independent republic. The Boer war had to be fought to form the South African Union, and Boer statesmen in South Africa have not made a secret of their desire to secede whenever they think it necessary in order to assert their autonomy and safeguard their interests.

As regards India, which contains the bulk of the population of the British Empire, its people never came under British subjection of their own free will. And now the strongest, the largest and the best organized politically representative body in India, the Indian National Congress, has been asserting for the last eight years that its object is to win independence for the country. So, so far as the vast majority of the inhabitants of the British Empire is concerned, it was not true originally and is not true now that the British Empire is a free union of nations.

As for the British Empire being a union of liberty-loving nations, it is true in the senses which we are going to explain. The free and almost-free people of the British Empire—the English, Scots, Welsh, Irish, Canadians, Australians, New Zealanders, South African Whites—are undoubtedly liberty-loving in the sense that they love their own liberty and like to be free themselves. But it is not true that they want others—particularly those who are subjects

of and in the British Empire—to be free. They do not want India to have liberty. Some among them, *e.g.*, Canadians, South Africans, treat Indians in a very humiliating manner. It is true some Irishmen have expressed sympathy with India's aspirations, as have some English and Scots also. But the practical gain to India from such sympathy has up till now been nil. Irishmen in particular, who are now freeing themselves from their bondage, should remember that Irish generals, Irish privates and Irish rulers of India had not a little to do with the building up and extension of the British Empire in India. They, therefore, owe some reparation to India and some expiation to themselves.

The people of India also are among the liberty-loving nations of the British Empire. But in their case the correct and full description should be 'the liberty-loving but liberty-lacking Indian nation.'

The Lord Meston further observes :

> A vast Commonwealth such as ours, at peace within itself, can be mighty by example and precept to further a better understanding with its neighbours, and by its neighbours with each other.

It is quite true that there is no actual war in the literal sense within the British Empire. But is it true that it is really at peace within itself? Is not a bloodless struggle for freedom going on in India? And are there not many regulations, ordinances and laws to deal with the struggle? Such being the case, it cannot be said that the Empire is "at peace within itself." If utterances made and reports published on behalf of the Government are to be believed and the measures adopted by them to be correctly interpreted, there has been and still is terrorism in the country. And terrorism is a sort of not bloodless rebellion on a small scale. Therefore, the officially admitted continued existence of terrorism in the country, too, shows that, so far as India is concerned, the British Empire is not "at peace within itself."

As the Lord Meston wants the Empire to further a better understanding with its neighbours by example and precept, would it not be better first to promote some understanding within the Empire? Is it in pursuit of the ideal of promotion of mutual understanding that an unwanted constitution has been imposed on India? Was it in pursuit of that ideal that not a single recommendation of even the British Government's loyalist nominees, miscalled delegates, was embodied in the Government of India Act of 1935?

Recrudescence of Communal Riots and Clashes

Communal riots and clashes have been reported from places so far apart as Abbotabad, Karachi, Amraoti, Madras, etc. These are very greatly to be regretted. They are bad in themselves, and they antagonize all efforts to further national solidarity.

We do not quite understand why these foolish and fanatical outbursts have taken place just now. Has their untimeliness or timeliness any indirect, remote or accidental connection with the attempts being made by and on behalf of the Congress to obtain the adhesion of the Moslem masses to the nationalist cause?

All well-wishers of mankind and of India should do their utmost to promote mutual understanding between communities and eradicate fanaticism.

Shia-Sunni Bloody Clashes at Lucknow

Bloody conflicts between sections of the Muhammadan community are not so frequent as conflicts between Muhammadans and non-Muhammadans. But fanatics can be as ferocious in their onslaughts upon their own fellow-believers in the larger sense as upon those whom they consider unbelievers or infidels. In days fortunately gone-by, Christians of the Roman Catholic and Protestant persuasions showed one another little mercy. Followers of Muhamadanism belonging to different sects, particularly Sunnis and Shiahs, have fought one another furiously in the past. Recently Lucknow has witnessed a lamentable repetition of these conflicts. Fanaticism must be overcome by education, the spread of knowledge and wisdom, and above all by the influence of spiritual religion.

Unrest and War on the North-West Frontier

As all the facts relating to the causes of the unrest among some of the tribes on the North-West Frontier are not known and most of those known have come from British official and non-official sources, Indian publicists are not in a position to judge what grievances, if any, these tribes have against the British Government. If they have any grievances which they consider just and if they have failed to obtain redress for these grievances by peaceful means, about which we know nothing, and if, therefore, they feel justified in engaging in a sort of guerilla warfare against the British Government, that is an affair between them and that

government. If the British Government have employed British and Indian soldiers to fight them, the fight should be between the combatants of the two parties to the quarrel. Should any one of the parties or both of them attack or injure non-combatants, still it would be a quarrel between the two parties concerned. It is not and cannot be a Hindu-Moslem quarrel. Therefore, there cannot be the least justification for any tribesmen to plunder, slay or kidnap Hindus or set fire to their houses, as they have been doing. It is wicked fanaticism and predatoriness to victimize Hindus.

It is the duty of the Government of India to put a stop to this vendetta against the border Hindus by all legitimate means in their power, and they have very great power indeed. When, years ago, a Miss Ellis was kidnapped by some tribesmen, the British Government knew no rest till she had been rescued. She could be rescued because the kidnappers knew that the whole resources of the British Empire would be mobilized against the tribesmen if she were not. Englishmen were perfectly justified in making it a question of national honour.

But now, not one but many Hindu women (and men) have been kidnapped and more are likely to be. What is the attitude of the Government of India? It does not appear that a fraction of the efforts which were made to get back Miss Ellis is being made to rescue the kidnapped Hindu women.

And has the Indian nation, if we are a nation, made the cause of the kidnapped women their own national cause? Does this nation feel in honour bound to do all in its power to rescue these injured sisters?

We have said, it is not a Hindu-Moslem question. But if the Indian Mussalmans make the cause of the tribesmen their own, we will not quarrel with the Indian Mussalmans. But we shall be entitled to ask what they think of the kidnapping of Hindu women. If they do not approve of or wink at but condemn this wicked practice, they should combine with all other Indians in doing all that is feasible and all that may be in our power to put a stop to it and to get back all the women already abducted. If the attitude of the Indian Mussalmans with regard to these abductions be different from what it ought to be, then unhappily it would become a Hindu-Moslem question.

If the Indian National Congress opposes the Government's campaign against the tribesmen on the frontier for reasons known to it, it may do so. But in that case it will be the clear duty of that body to state what effective steps it has taken or can take and proposes to take to rescue the abducted women and put a stop to some tribesmen's practice of plundering and killing Hindus and burning down their houses and carrying off their women. Whatever may be the object of the Government's campaign against the tribesmen, one of the intended or unintended results of the campaign may be the righting of the wrongs of the frontier Hindus. It is a duty of all opponents of the campaign to see that the same result is brought about by other means.

For years past a greater readiness, of which we do not complain, has been apparent on the part of the Congress to consider Mussalman sensibility than to consider Hindu sensibility. The mentality which gives rise to this greater readiness admits of a psychological explanation, with which we are not now concerned. What is needed in the interests of the Indian nation and of the Congress itself is that it should avoid doing things which may lead people to accuse it of being anti-Hindu or of callousness or indifference to Hindu feelings.

A British Critic on the Indian Impasse

Mr. H. N. Brailsford has contributed an outspoken article to *The New Republic* of America under the caption "Rebel India" and the sub-heading "The Struggle for Effective Independence," which Indian Congressmen, and the Government, too, will do well to read. Those among the Congress leaders and the rank and file who were, and perhaps still are, in favour of acceptance of office should find out who are meant in the following passage, of course if the writer's statement be correct:

> "The Congress, like every big party, has among its older and wealthier adherents its fringe of office-seekers. To dispense patronage would have been a pleasant change after imprisonment and martyrdom."

Is Every Minority Overrepresented?

Mr. Brailsford suggests in his article that every device was adopted in the new Constitution to prevent the Congress from obtaining a victory in the elections; but nevertheless "the Congress scored an astonishing victory." Among the devices one, according to him, was that "Every minority was over-represented on a systematic plan." This is not a correct statement. It is true that wherever Muhammadans are a minority—they are a minority taking India as a whole and in most provinces taken separately—they have been overrepresented, and

Europeans, Anglo-Indians and Indian Christians, who are a minority everywhere, have been everywhere overrepresented. The aboriginal tribes are an all-India minority and they are also a minority in all provinces taken separately. But they have not been given any separate representation at all in the Federal Legislature, and in the provincial legislatures they have not been given any separate representation in big provinces like Bengal, United Provinces and the Punjab. Similarly, the Jews, the Parsis, the Buddhists, the Jains, etc., have not been given any separate representation either in the Federal Legislature or in any provincial legislature.

The Hindus are a minority in the Punjab and Bengal among the major provinces. Here, far from being overrepresented, they are actually underrepresented. In the Punjab they are 28.3 per cent of the population. But they have been given only 24.6 per cent of the total number of seats. In Bengal they (combined with Buddhists, Jains, Jews, Parsis, etc.) form 44.8 per cent of the population, but have been given only 32 per cent of the total number of seats.

The British policy was not concerned so much with giving separate representation or overrepresentation to all minorities everywhere as with giving overrepresentation to such religious communities and sections of the inhabitants of India as could be expected to support the imperialist policy of Britain.

Another Mistake of Mr. Brailsford

With regard to the provincial legislatures in which the Congress has obtained an absolute majority Mr. Brailsford writes, "It is unlikely that these six legislatures will ever meet." But according to the Government of India Act of 1935 they must meet. Clause (3), section 62 of that Act lays down that

"The Chamber or Chambers shall be summoned to meet for the first session of the Legislature on a day not later than six months after the commencement of this Part of this Act."

Part III of the Act, relating to the Governors' provinces, is meant here. It commenced on the first day of April last, and therefore all the provincial legislatures, including the six with which this note is concerned, must be summoned to meet before October first next. The Madras Government has already fixed the date of the opening of the provincial Assembly, as the following press telegram shows :

"MADRAS, MAY 23.

"It is definitely understood that His Excellency the Governor will summon the Legislative Assembly on July 26 next, when the interim ministry is expected to present the Budget for 1937-38."—"*United Press.*"

Government of India Act Makes India An Inorganic State

Professor Radha Kumud Mookerji recently told an interviewer of "The Searchlight" of Patna :

"Behind the controversy raging round the question whether a Governor can or cannot give the assurance of non-interference with the work of the Ministers even within its restricted field, as demanded by the Congress, there is a fundamental principle involved in the position of the Congress, which is not fully grasped. That principle is that the Congress finds itself unable, in consistency with its ideals, to enter into any kind of intimate, integral and organic relations with a state of the type imposed upon India by the last Government of India Act, the most unwanted Act of British Indian History. A state, which is not a system of Responsible Government, is dubbed by political scientists as an inorganic State, devoid of the very principles of life and growth. With such a State a living body or organism like the Congress cannot enter into any vital relations. The State in India, whether in the provinces or at the centre, is incapable, like an inanimate mass, of any natural growth from within. Its growth, and the very pace and stages of its growth, are determined artificially and arbitrarily by an external agency, the British Parliament, which of itself has no organic and constitutional connexion with the Indian system. History hardly offers a parallel to the case of a country deriving its constitution from another country which reserves to itself the right to regulate its development. Such a constitution, from the very principles of its inception, cannot be a living, self-contained organism."

Anniversary of Rammohun Roy's Birthday in Lahore

The Tribune of Lahore reports that on the 23rd May last at a public meeting held in Lahore to celebrate the anniversary of the birthday of Rammohun Roy,

"He was the Father of modern India," this was the unanimous tribute paid to Raja Rammohun Roy by prominent Hindu, Moslem and Christian public men.

Maulvi Ghulam-Mohy-ud-Din, M.L.A., speaking, observed that

Raja Rammohun Roy was a great preacher and a student of religion and philosophy. His great gift to the people was the Brahmo Samaj, which, in the opinion of the speaker, was the Samaj of God. The greatest service which posterity would remember for ages was his successful crusade against the abominable custom of *satti.*

Politically too he was far ahead of his times, and in the year 1823 he pleaded for the freedom of the Press.

Mr. W. H. Hume said that

Raja Rammohun Roy was rightly called the Father of Modern India. Referring to the epitaph on his *samadhi* in Bristol, he observed that it was a splendid and brief summary of what he did in his lifetime. His interest in the women's movement was born out of his own experience.

Raja Rammohun was a reformer in all spheres of life—religious, social and political. He was like a bright

star visible in the darkest night and he brightened not only India but the rays of light coming out from him lighted countries beyond the seas also. But a great feature of his life, which appealed to the speaker, was the importance he attached to spiritual faith, without which nothing was possible.

R. S. L. Raghunath Sahai said that

in the words of the great historian Romesh Chandra Dutt theirs was the age of Raja Rammohun Roy, because all that they were trying to do today was done and foreseen by him more than a century ago.

Prof. Ruchi Ram Sahani said :

The outstanding principle of Raja Rammohun Roy's life and work was the recognition of the essential harmony and fundamental unity—not uniformity—of all religions. It was with a unique manliness, courage and conviction that he tried to live and promulgate those principles in all the fields of reforms in which he worked. And he was a pioneer in all of them. It would be doing serious injustice to the memory of Rammohun Roy, he continued, to say that he was the founder of a new faith, far less of a new sect. The essence of the universal cult with which his name would for ever be associated is the reconciliation in a spirit of liberal fellowship and social democracy of the seemingly conflicting codes of moral and social conduct.

The recognition of unfettered human aspiration in search of truth and sharing of the joy which it brings, with others was the passion of his life.

Dr. S. P. Y. S. Voegeli-Arya, M.A., Ph.D. said :

There were three things of permanent interest in Raja Rammohun's life to all students of philosophy and religion. Firstly, he shifted the authority of religion from the outside world, books, etc., to the inner self; secondly, he declared that there was a living God who lived in everybody but could not be partitioned or labelled as a Hindu or a Muslim or a Christian God. The third thing was the commonness of life.

Shrimati Shanno Devi, editor, "Shakti," spoke on Rammohun Roy's great services to womankind.

Mr. Justice Bhide, who was in the chair, in his closing remarks said :

Raja Rammohun Roy was truly the Father of Modern India. He was a towering personality and his life and teachings serve as a beacon light. He came in at a time when the old social order was crumbling and a new order had come in. He was a man of versatile genius and achievements. His greatest legacy was the Brahmo Samaj.

Another Rammohun Roy birthday anniversary meeting was held in Lahore at the D. S. High School.

Gandhiji Calls Mr. Nandalal Bose

SANTINIKETAN, MAY 25.

In response to a call from Mahatma Gandhi, Silpacharya Nandalal Bose left for Bardoli last night in connection with the selection of site and planning for the next session of the Indian National Congress.

It might be recalled that the services of Silpacharya Nandalal were requisitioned by Mahatmaji on the occasion of the last Congress Session at Faizpur and his work there elicited handsome appreciation from Mahatma Gandhi.—*United Press.*

The artistic talents of Mr. Nandalal Bose were also utilized for the exhibition which was held at the time of the last Lucknow Congress.

Mr. Kodanda Rao A Dangerous Person !

Hitherto, 'terrorists,' Congressmen, socialists, communists, and Bengali young men in general had been considered dangerous persons by the British government in India. But the government of French Indo-China has gone one better. In its opinion even a member and secretary of the Servants of India Society is a dangerous person. For proof, read the item of news printed below.

POONA MAY 23.

Information has been received here of how Mr. P. Kodanda Rao, a member of the Servants of India Society and its secretary, who is on a world tour, had the thrill of being considered 'a dangerous person' and consequently deported at the hands of the authorities in the Government of French Indo-China. It is revealed that on May 10, Mr. Kodanda Rao was about to proceed to Saigon, when the French police at Pnom Penh told him that he could not proceed to Saigon, but would have to return to Bangkok immediately by the next available means of transportation.—*U. P. I.*

India "Partner in the Stables" of the Imperial Conference !

The Hitavada of Nagpur writes :

India's position in the British Commonwealth was once described by a wit as a partner in the British stables and not at the dinner table and the aphorism is being justified by the proceedings at the Imperial Conference in London. Our representative, Sir Mahomed Zafrullah Khan, is unable to raise the question of the status of Indians in South Africa, as somehow, in the opinion of the constitutional pandits in London, the matter cannot be 'properly' discussed at the Imperial Conference. Foiled in his attempt, the Indian representative who has been given the camouflaged position of the representative of a Dominion is discussing the matter 'informally' and in private with General Hertzog. There can be no better or worse illustration of the humiliating position of Indians in the British Empire.

It would be wrong to call Sir Zafarullah Khan the representative of India. He represents the British Government of India.

Manifesto of the Indian Civil Liberties Union

Both the Associated Press of India and the United Press of India state that the following manifesto has been prepared by Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose at the request of Mr. K. F. Nariman, secretary, Bombay Civil Liberties Union, to be read as a message from the Indian Civil Liberties Union at the conference on civil

liberties in India arranged jointly with the National Council of Civil Liberty and the India League to be held in London on the 5th June :

The Indian Civil Liberties Union desires to bring to the notice of lovers of freedom all over the world, the varied encroachments made from day to day on the elementary rights and liberties of the Indian people by the present irresponsible bureaucracy which rules India on behalf of British Imperialism, and considers it necessary to emphasise the fact that in the matter of civil liberty, as in other matters, there has been practically no change for the better since the introduction of so-called provincial autonomy in India on the 1st April, 1937.

Under the "rusty" Regulation of 1818 and the Criminal Law Amendment Acts of Bengal, Assam (Punjab, Frontier Province ?) and other Provinces, more than 2,500 citizens, including some women, are still in custody since 1930 without any trial whatsoever—Bengal alone accounting for more than 2,000. Among the above state prisoners are some citizens of French Chandernagore in Bengal who have been incarcerated by the British Government in violation of International Law.

The state of affairs in some areas in Bengal, notably in Midnapur, could be easily imagined from such measures, still in force, as curfew orders, compulsory use of identity cards by all young men, prohibition of cycling for middle-class young folks, expulsion from the district of a large number of prominent citizens, banning of 99 Congress and national orginizations within Midnapur District, besides the detention without trial of no less than 100 citizens belonging to that district.

Recent cases of suicide among state prisoners in some of the detention-camps have opened the eyes of the public to the inhuman conditions prevailing therein. The public mind is also exercised over the ill-treatment of convicted political prisoners in several prisons in India and the callousness of the authorities in spite of repeated hunger-strikes resorted to by the former. The reopening of the penal settlement in the unhealthy Andaman Islands in the Bay of Bengal in 1932, in the teeth of popular opposition, and the transportation of several hundred political prisoners thereto, have given rise to anxiety and alarm.

The adoption of the "Forward Policy" by the Government of India, involving a small-scale war on the North-West Frontier, is deeply resented by the Indian people, since it is bound to lead to the gradual enslavement of the hitherto independent tribes, with the help of the blood and money poured out by the down-trodden Indians without any advantage accruing to the latter.

Last but not least, attention should be drawn to the general onslaught launched against all leftist organizations and movements particularly in the Frontier Province, Punjab, United Provinces and Bengal—involving the seizure of leftist literature imported from abroad, the frequent proclamation, as seditious, of such literature found or produced within the country, the imprisonment for long terms under a special legislation in Bengal of persons found in possession of such literature and the banning of several volunteer, student and youth organizations since 1932. The unrestricted and arbitrary use of Section 144 of the Criminal Procedure Code after the 1st April, 1937, in the strike of over two hundred thousand jute workers in Calcutta—for prohibiting meetings, processions and demonstrations of workers and the exclusion of the workers' leaders from the strike area even though they were members of the Legislature demonstrate very clearly that in spite of so-called provincial autonomy, the power of the Government will continue to be used on the side of the employers and against the workers.

The Indian Civil Liberties Union earnestly hopes that while the struggle of the Indian people for their elementary rights and liberties has to be fought out by themselves—the heartfelt sympathy of enlightened and freedom-loving men and women all over the world will be with the Indian people in the difficult, up-hill task which faces them.

The manifesto as printed above is an exact reproduction of a copy received from the Indian Civil Liberties Union, Bombay.

Evidently this manifesto was drafted before the recent partial improvement in the situation in Midnapore owing to the relaxation or withdrawal of some of the restrictive orders.

As regards the Governments' "forward policy" on the North-West Frontier, there is a difference of opinion among Hindus, as will appear from the extracts given in the Note following this.

We have not the least desire to deprive anybody of liberty, knowing full well what loss of liberty means and involves. But those who value their own liberty ought not to deprive others of that precious right. All tribesmen who have it, must give up the habit of kidnapping, plundering and killing Hindus. Otherwise, they must be prepared to lose their own liberty. We do not say that the expedition against the tribesmen is meant to cure them of their predatory habits. But if incidentally it effects that cure, no liberty-loving man ought to complain. Some people seem to think that, whereas the Governments' frontier policy is deliberate and permanent, the predatoriness of the tribesmen is a temporary lapse. That is not so. It is an inveterate habit with many of them. The Government ought to take remedial and preventive measures. The Congress ought to urge the Government to allow Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan to visit the Frontier to use his influence with the leading tribesmen to put a stop to predatory raids. We know the good traits in the character of the Pathans. They are a brave and hospitable people. But they should curb their bad men.

As regards the Frontier, we agree with Pandit Krishna Kant Malaviya in much that he says about it; *e.g.*,

'Any country in the world would like to be in possession of natural frontiers. We have the Himalayas in the north, north-east and the north-west and seas all around. Why should we then give up the natural frontier in the north-west and recede to the cess-bank of the Indus? Moreover, no nation or kingdom can afford to have its frontiers undefended. We cannot leave the safety of the frontiers in the hands of the unorganized tribal people. It will not only be foolish but a betrayal of Indian interests to do so. These tribal areas, even if they were to be created into semi-independent states, could by no stretch of imagination serve the purpose of a buffer state. The Government of India has either to administer or quit the Frontier Province. It must maintain order and see

that the lives and the property of the inhabitants are safe.'

Plight of Hindus on the North-West Frontier

Hindu India is much exercised over the miserable plight and insecure condition of the Hindus on the North-West Frontier. The Government has not yet done anything quite effective to put a stop to the kidnapping, looting and slaying of Hindus on the frontier. The Congress also seems oblivious of or indifferent to the seriousness of the situation. The telegrams and statement printed below will give some slight idea of Hindu perturbation.

NEW DELHI, MAY 23.

Mr. Gurdittamal Bhandari, Secretary, Hindu Progressive League, Delhi, has issued an appeal to Hindus—whether Congressmen or non-Congressmen—not to pay any heed to Mr. Kripalani's "one-sided and unjustifiable" statement (in connexion with the observance of May 28 as the Frontier Day) and requests them to hold meetings with suitable demonstrations on May 28 and pass resolutions supporting the Government's action (in Waziristan) and condemning the "inhuman and brutal activities" of the Frontier tribesmen.

Mr. Bhandari regrets that "at this critical juncture in the history of Hindu India in general and Frontier Hindus in particular the Indian National Congress, which professes to represent all sections of India, is bent upon placating the Muslims and the Pathans at the sacrifice of the religious and social rights of the Hindus."—*A. P. I.*

NEW DELHI, MAY 23.

At a meeting of Delhi Hindus held this evening under the auspices of the local Hindu Sabha, a resolution was passed condemning the action of Acharya Kripalani, General Secretary of the A.I.C.C. in appealing to the Hindus to join "Frontier Day" demonstrations on the 28th May. The meeting warned the Congress against the consequences of dividing the Hindus into two camps—for Frontier Day and against Frontier Day observance. The meeting expressed its wholehearted support to the Government policy in the Frontier.—*A. P. I.*

L. Duni Chand, M.L.A., has issued the following statement:

For some months reports have been coming of the forcible abduction of Hindus, including girls, by the trans-border raiders. I read today the news of kidnapping of the four Hindu girls and the looting of four shops in Bannu District. It is difficult to keep quiet over such incidents, and hence I raise my voice against these deplorable incidents. And I do want the country to raise a storm of protest against the continued abduction of innocent men and women.

Nothing exasperates the Hindu feeling so much as the forcible seizure and cruel abduction of their kith and kin, and nothing keeps Hindus and Mohammedans apart so much as the incidents of this nature. The leaders of all the communities, and particularly the Muslim leaders, should make the weight of their position and influence felt to stop the repetition of the abduction of helpless Hindus. The Muslim leaders should demonstrate by their conduct that they feel as much distressed over the abduction of Hindu girls as they would feel over the abduction of the girls of their own community. Frontier Muslim leaders like Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan and Dr. Khan Sahib, whose voice possibly counts with the trans-border raiders, should do all that they can to put a stop to this kind of barbarism. It is a pity that Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan is not allowed to enter N.-W.F. Province. Steps should be taken to have all the abducted persons restored to their homes.

A word to those who represent the mighty British Power. Now and then instances, though very few, have taken place of English women having been carried away by force. Each time all the resources of the British Power were utilised in order to secure the early release of the unfortunate victims. There are no reasons why the same should not be done in order to secure the release of Hindu victims.

I do not know if the question of forcible seizure and abduction of Hindus has been taken up in the N.-W. F. Assembly so far. And if not, all the Hindu, Sikh and Muslim members of the Assembly should lose no time in condemning it and suggesting the ways as to how it can be stopped.

Changes in Bengal Revenue System Foreshadowed

DARJEELING, MAY 21.

Important changes affecting the entire revenue system of Bengal are foreshadowed by the results of a conference which Sir B. P. Singh Roy, Minister of Revenue, has been holding for the last few days in connection with the amendment of the Bengal Tenancy Act in order to confer wide rights on tenants. The *Associated Press* understands that the Government propose to introduce a bill at the next session of the Bengal Assembly for meeting some of the popular demands and for removing the just grievances of tenants. Further, it is understood that the Government are contemplating to appoint a commission to enquire into the whole land revenue system of the province with special reference to the working of the permanent settlement and its effect on the economic, social and political life of the province and also on the revenues of the Government.—*A. P. I.*

The land revenue system, not only of Bengal but of India in general, requires to be overhauled. We published a series of articles on the subject recently. The overhauling required can and ought to be done by the joint deliberation of the central and provincial governments. So far as the Permanent Settlement is concerned, it is not confined to Bengal but is in force in some other provinces too. If it is to be changed or done away with—whether any such thing should be done and what should be done, are open questions—action should be taken in all the provinces.

It should not be forgotten that the Permanent Settlement cannot even be altered easily. The Instrument of Instructions to Governors definitely lays down that the Governor of a province shall not give his assent to any bill which would alter the character of the Permanent Settlement, but must reserve it for the consideration of the Governor-General. The latter himself cannot do anything final. For the Instrument of Instructions to the Governor-General lays

down that he shall not assent to any bill passed by a provincial legislature and reserved for his consideration which would alter the character of the Permanent Settlement, save with the concurrence of the Crown. All this has been done to safeguard the vested interests of the landholders in order perhaps to make them pro-government and anti-nationalist.

Hindu and Muslim Members of the Governor-General's Executive Council

In our last issue in the note on Creation of Portfolio of Communications, page 600, we showed how it would be possible and easy for the member in charge of the portfolio of communications—a Britisher has been chosen for the office—to control and nullify the efforts, in the remote chance of there being any, of the member for Commerce and Labour, an Indian, to promote Indian interests, and promote British industry and commerce instead.

That relates to the choice of Britishers and Indians to be placed in charge of different portfolios. Among the Indians chosen again there has been a distinct tendency to favour Muhammadans and give them greater power of patronage.

Since the appointment of the late Lord Sinha as a member of the Viceroy's Executive Council on the 19th April 1909, twenty-one Indians (including officiating appointments) have been so appointed. Of the 21, six are Muhammadans, 2 are Indian Christians, 1 a Parsi, and the rest numbering 12 are Hindus. Thus it will be seen that the Muhammadans have got more than their 'communal share'; while the Hindus have, as usual, got less. Further, whenever there are more than one Indian member, the Muhammadan member gets a department with many posts where he can exercise his patronage, while the Hindu gets a 'dry' department. Sir Mian Muhammad Shafi was in charge of Education, &c., while Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru was in charge of Law. Shafi could pitchfork an ordinary Punjab graduate to a post occupied by such scholars as the late Hari Nath De, M. A. (in 8 languages). Sapru could only appoint a Civil Justice Committee. Sir Fazl-i-Hussain was in charge of Education, Public Health and Lands. Sir C. P. Ramaswamy Iyer, Sir B. B. Ghosh, Sir B. L. Mitter and Sir N. N. Sircar, all were given the portfolio of Law. Kunwar Sir Jagadish Prasad holds, no doubt, the portfolios of Education, Public Health and Land. But Sir Mahomed Zafarullah Khan got the Railway and Commerce membership, which gave him ample patronage. As, however, an Englishman is always preferable to even a Muhammadan and as the chapter on "Discrimination" and other similar provisions in the new Government of India Act can be worked thoroughly in the spirit of that Act in British interests by an Englishman, Sir Mahomed Zafarullah has been deprived of the Railways portfolio and a new portfolio of communications has been created and given to an Englishman to keep watch over British interests with eagle eyes—as pointed out in our Note in the last number, referred to above.

Even temporary membership in charge of a department having many jobs at its disposal goes to a Muhammadan; *e.g.*, the appointment of the Nawab Bahadur of Chhattari.

With reference to some of the points commented upon or referred to above, "Wayfarer" writes in *Roy's Weekly* :

> I am sorry for Sir Mahomed Zafrullah. He has been jockeyed out of the Railways. This huge undertaking in which 800 crores of rupees belonging to the public have been invested and 700,000 persons are employed will be entrusted to Sir Thomas Stewart who will be the Member in charge of all communications. Last year Sir Mahomed would have resigned his Membership of the Viceroy's Executive Council, if the Railways were taken out of his hands. But now it is a different tale.
>
> The Assembly wanted that all Communications should be in the hands of one Member, for the sake of convenience. But now it finds that all power and patronage in the vast railway system and in Posts and Telegraphs has been given to a Britisher. This was not what the Assembly had in view when it voted for a Ministry of Communications. Where is the policy of increasing association of Indians in every branch of administration?
>
> If the authorities could not give transport to Sir Mahomed, it could have been given to another Indian. At any rate, India will not be satisfied with the way in which the portfolios are being distributed as between European and Indian members. It is not only not scientific but even racial. Sir N. N. Sircar and Sir Jagadish Prasad have comparatively easy time. And the third Indian member is to be deprived of Railways, which kept him busy all these months!

India's Problem of Illiteracy

"The reason literacy is making such slow strides in India is not because the people are stupid. They are as intelligent as any other people in the world, and as quick to learn. Their failure to learn to read is due to enormous handicaps, not one but half a dozen of them," said Dr. Frank C. Laubach, Ph.D., Secretary of the World Literacy Committee of New York, in course of a discourse to the teaching staff of Visvabharati on the illiteracy problem in India.

The six causes of illiteracy mentioned by him may be summarised thus :

> One immense handicap is that if any illiterate desires to read he is compelled to learn to read in a

foreign language, not in the l a n g u a g e he speaks. For the classical written vocabularies are so different from the spoken colloquial that they are really different languages. The second handicap is the Indian alphabets that are used. It would be possible to learn to read one's own language in less than two weeks, with phonetically spelled languages. A third important reason for slow progress is that when parents are illiterate the children are likely to forget all they learned. If the adults were taught first, the children would never forget. It has been found that an adult can learn to read in about one-fifth of the time required to teach a child. This important discovery has tremendous bearing upon India. A fourth important cause of illiteracy is that the language of the books and newspapers is not the colloquial one of the people, so that there is nothing they can read when they have first learned to read. A fifth cause is the apathy of the illiterates. It is necessary to arouse in them a desire to read. The sixth cause of the low progress of adult education is the fact that no appropriate lessons have been in use. An adult does not enjoy studying children's books. He must have adult material. With proper text-books and the method of teaching and making volunteer teachers, it should be possible to make India literate in 25 years. Russia has finished the task in 15 years.

There is some truth in all that Dr. Laubach has said. But he has not mentioned the greatest obstacle of all, namely, the attitude of the State in India. The handicaps which he has mentioned vary from region to region, from province to province. The difference between the written and colloquial languages has been exaggerated. Even the English books for English children used in England and English newspapers are not written in colloquial English. But nevertheless there is widespread literacy in England. As for the alphabet, the Chinese alphabet is worse than any Indian alphabet. Yet though it is used in Japan, there is universal literacy in that country.

Co-operatives Economically, Socially and Morally Helpful

Mr. C. F. Strickland, retired I.C.S., who was for ten years registrar of co-operative societies in the Punjab, has contributed to the April number of *Asia* an article telling the reader "Why Asia Needs Co-operatives." In his opinion, economically, socially and morally they serve the needs of an Eastern civilization suffering from the impact of the West.

Co-operation is generally associated with economic improvement. But it can be used for other purposes also.

"No member [of a co-operative society] becomes a member against his will; every member has a voice in its debates; and a society registered under a wisely framed co-operative law is in a position to punish those of its members who break the rules. It can then be utilized not only for economic processes but also for modifying by consent the customs of a community and for concentrating the opinion of the more thoughtful individuals on a specific question. . . . I had recently occasion to visit a village in the Delta in which the members of a co-operative society have dealt with the lighting of the village, the repairing of the streets, the settlement of disputes and the education of the poorer children. Similarly the suggestion which I made a few years ago to a meeting of Arab schoolmasters in Jerusalem that they should organize their fellow-countrymen in order to reduce the price of marriages, including the so-called bride-price, did not appear to them in any way ridiculous, . . . "

In India registered co-operative societies should be able to tackle the evil of "bride-groom price."

Who Burnt the Crystal Palace of London?

London (NNS.)—Not long ago the Crystal Palace, famous landmark at Sydenham in the London suburbs, was the scene of a disastrous fire which will result in the complete razing of the building. The Crystal Palace was begun for the first great Industrial Exhibition of 1851 and was completed in 1854. Architecturally it was famous because it was constructed entirely of stone, iron and glass. Naturally, such a structure was fire-proof and for years it was the centre of world-famous fireworks displays which are fully described in the "Encyclopaedia Britannica" (See "Fireworks," 14th ed.).

Arthur Ponsonby, well-known British peace leader, discussed this mysterious blaze with an architect friend who had served in the air forces in the World War. He commented on the surprising fact that a fire-proof structure like the Crystal Palace should have made such a blaze.

"Very surprising," said the architect friend.

"So completely demolished was it," continued Ponsonby, "that it could not be reconstructed."

"And no lives were lost," added the friend.

"The wind, of course, was favourable for such a blaze; but I cannot understand why there was so much inflammatory material."

"Can't you?" smiled the architect-aviator.

And then he went on to tell "how the Germans had said that on no account must the Crystal Palace ever be touched. Its glittering roof made the most splendid mark, and its immense length was sufficient to give any bombing aeroplane its bearings." "So you see," he ended, "two and two make four."

And Ponsonby wonders whether the architect-aviator was right. Was it a case of official arson, air raid precautions with a vengeance? And if so, where will the fire strike next?

Anniversary Celebrations on January 26th in America

The seventh anniversary of the Indian Declaration of Independence was celebrated in New York by two gatherings.

"A group of Indians and Americans, who sentimentally cherish the 26th of January as the 4th of July of India, met together to celebrate the 7th Anniversary of India's Declaration of Independence at a banquet in New York City," at the Ceylon India Inn. Among those present were Dr. Haridas T. Mazumdar, Presiding, and Mr. Anup Singh, Mrs. Lewis Stuyvesant Chanler.

Another group of American, Chinese and Hindu friends, gathered the same evening at the home of H. Stefan Santessom, in an informal celebration of the Anniversary. Professor Hu Chow-yuan, representative of the 19th Route

Army, was the principal speaker. Among those present were Mrs. Lini D. Allem, Mr. Shou-tse Shen, Mr. R. D. Lee, Mr. U. S. Banerje and Mr. William D. Allen.

The following telegram was sent by Mr. Santesson to the other gathering: "Americans, Chinese, and Indians, gathered here tonight in similar celebration, greet all present. Regret extremely notices of your gathering came too late for alteration of own plans. We join with you in honoring those great souls whose lifework has been the fight for a Free India!"—*American Events*, Vol. I, No. 5.

"Manchester Guardian" on India's New Constitution

Commenting on India's new constitution, evidently in view of recent events and Indian nationalist pronouncements, *The Manchester Guardian* says:

London, March 30.

"The new Constitution may or may not succeed, but all can see that the old order has passed away. The compromise constitution can only endure if it facilitates the gradual withdrawal of British control.

"The nationalists have taught the masses to dream of securing unlimited blessings by vote. Some think that the Indian peasant must always be poor, but others, like Pandit Nehru, see that a thorough social and economic revolution is needed.

"Young India will try what the new wine of Socialism can do. It will burst many old bottles and the flavour may not be agreeable to the peasant, but desperate evils call for drastic remedies. One hopes that Governors will not obstruct experiments in Socialism if the Congress finds it possible to let its representatives take office."—*Reuter*.

Niggardly Provision For Medical Research

With regard to the miserably inadequate provision made by the Government of India for medical research, *The Hindu* of Madras writes:

The latest report of the Scientific Advisory Board, just published, serves to show how pitiful has been the provision made by the Government of India for medical research. The Medical Research Workers' Conference at its last session in Calcutta, reiterated its view that the sum of Rs. 1½ lakhs provided by the Government was totally inadequate and condemned the manner in which even this paltry sum was being granted. The contribution, in fact, is being made out of savings accumulated fifteen years ago and no one knows what the Government propose to do after this source is exhausted. This casual approach to the question of medical research is in ill accord with either the Government's professed concern for the people's health or the gravity and magnitude of the problems to be faced. We wonder how long the Government intend to put off a thorough enquiry into the organisation and financing of medical research in this country which has been demanded year after year by the Conference of Medical Research Workers. It cannot be that the Government are unconvinced of the usefulness of extending medical research activities. The director of public information, in his note on the report of the Scientific Advisory Board for 1936, gave an account of the useful work turned out by the research workers of the Board during the past year. The Government we presume, are aware of this. It is all the more surprising that they should have no definite policy or programme in respect of medical research.

The Congress and the Moslem Community

We fully support the endeavours which are being made to obtain the adherence of the Muslim community to the Congress cause and to increase the number of Muslim members of the Congress. The decision arrived at at the conference of Muslims, mainly of the U. P., held at Allahabad, in favour of joining the Congress unconditionally is a right decision. It is neither practicable nor desirable for the Congress to enter into conditional pacts with all the religious communities and all sections and classes of the people to secure their adherence to the Congress cause. All inhabitants of India stand to gain by the country being free and all should work for it. The Congress in its 50 years' history has never passed any resolution which directly or indirectly injures any minority community. Least of all can it seek to discriminate against a powerful dynamic and big minority like the Muslims.

The Congress should try to gain the adherence of the other minorities also. It should try to educate the aborigines and improve their economic condition, and make them members of the Congress. The Parsis, the Sikhs, the Indian Christians, the Jews and other small communities should be persuaded to join the Congress in larger numbers.

The scheduled castes among the Hindus are Hindus no doubt. But as their educational and economic condition is less satisfactory than that of other Hindu castes, they should receive the special attention and care of the Congress. A very large number of members of the scheduled castes should be enrolled as members of the Congress.

Some Mussalmans say that, as the Congress has become communistic or socialistic, the Moslem community should not join it. Without discussing whether this characterization of the Congress is correct, it may be asked, why did not the Muslims join it in large numbers but held aloof from it when it had not gone in for non-co-operation and civil disobedience or any socialistic ideas.

Some Muslims, and non-Muslims also, make the excuse that the Congress has declared complete independence as its goal and is trying to advance towards that goal by revolutionary methods. Again, not discussing whether any of the methods of the Congress are revolutionary, one may suggest that all such objectors should

join the Indian Liberal Party. The goal of that party is Dominion Status, its methods are strictly constitutional, not revolutionary, and it is a non-communal political organization of which men and women of all classes and communities can become members.

The movement among Muslims for joining the Congress has started and gained some momentum in the United Provinces, where they are about 15 per cent of the population. When there is a similar movement among them in provinces in which they are the majority community, the *bona fides* of the movement will be beyond question and nobody will ascribe expediency as the motive.

Muslim Members of Congress Committees

The total number of members of the Congress Working Committee is 14, of whom 2 are Muhammadans. The total number of members of the All India Congress Committee is 285, of whom 10 are Muslims. In one case the Muslim percentage is 14.3 and in the other 3.5. Communalist Mussalmans always stand up for their communal share of jobs in the public services irrespective of merit. Why don't they agitate for their 25 or 33 per cent share of memberships of Congress Committees? Need one suggest a plain answer?

Oath of Allegiance and Goal of Independence

From the moral point of view we could never understand how the oath of allegiance to the British sovereign could be taken and the goal of complete independence for India, resulting in severance of the British connection, could at the same time be consistently worked for. But as many congressmen have taken that oath and are also for complete independence, our doubts have somehow lain dormant.

When in a recent issue of *Harijan* we found Mahatma Gandhi discoursing on two kinds of oaths, we hoped to find some light there. But unfortunately we have not been able to understand him, of course from the moral point of view, just as we could not understand a distinguished Bombay lawyer's dictum at a private conference in Calcutta relating to a variety of conscience called the "legal conscience," which allows both the taking of the oath of allegiance to the British Crown and the walking along the path of rebellion, non-violent of course, against the same Crown.

If the oath were plainly stated to be an oath of allegiance to a constitution and were clearly worded accordingly, there would be no harm in taking such an oath and afterwards in taking only such steps as that constitution allowed to alter that constitution even radically and fundamentally. But the oath which our legislators have to take is one of allegiance to the British sovereign. Perhaps the oath of the Irish Free State was the same and similar, and hence President de Valera at first did not take the oath. Afterwards, he changed his mind and took the oath, most probably as a strategic move, and used his power to abolish the oath. Strategic and tactical moves in politics are not always of an ideally ethical character. They are a choice of evils. If de Valera had not taken the oath and become the leader of his people in the Irish Parliament, no other constitutional and non-violent means would, perhaps, have been open to him to make his country independent. Perhaps some such thought weighed with him. But the facts that he did not at first take the oath and that after taking it he abolished it, show that there was some moral or other similar objection or difficulty in taking it.

Subhas Chandra Bose Fund

The Bengal Provincial Congress Committee have been trying to raise a minimum sum of one lakh of rupees, naming it the Subhash Chandra Bose Fund. The fund is to be devoted to the construction of a Congress House, with a library, a hall for public meetings and office rooms, at a cost of Rs. 50,000, the other half of the fund being kept in reserve as the nucleus of a fund out of the proceeds of which Congress work can be carried on all the year round uninterruptedly. We wish all success to the committee's efforts. It will mean great access of strength to the Congress cause.

It has been suggested that, if the committee's efforts succeed, Congress House should be built on the grounds of the Federation Hall proposed to be erected during the anti-Partition agitation. The late Mr. Bepin Chandra Pal's article in the present issue of this Review will remind the reader of the solemn occasion on which Ananda Mohan Bose voiced there the aspirations of the people of Bengal with his dying breath. That plot of land will be very appropriate for the purpose of a Congress edifice.

Who is to be Next President of Congress ?

Speaking of the fund to be named after Subhas Chandra Bose, we are reminded of the speech which he delivered in response to the enthusiastic welcome he received from his countrymen, in which he said that, after regaining

his health, he would devote a considerable part of his time and energy to All-India public work. That naturally leads us to think that, if Mr. Bose were elected president of the next session of the Indian National Congress, the choice would be very appropriate and would enable him to fulfil his heart's desire.

We see, Mr. Nandalal Bose has already visited Haripura to be able to give advice about the lay-out of Congress-nagar and cognate matters. So, this note is not too early.

If Subhas Babu were elected president, it could not be urged that the great office was going to Bengal too soon or in quick succession repeatedly. For as a matter of fact no Bengali has filled the Congress Presidential chair during the last fifteen years. It is not merely because Bengal is a part of India and the most populous province that a Bengali ought occasionally to fill that chair, though no part can do without the rest of India nor can India do without any part. Bengal has special needs and difficulties which will receive adequate attention when properly stated, and it is no disparagement of those living outside Bengal to say that Bengal knows best where the shoe she has to wear pinches.

Being Bengalis ourselves we do not wish to dwell on Bengal's contribution to the Congress movement and the sufferings and sacrifices of her people in the nation's cause. In spite of the communal decision, by which British imperialists tried their utmost to deprive the Bengal intelligentsia of influence and power, Congressmen in Bengal succeeded beyond expectation at the last election, thus proving how ardently Congress-minded Bengal is. Perhaps it will be conceded, therefore, that Bengal is not unworthy to rub shoulders with the most enthusiastic Congress patriots elsewhere. We know, great harm has been done to Bengal by faction fights. But Subhas Chandra Bose is not the leader of a faction now, but of all sections of Congress workers in Bengal. And even if he were not so, he would not be the only Congress president whose fitness for leadership was not universally admitted in his own province by Congressmen.

And as regards his fitness, one need not, happily, be apologetic. His abilities has been admitted on all hands. After a brilliant academic career in India, he succeeded at the I. C. S. competitive examination, but resigned that coveted service in order to serve his motherland. He showed exceptional ability as Chief Executive officer of the Calcutta Corporation during his short term of office. His great power of organization has been admitted even by his opponents, the bureaucracy, through their spokesman at the Legislative Assembly.

He has dedicated his life to the service of the country, having resolved not to accept any remunerative employment. This, along with his resignation of the I. C. S., is one of the proofs of his spirit of sacrifice. He is a full-time worker, not burdened with the responsibilities and cares of family life.

His sufferings in the cause of the country do not require detailed recounting. He courted imprisonment as a non-co-operator in 1921 and in 1930 by taking active part in the civil disobedience campaign. He was deported and kept in detention without trial for many years, which has resulted in almost irreparable injury to his health.

He began his political career as the right-hand man of Deshabandhu Chitta Ranjan Das, has been one of the most prominent leaders of the Congress movement for many years, and is at present president of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee.

He utilized his long sojourn in Europe to acquire first-hand knowledge of the freedom movements and other political movements of that continent. There he did not confine his attention to politics alone. Human activities are not kept in air-tight compartments. There is interdependence, as well as inter-action, between different movements of different kinds, political, economic, social, ethical, literary, philosophical, scientific, etc. Improvement of the economic condition of India has been one of the problems which have engaged his attention. From Europe he threw out suggestions as to how in making purchases from abroad the government and the commercial and industrial magnates of India could secure opportunities for Indian students to obtain technological and commercial training abroad. His advice and guidance were of considerable help to students in the continent to establish cultural and other contacts there.

We have no desire to institute comparisons between Mr. Bose with any of India's past Congress presidents. We owe no allegiance to the Congress. From our non-party point of view he appears to be quite fit to occupy the Congress presidential chair.

Kottapatam Summer School Affair

The Madras Government has banned the summer school of economics and politics and made some arrests. It was reported that there had been a 'lathi' charge in that connection. Thereupon that government issued a communique.

OOTACAMUND, MAY 25.

A Madras Government 'communique' relating to the closure of Kottapatam summer school of economics and politics and arrests made in that connection says that there was no 'lathi' charge and the Government are satisfied that the police used no more force than necessary to arrest and remove those who resisted. Nobody was seriously injured.

The 'communique' states the Government position, and says that from the perusal of students' notes taken of lectures it appears that they are instigated to employ violent methods to overthrow the established Government. —*A. P. I.*

The communique admits that some force was used. In a statement issued by Mr. C. Rajagopalachari he says that the persons arrested "were ready and willing to be arrested." He asks, "why should there be beating and dragging?" Supposing there were no beating and dragging, where was the occasion for the use of the least force?

If the students' notes of lectures really show that "they are instigated to employ violent methods to overthrow the established governments," why is there no criminal prosecution and open trial? The public cannot accept as correct allegations made in official communiques which have not been proved in open court.

Jute Mills Strike Sequel

Though the jute mills strike in Bengal was called off on certain assurances having been given by the Bengal Chief Minister, the dispute is not yet over. One of the promises made was that there would be no victimization. It is asserted by the labour leaders that there has been victimization, though the Jute Mills Association deny it, and the labour leaders further say that they are ready to prove their statement. They make other allegations also relating to some other promises also not having been carried out.

Bengal Salt Industry

A press note was recently issued officially, in which it was said in effect that there was little or no prospect of any profitable salt industry in Bengal. But in the earlier days of British rule there was such an industry here which provided remunerative employment to numerous 'malungi's, as they were called. It is not surprising, therefore, that the local salt manufacturers have not taken the press note as the last word on the subject.

The Bengal Salt Manufacturers Association met at a representative meeting at the Commercial Museum on Friday, the 28th May, at 4 P.M., to discuss the situation arising out of the press note issued by the Press Officer, Government of Bengal on the salt industry in the Province depicting the gloomy prospect of that industry in the province.

In course of the discussions much resentment and disappointment were expressed at the tone of the note and it was expressed that much injustice has been done to the industry in Bengal. It was decided to forward a resolution condemning the point of view expressed in the Press note as well as to forward a memorial to the Hon'ble Minister in-charge placing the whole case and the bright prospect and possibilities of salt industry in Bengal of course, with sincere co-operation and help of the Government.

"Frontier Day"

Mr. J. B. Kripalani, Congress General Secretary, had issued a request that the 28th of May should be observed as "Frontier Day" to protest against Governments' "forward policy" and expedition against some tribes on the N.-W. Frontier. There was no suggestion that there should be condemnation of the plundering, killing and abduction of Hindus on the Frontier by some tribesmen.

We looked into the Calcutta morning papers of the 29th May and found only the following telegram relating to a Frontier Day (Muslim) meeting :

NEW DELHI, MAY 28.

At a meeting of the local Muslims held in observance of the "Frontier Day" at the Jumma Musjid after the Friday prayers today, Mufti Kifayatullah, President of the Jamiat-ul-Ulema-Hind, presiding, a resolution was passed expressing resentment over the military operations in Waziristan and condemning the forward policy of the Government.—*United Press.*

Subsequently in the Calcutta morning papers of the 30th and 31st May, there appeared news of such meetings in four other places.

We are sorry, frontier affairs have been made a communal question and Mr. Kripalani's request has led to counter-demonstrations on the part of Hindus. The Executive Committee of the Punjab Provincial Hindu Sabha met at the residence of Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang at Lahore on the 25th May and passed the following resolution :

The Punjab Provincial Hindu Sabha views with great horror and deepest abhorrence the appeal issued by Acharya Kripalani, the General Secretary of the Indian National Congress, to celebrate the 28th of May, 1937 as the "Frontier Day" with the object of showing sympathy with the trans-border marauders and condemning the so-called forward policy of the Government of India. The appeal betrays a lamentable ignorance of the true position at the Frontier and a callous and heartless disregard of the honour, lives and property of the Hindu and Sikh residents of the N.-W.F. Province and Waziristan. The outrages that are being committed by the turbulent tribes at the Frontier are not the result of any particular policy of the Government but are due to the nefarious and fanatical propaganda being carried on by some trans-border fanatics against the Hindus and the British Govern-

ment, as is evidenced by the fact that the present trouble started with the recovery of an abducted Hindu girl from her abductors last year which was made the occasion of a mass demonstration both in Bannu and Miran Shah.

The Sabha strongly condemns Acharya Kripalani's appeal and urges upon the Congress to withdraw this ill-considered and ill-advised proposal. It also calls upon all fair-minded and patriotic Indians to condemn in unmistakable terms the outrages committed by trans-border raiders, resulting in plunder, arson, murder and kidnapping of innocent Hindu and Sikh men, women and children who can by no means be held responsible for any policy of the Government.

The Sabha views with great regret the attitude of studied silence adopted by Muslims, particularly the Red Shirt leaders, in not taking any steps to stop or even condemn the outrages committed by their co-religionists.

The Sabha urges upon the Government to take more stringent and decisive measures to put a stop to the invasions of the Indian territories by the Frontier marauders and put an end to the outrages committed by them against the peaceful and innocent British subjects living in the Frontier.

The Sabha also calls upon the Government to take adequate measures for the relief of those who have suffered at the hands of the raiders and for the restoration of the abducted persons.

A New Delhi message, dated the 27th May, states that the local Hindu Sabha organized a procession and a public meeting on that day as a counter-demonstration against the Congress "Frontier Day" appeal. The meeting passed two resolutions, one of which condemned the action of the Frontier tribesmen.

How "To Save Our Women"

At the Allahabad "Frontier Day" meeting Mr. J. B. Kripalani is reported to have said:

It was useless to expect the foreigners to protect and save the honour of our women who were being kidnapped on the frontier.

The only way to save our women was the attainment of Swaraj.

Members of the Congress in the legislatures ask and expect the foreign government to do many things by moving resolutions. It is useless and a sin only to expect "the foreigners" to protect and save the honour of our women.

The attainment of Swaraj is no doubt the best way to save our women. But it is not the only way. And are our women to be allowed to be abducted and raped with impunity till Swaraj has been won? A truly gallant attitude.

Defence of India and Her Insecure Position

LONDON, MAY 27.

The question of the defence of India was raised by speakers at the Calcutta Dinner to-night, presided over by Baron Catto.

Field-Marshal Sir Phillip Chetwode, deploring the lack of attention to this question, said that things had so much altered in the matter of Imperial strategy that India might find herself one day isolated until Britain was able to settle matters. He added: "One day you may have to stand on your own legs for quite a long time."—*Reuter.*

Such speeches on the part of men like Sir Phillip Chetwode are quite sickening and provoking. These men, far from encouraging and helping physically, morally and intellectually fit Indians all over India to prepare themselves for the defence of their country, have followed a short-sighted, narrowly selfish imperialist policy which has stood in the way of the majority of Indian provinces taking part in self-defence. These men are really inimical to the Indianization of the army. And now they say that India might one day find herself isolated *until Britain was able to settle matters.* Why didn't they allow India to be in a position to settle matters herself?

Sir Phillip added: "One day you may have to stand on your own legs for quite a long time." A fine prospect to hold out to lame men whom Sir Phillip has helped to keep lame and without crutches! Where are their legs?

Cabinet Changes in Britain

Mr. Baldwin has retired from the British premiership with an earldom and Mr. Neville Chamberlain has become prime minister. It is all one to India.

The Dominion prime ministers attending the Imperial Conference were united in paying tributes to Mr. Baldwin's services to the British Empire. That is their business, and we have nothing more to say.

Sir Mahomed Zafarullah Khan made a speech full of fulsome adulation. He said: "We in India have particular reason to be grateful to Mr. Baldwin, for during his tenure of office and under his guidance India has been granted a charter," etc., etc. "We in India"! Who authorized the speaker to speak on behalf of the people of India. "Grateful"! "Charter"!

Mr. Baldwin at Empire Day Coronation Banquet

The following sentences occur in Mr. (now Earl) Baldwin's speech at the Empire Day Coronation banquet in London on May 24 last:

"Many as have been dynasties that ruled India none held sway so universal and undisputed as that monarchy of which every man and woman in this room are servants. In that loyalty, which is focussed upon the Crown, India finds that unity that she sought so long and we are now engaged in translating that unity into terms of Federation from which, we hope and believe will arise India greater than she has ever yet been. It will be largely her responsibility but I want her to believe the sincerity of efforts

that we made to help her to this new constitution. I want her to believe that the sympathy which we feel with her in this great adventure, that she is undertaking, is sympathy not confined to Great Britain but it exists in every other part of the Empire."—*Reuter.*

India's unity under British rule has become a parrot cry with British imperialists. When the Government of India Act was passed in August, 1935, Lord Willingdon waxed eloquent over it. We commented on his words in *The Modern Review* for September, 1935. We do not want to repeat ourselves, though British imperialists are indefatigable in mechanical repetition of shibboleths. We know what this unity in subjection means. As for 'sincerity' and 'sympathy,' we should like to be referred to some imperialistic lexicon to be able to learn their meanings.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's Tour in Burma and Malaya

Wherever Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru has gone in Burma and Malaya, he has been enthusiastically received. The speeches he has made have been quite appropriate. India and Burma should collaborate in the struggle for freedom whenever it is necessary. Indians living in Burma and Malaya should make common cause with the Burmese and the Malayans, as many of them have been doing all along. The Pandit has rightly decided that the Burma branch of the Indian National Congress should continue to function. Burma has been separated from India against the deliberate opinion of the majority of Burma's spokesmen. Neither Burmans nor Indians can accept that as a settled fact. In any case, though externally separated, the two countries should keep up their ties and contacts.

Abyssinian Emperor's Hope Against Hope

Haile Selassie, the Emperor of Abyssinia, who has been driven from his throne by Italy, continues to hope against hope, though it was his confidence in the League which was in great part responsible for the loss of his empire.

GENEVA, MAY 25.

Haile Selassie is not sending any delegation to the League Assembly.

He has sent a message to the League stating that no useful purpose would be served by attending the Assembly.

He says: "While expressing good wishes to Egypt and rejoicing in the fact that she has gained complete international independence, I reserve the hope that the League will one day obtain complete liberation of the Ethiopian occupied territory."—*Reuter.*

Egypt Member of League of Nations

Egypt has been admitted to the membership of the League of Nations. India is also a member. Egypt's political status is higher than that of India. But Egypt is not really completely independent. There are terms in the Anglo-Egyptian treaty which Britain could not have imposed on any really independent country.

Sino-British Boundary Commission

A communique has been issued from Simla on the progress made by the Sino-Burma Boundary Commission. It states:

The Commission was charged only with the duties of investigation and determination of the treaty line with possible recommendation 'ad referendum'.

This they had done and the results of the Commission's investigations would form the basis of the negotiations in a spirit of mutual conciliation and compromise between the Governments concerned (for which purpose a conference would, if necessary, meet in Nanking) and that ultimately the results of the report of the Commission and these negotiations will be embodied in the new agreement. Until the new agreement is signed it is premature to say that the Boundary question has been finally settled. In brief the treaty line has been determined and put on the map and material collected on which negotiations can be conducted.—*Associated Press.*

The People's Tribune of China, dated May 1, gives a detailed narrative of the negotiations from the beginning and records the progress so far made. It begins thus:

News has been received from Yunnan of substantial progress toward the friendly settlement of a long-standing dispute between the Chinese and British Governments regarding delimitation of the frontier between Yunnan and Burmah. It has taken some time to reach an agreement on the disputed boundary, and no less than 116 meetings have been held by the Sino-British Commissioners (two of each nationality) under a neutral Chairman (Colonel F. Iselin, a Swiss citizen) appointed by the League of Nations, and whose rulings on points of difference were accepted by both parties as final. The Commission started its investigations during the winter of 1935-36, suspended operations with the coming of the rainy season, and resumed work last winter, ending its labours on April 24 with the signature of a final report at Hsawnglong, in Burmese territory. A farewell luncheon was given by the British Commissioners, after which pleasant ceremony the Chairman and the two Chinese Commissioners crossed the frontier into Chinese territory, and at Mongah a farewell dinner was given to Colonel Iselin by his Chinese colleagues on the Commission.

In conclusion the China journal observes:

It is understood that about three-fifths of the area in dispute (including Hsimeng, Panhung, Mongshaw, and Lunghkam) has been recognized by the Sino-British Commission as Chinese territory, representing about 10,000 square *li*, and extending beyond the line drawn by Mr. Scott and the Chinese Commissioners who went over the ground during the late monarchy. But apart from the extension of China's territory which will follow the anticipated adoption of the Commission's report by the

two Governments concerned, it is most gratifying to record the friendly manner in which the disputing parties agreed to settle their differences, and the cordiality mutually shown by the two groups of Commissioners in discussing points at issue. May this good example of the judicial settlement of contentious issues be widely followed—as it could be if other nations showed the same respect for law and equity as has been shown by Great Britain in her dispute with China about the Yunnnan-Burmah boundary.

It would be interesting to know the explanation of this " friendly manner " and this " respect for law and equity."

"Let Every City Have A Rescue Home"

Mrs. L. R. Zutshi of Allahabad has issued the following statement and appeal :

The crying need of the country today is effective means of protecting its women. In spite of the Act prohibiting Immoral Traffic in women thousands are being kidnapped and sold every day. Even the few who escape have no home to return to as their relatives generally refuse to take them back. India, in spite of progressing so rapidly, is centuries behind other countries. It cannot give up age-long traditions as child marriage, ill-treating of widows, etc. Hence the traffic in women continues. Every year hundreds of young widows are brought away from homes on the pretext of a pilgrimage and left at Benares or Muttra or any other religious place because their relatives find them a burden. A visit to Benares shows scores of young widows squatting on the Ghats begging—as they have no ostensible means of livelihood. Those women who are kidnapped and sold in the Punjab or Sind where the percentage of women is much lower, and even those who are kidnapped by the priests of the various temples—their number probably runs into hundreds.

ACT NOT SUFFICIENT

We have not yet realised that the mere passing of an Act will not eradicate this evil but a vigorous propaganda together with a practical programme can only help. In this vast country of ours with its enormous population, illiteracy and poverty there are hardly fifty Rescue Homes scattered here and there. These homes are so few that no one knows anything about them and then the distances are so great that it is impossible for an escaped woman to reach them safely. We need one in every city and certainly in places of pilgrimages where women can live unmolested and are also taught some handicraft whereby they can arn a living and not be a burden on the Home. It is more difficult to arrange for girls who are kidnapped while young and are sold in far off provinces. Unless our social reformers give their wholehearted attention to this menace and the Government its support, I am afraid very little can be achieved. There are a few homes run by private enterprise, but either they have to close down due to financial difficulties or are so badly managed that they really do not serve the purpose for which they are opened. It is no use for the Government merely to help in passing the Act. If it cannot open a Rescue Home in each province, it can at least co-operate with those already in the field. With its power and resources the Government can effectively check this growing menace. Our philanthropists, instead of misusing their charity, can easily use it for more useful purposes.

If even we had hundreds of Rescue Homes we could not be sure of success unless and until every man and woman in the country was prepared to lend his or her active support.

May I hope that my appeal will not go in vain?

The appeal ought not to fall on deaf ears.

Nations speak of conserving and utilizing their man power. They ought also to conserve their woman wealth—particularly India.

Expulsion of Messrs. Mahomedally & Co. from Abyssinia

In connection with the expulsion of Messrs. Mahomedally and Co., a firm of Indian merchants, from Abyssinia by Italy the Indian Merchants' Chamber of Bombay observe in the course of their letter to the secretary to the Government of India :

No foreign Government can dare filch away the rights and privileges of a British merchant or trader, as they know that the power and strength of the British Empire will be behind him. The same should be the case with regard to Indian merchants and traders doing business in foreign countries.

So shall it be when India becomes free and powerful. And that day is likely to come sooner than later if the Muslim community, to which this particular firm belongs, ceases bargaining and combines with other communities in winning freedom.

Enterprise of Arya Kanya Mahavidyalaya

SIMLA, MAY 21.

Forty girl students of the Arya Kanya Mahavidyala, Baroda, have arrived in Simla to give demonstrations of physical feats, archery, sword play, Jui-Jitsu, speech-making, etc. After spending about three weeks here they go to Amritsar for about a week and thence return to Baroda.

It is understood that the Mahavidyala has already collected funds for sending girls on study and propaganda tour to America. A similar tour was arranged through Africa two years ago. It proved very successful.—*A. P.*

Death of Mr. John D. Rockefeller

Mr. John D. Rockefeller, one of the world's wealthiest men, died at Daytona Beach, Florida, U. S. A., on the 23rd May last at the age of 97. In spite of his vast wealth he led a simple and unostentatious life. He will be remembered by posterity for his numerous benefactions, totalling more than 500,000,000 dollars or one hundred and fifty crores of rupees, nearly four-fifths of which have gone to the four great charitable corporations which he created, namely, the Rockefeller Foundation, General Education Board, the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial, and the Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research.

Benares University Glass Technology Research

BENARES, MAY 19.

For many years past the glass industry in India has been going through strenuous times and the need for

trained men capable of improving the technique of manufacture has been felt as much as the provision for protective tariff by the Government.

Protective legislation may help an industry to stand on its feet in the beginning, but lasting success can come only through efficiency and skill. This lack of efficiency in our glass industry is obvious from the antiquated methods of manufacture that are still current and it is high time that our manufacturers began to make full use of western research and progress.

Work in this direction was begun some two years back at Benares Hindu University when experiments were successfully carried out for using a rock which is found in abundant quantities in India, in glass making. Through the use of this rock the foreign imported ash commonly used in glass would be partially replaced and the cost of manufacture appreciably decreased. Recently, realising the value of this work the U. P. Government have thought fit to award a sum of Rs. 3,000 for trying out experiments on a commercial scale by the purchase of an electro-magnetic separator needed for the purpose. In connection with this work a recuperative furnace, the first of its kind in India, was constructed and successfully worked. Now other types of furnaces with recuperative heat economy are being built and it is hoped that they will soon be tried out on an industrial scale.

This work has also drawn the Industrial Research Bureau of the Government of India on whose behalf a survey of glass making raw materials of the country is being carried out.

Congress and Office Acceptance

When originally the Congress agreed to accept office if the provincial governors gave an assurance of non-interference with the constitutional actions of the Congress ministries, the governors, under instructions from Whitehall, refused or failed to give any such assurance. And Lord Zetland assumed a high and mighty tone in Parliament, perhaps thinking that the Congress was dying to form ministries. All this stiffened the back of the Congress. When subsequently Lord Zetland spoke in Parliament again on the subject, he was conciliatory and courteous and practically gave the assurance asked for by the Congress. But it was too late. Human nature is human nature, and consistency too demanded that the stiff Congress back should not assume the curvature which would be to the liking of the British rulers of India. So the later attitude of the Secretary of State, which, if it had been the original attitude, could have prevented the ministry impasse and led to the formation of Congress ministries, has failed to do the trick.

Sit-down Strike in Politics

With reference to the refusal of the Congress M.L.A. leaders in six provinces to form ministries *Unity* of Chicago writes :

> If this isn't a sit-down strike in politics, as we now have it in this country in industry, we don't know what the sit-down strike may be. At last reports, Britain was trying to inveigle the recalcitrant Indians into some kind of conference and concession. An interview with the Viceroy is the bait placed in the trap for Gandhi—as though such an interview offered any temptation to the great leader of all India! If the Viceroy himself goes to Gandhi and seeks conference, the Mahatma will of course not refuse it. But the point is, the power in this crisis is in Gandhi's hands . . . We advise our readers to . . . note the unchallenged ascendency of Gandhi in his country's destiny. This man holds no office, exercises no official authority, has no army nor even a policeman at his back, yet he holds greater sway than any other man alive upon this planet. When was there ever such a demonstration of the power of moral force?

Chinese Government and Chinese Communists Unite ?

Events in China seem to show that there is perhaps an understanding between the Chinese government and the Chinese communists of which the object is united Chinese national resistance to Japan of an effective character. In order that all political groups in China may unite and cordially co-operate the Chinese government in Nanking has been asked to restore freedom of speech and assembly and to release political prisoners. A resumption of the alliance with Soviet Russia has also been asked for. All this is probably and partly the cause of the recent change in Japanese policy and tone.

Owing to the changed situation Japan will have to think many times before she attacks Soviet Russia from the East and her ally Hitlerite Germany from the West.

Third Congress of World Fellowship of Faiths

The inaugural meeting of the third Congress of the World Fellowship of Faiths was held in London on the 18th May last before a large audience. The Right Honourable George Lansbury, M.P., took the chair. The proceedings started with prayers of eleven faiths. The prayers were led by Sardar Mohan Singh. This was followed by a special coronation prayer.

Mr. Lansbury in a short introductory speech explained to the audience the ideals of the World Fellowship of Faiths. The association, he said, believed in the value of religious belief, no matter what the creed. The question of asserting the supremacy of one religion over all others had no place on the World Fellowship platform. They were interested, he added, in hearing from leaders of different faiths of the contribution each faith had made and could make to solving the world's problems. The subject for the day, he announced, was "Peace and Progress through World Fellowship."

If Sir Asutosh Mookerjee Were Living—

The celebration of the thirteenth anniversary of the death of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee brings home to the public the fact that, had he been living at this hour, those who have been trying to circumscribe and minimise the facilities for education in Bengal and communalize it more and more, would have had to face a formidable antagonist. But though there is no masterful personality and master of strategy like him now living, the battle ought to be fought by a combination of all who want full facilities for education of a non-communal character to be provided for the children and youth of Bengal.

Plays for Schools and Colleges

It is the opinion of the Calcutta University that for school and college theatricals only such plays should be selected as have no women among the dramatis personae. The director of public instruction has prepared a list of plays for such theatricals, in some of which there are female characters. All these plays are morally unobjectionable. But the University has not approved of the inclusion of these latter plays in the list. We agree with the University. There is already more effeminacy in the country than there should be. Nothing should be done or encouraged which would increase it directly or indirectly. The playing of female parts by boys is open to objection on that score. There are other moral objections.

Cattle Conference in Simla

We fully and *duly* appreciate Lord Linlithgow's efforts to improve the breed of cattle and their condition in the country.

But when is he going to do something effective to add to the stature, strength and quality of the manhood and womanhood of India?

But that is perhaps not a question which ought to be put to anybody occupying a gubernatorial position under India's new, British-made, constitution.

We note that, though Sir Jagdish Prasad referred to and condemned malpractices on cows, he did not give any indications of what government would or would not do to put a stop to them.

Profit-sharing and The Tatas

The move which has been made by the Tatas in the direction of profit-sharing in their Iron and Steel Works at Jamshedpur is commendable from all points of views.

Japanese Policy in Korea

Japanese policy in Korea is to eliminate all foreign firms, if possible. Recently three American firms were bought out by Japanese as part of the program of making Japan supreme in the Korean business world.

—*World Events*

"The Struggle for Civil Liberties"

Among the best books recommended by the American "pocket periodical" *World Events* is Dr. Ram-manohar Lohia's "The Struggle for Civil Liberties" (All-India Congress Committee, Allahabad, 4 annas), which contains a survey of the fight for civil liberties in France, England, the United States and India.

Lord Baden-Powell on Indians & Hindustani

Lord Baden-Powell, Chief Scout, visited India last cold weather. He recently told a gathering of journalists in London that one of the main handicaps from which India suffered at the present time was 'lack of character.' He also said that one of his chief difficulties in India was that there was no Hindustani word for 'honour.' This difficulty of his was due to his "little knowledge" of Hindustani.

As to his remark that India suffered from 'lack of character,' that clearly meant that in his opinion the majority of Indians or a very large section of them, if not all, lacked character. Nevertheless Mr. Arundale, president of the Theosophical Society, asked him by cable what he had exactly said. By return cable came a denial that he had ever said that all Indians were without character. So, what he meant is quite clear. In all countries there are some persons who have no character. But for that reason no sane man would say, "Every country suffers from the handicap of lack of character." It is only when the prevailing characteristic of the people of a country is lack of character, that one speaks or at least should speak of it in the way that Lord Baden-Powell has spoken of India.

In the circumstances, unless he unreservedly withdraws and apologizes for his insulting remark, all Indian boys and others connected with the official Boy Scout association and movement should cut off their connection with it. If they do not do so, that will show that at least they lack character.

We have never been in favour of any Indian boy or adult joining the official Boy Scout movement. It is an imperialistic organization.

ount Snowden

British public life is distinctly the poorer by death of Viscount Snowden. In his Liberal , before any organized Labour party had into existence and when he was plain Mr. p Snowden, his parliamentary utterances doings were friendly towards India. In r life he did not take any interest in this try.

dus and the Nawab of Bhopal

The way the Bhopal Durbar has dealt with organizers of the Hindu Conference at Bhopal d the Conference itself is arbitrary and un-thy of any enlightened modern administration. But Hindus must be prepared for suffering erywhere and must acquire the strength to ercome all obstacles and survive.

ibition of Export of Sugar from India

The resolution of the International Sugar nference forbidding exports of sugar from dia deserves strong condemnation. If the gar manufacturers of India had been re-esented at the conference, they would have rtainly opposed it. But they were not. India s said to have been 'represented' at it by Dr. Meek, the Government of India's trade commissioner in London. It is not known whether he acquiesced in the resolution. We are not aware that the Government of India has refused to acquiesce in the resolution. India's sugar is not poison that its export should be prohibited.

The Sonya Maruti Temple Satyagraha

The Sonya Maruti Temple satyagraha at Poona is over, but the incidents connected with it cannot but leave bitter memories in the minds of the Hindus. Why should Hindus be prevented from exercising their right of worship in their wn way so long as they do not interfere with the milar right of others. During the *Muharram* Mussalmans beat their drums at whatever hour of the day or night their religion requires them to do so. Neither the Hindus nor the Government object to it. Why should music, particularly the tinkling of little bells, associated with Hindu worship, be then objected to or prohibited? If any non-Hindus be disposed to create disurbances in consequence of such sounds, it is they who ought to be restrained, not the Hindus. t is preposterous and very unjust to punish indus for exercising their unquestionable right. Those who cannot and do not object to the oting of motor horns, the whistling of railway locomotives, the rattling of street tramcars, the loud sounds which rouse factory workers from leep, and the like, betray only their absurd illogicality and fanaticism by objecting to Hindu religious music.

Anti-constitutional Utterances of a Magistrate

Recently Mr. M. M. Stuart, I.C.S., District Magistrate of Nadia, said to the students of the Ranaghat Junior Madrasa: "You are Bengalis first, then you are Hindus or Mahomedans. Do not try to be known by your religion but by the name of the country you live in, like other nations of the world." Mr. Stuart's exhortation was anti-constitutional. The words Indian, Bengali, Punjabi, etc., are not recognized by the Government of India Act of 1935 and its schedules. The word Mahomedan is recognized But Hindus are not even mentioned by name. They are, with some others, merely the voters or and holders of 'General' seats in the legisature.

A Loyal Paper on the King's Broadcast Coronation Speech

The Leader of Allahabad is an organ of the Liberal party and fights the Congress tooth and nail. Its article on the Coronation breathed ardent loyalty throughout. On the King's broadcast message to the empire on coronation day it published the following editorial note:

> While the King's broadcast message to the empire on Coronation Day struck the right note and was couched in felicitous language of noble sentiments, we have to draw attention to an omission which, to us as Indians, is important and regrettable. His Majesty said, 'Never has the ceremony itself had so wide a significance, for the dominions are now free and equal partners with this ancient kingdom.' It is notorious that India is not a dominion and therefore not 'a free and equal partner' with England. The remainder of the sentence is, 'and I felt this morning that the whole empire was in very truth gathered within the walls of Westminster Abbey.' In recent years was introduced the practice of a separate mention of India as a country which in status is something between the dominions on one side and colonies, protectorates and dependencies on the other. Now, however, the practice has been departed from and the older and more undesirable position reverted to—we do not know whether by design or accident. Next, there is the following sentence in the message; 'by the grace of God and the will of the free peoples of the British Commonwealth of Nations, I assume the Crown.' India is a part of the empire but not included in the 'Commonwealth of Nations' because her people are not 'free' and are not supposed to have a 'will'. At least in these days when India's national self-respect has been aroused and is very sensitive, it would perhaps have been at least politic if they had not been so pointedly reminded of their position of subordination, on such an occasion and in such a message. It is evident that there is no single man of imagination among his Majesty's present advisors.

We think the King's advisors served the cause of truth by not advising the inclusion in His Majesty's message of any honeyed reference to India.

Tokyo World Educational Conference

The Tokyo correspondent of *The Hindustan Times* has given some useful information relating to the World Educational Conference which will meet in that city in August next and to participate in which seven ladies and one gentleman have already started from Bombay. Here are a few items :

TOKYO (By Air Mail).

Over a thousand delegates from nearly every nation will attend the Seventh World Federation of Education Associations' Conference to be held in Tokyo this summer. Already 583 educational leaders of 30 countries have registered at the Japanese Education Association, headquarters of the World Conference Committee, at Hitotsubashi, Kanda. The United States heads the list with 300 registrations.

The conference headquarters is now busy, humming with the activities of more than 30 committees, preparing for the gigantic task of taking care of foreign school teachers and educators when they will assemble here for six days beginning August 2. The scene of the conference will be laid at the Imperial University.

The Government has provided an appropriation of Y150.000 for this purpose and the general subscription of Y370.000 from interested parties in addition will be used to cover the conference expenditures. Each delegate will be charged Y17 for registration.

The following is the latest item of news relating to this conference :

SIMLA, MAY 30.

Principal Seshadri of the Government College, Ajmer has been nominated by the Government to be the leader of the Indian delegation to the World Education Conference to be held in Tokyo in August. Principal Shesadri will sail by the end of next month.

Mr. Bakhale at the International Textile Conference

Mr. R. R. Bakhale was India's representative at the International Textile Conference at Washington. At the plenary session of that conference he put the following question to the British employers' delegate, to which the only truthful answer is, "yes, it is" :

'May I ask him whether it is not a fact that the excise duty on cotton goods produced in my country was levied at the instance of a third party, namely the British employers?'

Militant Godless Decline in Russia

The Guardian writes :

The beginnings of a religious reaction are evident in Russia. Membership of the Militant Godless League which in 1933 was 5,000,000 is now less than 2,000,000. The Commissariat of Education has closed five anti-religious museums in the provinces, and the Central Institute for Anti-religious Propaganda, which formerly had 3,000 students. The Komsomol (Communist League of Youth) has notably slackened its efforts in many areas. *Komsomolskaya Pravda* of 14th March called attention to the poor output of anti-religious books in 1936, when only eighteen such books and pamphlets were published with issues varying from three to ten or twelve thousand copies. During 1937, forty-four books and pamphlets are planned, but so far only four pamphlets have been issued. There are also few caricatures and godless posters, anti-religious plays and lantern lectures.

Fruit Preservation in India

The Times of India writes :

The Mango canning industry of India will take its first big stride forward in the next few days, when a large canning factory in the north of Bombay will go into production with a season's programme of 15,00,000 best quality fruit to be obtained from leading mango-growing districts of the Presidency.

Pandit Moolchand Malaviya, honorary secretary, Allahabad Fruit-growers' Association has informed the public concerned that,

Having received several applications for admission to the next batch of the fruit preservation class to be organized by the Allahabad Fruit-Growers' Association like last year, from all over the province and distant places like Nepal, the Allahabad Fruit-Growers' Association is contemplating to have the 7th batch of the fruit preservation class in the first week of June next. The period of the training has been extended from ten days to a fortnight and more attention will be paid for practical work, which was not possible last year on account of insufficiency of fruit preservation apparatus, etc.

The Pandit also says that there will be a mango show this year on a larger scale than last year.

What are the records of Bengal, Madras and other provinces in this field of productive activity?

India-Burma Postage Rates

The increase in the Indo-Burma postage rates has seriously affected all kinds of communication and business intercourse by post between the two countries. The Government of Burma has its own motives and reasons for increasing the rates. But why should the Government of India seriously inconvenience those whose affairs it administers? What would it gain thereby? The Finance Minister of Burma stated sometime ago in the Burma House of Representatives that the Government of India was at liberty to choose a rate suitable to India's financial position. If it is really at liberty, why should it not revert to the rates which prevailed before the two countries were separated?

Slavery and the League of Nations

On the topic of slavery *Fortnightly News*, published by the League of Nations, writes :

Viscount Cecil, the British delegate, introduced the bate on the question in the 1929 Assembly by declaring conditions of servitude still exist in some territories that a fresh enquiry should be s t on foot in order arouse the conscience of the world to the seriousness the situation. The Committee of Experts, which was pointed to make this enquiry, published its first memodum in January 1935. The authors of this report clared that the first step toward the suppression of ave-raiding should be the abolition of the legal status slaves. If it is not recognised that the condition of avery has a certain status in law, then any attempt to pture people or carry them off can be punished as a ime. If, however, the legal status of slaves as such is aintained in any country, then slave-traders will always willing to attempt to effect cap ure within that territory. e right of every person to liber y under the law was ey considered, the first principle to be established.

The League's Advisory Committee of xperts on Slavery ought to have said : "The ght of every person, *except the detenus of dia*, to liberty was the first principle to be tablished."

eath of the Maharaja of Alwar

His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar died an accident last month at Paris. His death as tragic, not less tragic was his life.

He was highly praised both as a ruler and an tellectual by such persons as the late Mr. E. Montagu and Mr. James Ramsay MacDonald. few months before the Maharaja was 'asked' go to Europe in 1933, Colonel Ogilvie, Agent the Governor-General of India, quoted the llowing words of praise bestowed on him by Ir. MacDonald :

"You have been a very distinguished ruler of a most osperous State. In your actions, in your government, your policy, you have amply fulfilled those injunctions aced upon you by the late Lord Curzon when he visited ur State. You have borne the burden of your high d troublous office with placid equanimity and uniform ccess. In the course of your reign, you have enriched e material prosperity of the State; and you have led steadily on the highroad of political progress."

After quoting these sentences *The Hindustan imes* writes :

Recounting the salient features of his administration. e A. G. G. himself added :

"The income of the State has risen from 30 lakhs 1903 to 60 lakhs. Nearly 50 lakhs have been spent on nks, 20 lakhs on buildings and 30 lakhs on roads. A gh Court has been established at the capital and the liciary has been separated from the executive. Education s been made free in the State. Religious education imparted to both communities. The number of nicipalities has risen from 8 to 31 and every village ssesses a Panchayat Board."

The Delhi paper comments :

The catalogue would do credit to any Indian Prince. it, strangely enough, within a few months, the Maharaja is said to have been guilty of grave misrule and asked quit his State. The same A. G. G. held a durbar three later "under the orders of the Government of India" and referred to [illegible] misrule (during his forced absence?) which [illegible] years' exile. A change had come over the Political Department. New heads had replaced the old.

The Maharaja was an independent-minded man and a patriot, and made a very fine speech in Allahabad at Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya's Hindu-Moslem Unity Conference. *The Leader* observes that that "is believed to be not wholly unconnected with his subsequent fate."

Dancing in Cinemas

The Calcutta Municipal Gazette writes :

The executive authorities of the Calcutta Corporation are taking steps to control dancing in cinema houses. With this object in view they have informed the proprietors of cinema houses that previous permission of the Corporation should, as a rule, be obtained before any dancing shows are arranged in any of the houses and that the necessary particulars about the performances should be supplied, when applying for this permission.

In the opinion of the municipal authorities restrictions on public exhibitions of dances have become necessary for two reasons. In the first place, there are some cinema houses in Calcutta whose fire-fighting arrangements are not adequate and, consequently, the larger crowds which live entertainments like dancing draw, become a correspondingly greater potential danger. Secondly, the authorities believe that in certain cases dancing is not practised as an art, pure and simple, but is a more or less dubious activity meant to whet dubious appetites. This might turn out to be a not particularly easy distinction to make in actual practice. But we have no doubt that the sincerity and the purity of motive of the Corporation executive will in every case amply compensate any mistakes that might occur in the application of the restrictions.

The steps taken by the Calcutta Corporation should meet with the approbation of all decent people.

We have never yet gone to any cinema house of our own accord to see a film exhibited, and it is very very seldom that we have agreed to be taken to one by others. On one of these rare occasions we were taken to a cinema house in Calcutta by a person who gave us a wrong description of the scenario and misled us. As we did not stay till the end, we cannot say whether there was anything objectionable in the story the film depicted. But there was a dance which the film exhibited which had nothing to do with the story and which was objectionable as exhibiting tendentious motions of the body of the danseuse below the waist. If such was the case with the shadow of that kind of dance, one can easily imagine how much more objectionable live dances of that kind and worse kinds are.

Dancing in itself and of all kinds we do not object to. But all dances in which there are tendentious movements of the parts of the body immediately below the waist ought to be eschewed.

Is There Still An International Morality?

The Swiss government has closed down the Ethiopian consulate in Bern. Hearing of this action, the Negus sent a letter of protest to the Federal Council in which the following passage occurs:

> I wish wholeheartedly that God may preserve the Swiss people from every aggression and from the terrible suffering which the Ethiopian people endured at the hands of an aggressor . . . By depriving the Ethiopian people of the protection of its consul in Bern, the Swiss Federal Council does a great and inexcusable wrong. The Government of the country which houses the League of Nations now gives this heavy blow to a people which is being tortured by a powerful aggressor. Is there still an international morality? What remains now of European civilization?—*Nofrontier News Service.*

Special India Number of "Asia" Magazine

There are numerous illustrated English magazines in England and America. None of them, however, serves the same purpose as the *Asia* magazine of New York. It makes the Orient better known and correctly known to the world. While not excluding what the Western eye sees in the East, it attaches due importance to what orientals want to say about the parts of the world they live in. It is not exclusively devoted to any sphere of human activity. Religion, art, all cultural movements, descriptive ethnology, demography, travels, folk-lore, politics, sociology—in fact everything human that can be made interesting and informative to the general reader is to be found in its pages in some number or other. It does not at present exclude fiction altogether, but admits only the work of master minds like Tagore.

Its illustrations are not less attractive and artistic than those of ordinary pictorial magazines —perhaps they are more so. In addition they have an informative and educative value.

To the people of India it has this special usefulness that, while it studiously excludes 'propaganda,' it publishes articles on all Indian subjects, including politics, written from the Indian point of view with strict regard to facts and truth. It admits contributions from British imperialists also in relation to India. Almost every number of *Asia* contains some article or other relating to India.

The May number of this magazine is a special India number. It is a magnificent production. More than a dozen entries in its list of contents relate to India. They represent the views and work of Rabindranath Tagore, Mahatma Gandhi, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Lord Linlithgow, Devendra Satyarthi, Radhakamal Mukerjee, S. C. Guha-Thakurta, S. G. Panandikar, Sir Daniel M. Hamilton, Anup Singh, Swami Nikhilananda, Anand Coomaraswamy, W. Norman Boown, Ramananda Chatterjee, and others. On the cover is a beautiful drawing in colours, "Hindu H[illegible] the Dance," by Juanita C. Alexander. [illegible] number is profusely illustrated.

Mr. M. N. Roy at the U. P. Youth Conf[erence]

The presidential address of Mr. M. N. [Roy] at the United Provinces Youth Conference, w[hich] commenced its sittings at Sitapur on the [illegible] May, raises several important controve[rsial] issues which cannot be discussed in a brief n[ote].

He said in the course of the address:

> "I do not find the present political situation i[n the] country very encouraging. It was pregnant with [great] possibilities. The victory at the polls could be [the] beginning of a new form of struggling—the struggle [for] the capture of power. Instead of travelling in the [direction] indicated by the Faizpur resolution, the Congres[s is] drifting towards neo-Constitutionalism. The rank [and] file of our movement must be puzzled by this unexpe[cted] turn of events. They expected to watch the wreckin[g of] the unwanted constitution. But today we hear no [talk] of wrecking. We find leaders defending the Govern[ment] of India Act against the unconstitutional action of [the] Governors. Unless the British Imperialism is incred[ibly] stupid, in a few months Congressmen will be in [the] carrying on "Constitutional Activities," or in plain w[ords] working the Constitution for what it is worth, having [for] years denounced it as utterly worthless."

We have repeatedly expressed our opi[nion] that no party ought to accept office or oug[ht to] have accepted office under the present con[stitu]tion.

B. N. Railway Strike Controversy

Mr. R. F. Mudie, who was entrusted [with] the work of enquiring into Mr. Giri's compla[ints] on behalf of the railway workers, has in [effect] dismissed them as inadmissible. His report [is] a very long one. In the course of an intervi[ew] to the *United Press* of India Mr. Giri has said:

> I desire to state that when the full official repor[t of] Mr. Mudie is published the Delegation that appea[red] before the Committee on behalf of the Union will re[ply] in the fullest of details to the charges mad[e] by him [in] his report to the satisfaction of the public i[n th]is coun[try] to whom we are answerable, as they are the [ac]tual ow[ners] of this great railway undertaking.

In the meantime Mr. Giri has answe[red] many of the charges made by Mr. Mudie. [Mr.] Giri concludes the interview as follows:

> If Mr. Mudie is anxious to justify his charges [and] conclusion, let him appear before a strictly impar[tial] tribunal consisting of equal number of representative[s of] the administration and workers with an impartial Chai[rman] acceptable to both sides, as it is done in any civ[ilised] country and place the case of the administration and on our part without any reserve place ours and abid[e by] its decision, otherwise the public will have their [own] inferences to draw.
>
> Mr. Mudie did more harm than good by his rep[ort] in the matter of maintenance of good relations betw[een] the Union and the Railway Administration.—*Unit[ed] Pr[ess]*

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